

*Labor Omnia Vincit*

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**REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION**  
**of**  
**THE AMERICAN**  
**FEDERATION OF LABOR**



**HELD AT**  
**CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,**  
**OCTOBER 7 TO 17, INCLUSIVE**

**1946**



**RANDELL INC., WASHINGTON, D. C.**

# OFFICERS

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION

## OF LABOR

### 1946

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# DELEGATES

## TO THE

# SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes cast by each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated .....	3	{	79 Paul Dullzell, 45 W. 47th St., New York, N. Y. 79 George Heller, 2 W. 45th St., New York, N. Y. 79 Pat Somerset, 7046 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood, Calif.
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1		45 David L. Behncke, 3145 W. 63rd St., Chicago 29, Ill.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and .....	2	{	20 Joseph A. Mullaney, 41-32 Benham St., Elmhurst, Long Island, N. Y. 20 C. W. Sickles, 211 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union United.....	5	{	87 Lester Washburn, Room 1013, 231 W. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee 3, Wis. 86 George Grisham, 231 W. Wisconsin Ave., Room 1013, Milwaukee 3, Wis. 86 Anthony Doria, 231 W. Wisconsin Ave., Room 1013, Milwaukee 3, Wis. 86 Frank Evans, 3030 Euclid Ave., Room 200, Cleveland 15, Ohio. 86 Peter G. Noll, 506 Southern Ohio Bank Bldg., 518 Main St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	6	{	185 Herman Winter, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. 185 Joseph Schmidt, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. 185 William F. Schnitzler, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. 185 William McGuern, 2915 E. Cherry St., Seattle 22, Wash. 184 Seb Olinger, 5576 Samver Road, Cincinnati 24, Ohio. 184 James Cross, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill.
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen.....	5	{	101 William C. Birthright, 1141 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis 7, Ind. 101 Charles T. Crane, 407 Labor Temple, Portland 4, Oreg. 101 Anthony Merlino, 542 Chapel St., New Haven, Conn. 100 Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward St., Rochester, N. Y. 100 John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Ave., Dallas, Tex.

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1		16 Harry Gunderson, 119 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	3		34 Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago 12, Ill. 33 John Pelkofer, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago 12, Ill. 33 George Edgerton, 8604 Wade Park Ave., Cleveland 6, Ohio.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of .....	7		346 Charles J. MacGowan, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City 11, Kans. 346 William J. Buckley, 506 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City 11, Kans. 345 J. N. Davis, 6411 Washington St., Kansas City, Mo. 345 Harry Nacey, 147 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y. 345 George Nolan, 36 S. Peoria St., Chicago 7, Ill. 345 J. Duschak, 8013 Vincennes Ave., Chicago, Ill. 345 John V. Kearney, 1321 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of .....	3		121 John B. Haggerty, Room 301, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. 121 J. B. Prewitt, Room 300, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. 120 Miss Mary Morley, 406 Old South Bldg., Boston 8, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	3		134 John J. Mara, 246 Summer St., Boston 10, Mass. 133 George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn. 133 Frank W. Anderson, 5734 Belle Plaine Ave., Chicago 34, Ill.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6		109 Wm. J. Bowen, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 109 Harry C. Bates, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 108 Richard J. Gray, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 108 Elmer Spahr, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 108 A. J. Cleland, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 108 Thomas H. O'Donnell, 910 W. Monroe St., Chicago 7, Ill.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United .....	2		61 Frank Kasten, Room 7, Mary Bldg., 1550 W. 95th St., Chicago, Ill. 61 William Tracy, Room 7, Mary Bldg., 1550 W. 95th St., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association .....	6		154 P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo. 154 J. H. Lyons, 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo. 154 J. A. Evensen, 6104 Berenice Ave., Chicago, Ill. 154 Wm. F. Bauers, 15 Olcott St., Sta. E., Buffalo 11, N. Y. 154 C. F. Strickland, 604 Alcazar Ave., Coral Gables, Fla. 153 Leslie L. Myers, Hamilton Hotel, Washington 5, D. C.

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union International .....	1	4	O. A. Steinke, 4457 N. Spaulding Ave., Chicago 25, Ill.
Building Service Employees' International Union .....	6	201	William L. McFetridge, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		201	William H. Cooper, 212 W. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		200	George Hardy, 1491 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles 7, Calif.
		200	David Sullivan, 570 7th Ave., New York 18, N. Y.
		200	Walter Collins, 52 Chauncy St., Boston 11, Mass.
		200	Glenn R. Blake, 305 Gerlinger Bldg., 220 S. W. Alder, Portland 4, Oreg.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway .....	4	252	Felix H. Knight, 400 Carmen's Bldg., 107 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City 2, Mo.
		252	Irvin Barney, 402 Carmen's Bldg., 107 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City 2, Mo.
		252	Henri Vaillancourt, 311 Coronation Bldg., 1405 Bishop St., Montreal 25, Que., Canada.
		252	Alfred E. McCormick, 88 Hunter Ave., Albany 5, N. Y.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	750	Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		750	M. A. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		750	Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		750	Clement A. Clancy, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif.
		750	T. D. Harper, 1651 S. Gordon St., S. W., Atlanta, Ga.
		750	Charles W. Hanson, 130 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
		750	M. J. Sexton, 12 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
		750	George Osterkamp, 1228 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United.....	4	51	William Schoenberg, 549 Randolph St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		51	Toney Gallo, 549 W. Randolph St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		51	Arthur J. Strunk, 3632 Detroit Ave., Toledo 12, Ohio.
		51	Samuel R. Diskan, United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers, District Council No. 1, Walnut St., Bath, Pa.
Chemical Workers' Union, International .....	3	138	H. A. Bradley, 605 First Central Tower Bldg., Akron 8, Ohio.
		137	R. E. Tomlinson, 605 First Central Tower Bldg., Akron 8, Ohio.
		137	Samuel Laderman, 1118 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America .....	3	34	A. P. Bower, 628 Walnut St., Reading, Pa.
		33	Charles E. Rohler, 35 Judson Ave., New Haven 11, Conn.
		33	Maurice Simons, 423 E. 83rd St., New York 28, N. Y.

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Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of.....	4	44	W. S. Gross, 1 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
		44	Harold E. Greenwald, 1771 E. 12th St., Room 202, Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		44	John Zitello, 1771 E. 12th St., Room 202, Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		44	Mike Minaden, 1771 E. 12th St., Room 202, Cleveland 14, Ohio.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office .....	5	92	Leo E. George, 4121 31st St., Mt. Rainier, Md.
		92	Johi T. Driscoll, P. O. Clerk, Pawtucket, R. I.
		92	William Biggadake, 2014 Valmar St., Little Rock, Ark.
		91	Stewart Robinson, 18 S. 76th St., Belleville, Ill.
		91	George J. Wachowski, 2815 Wellington Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	7	328	George M. Harrison, 701 Brotherhood Bldg., 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		328	Phil E. Ziegler, 706 Brotherhood Bldg., 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		328	Harry R. Lyons, 818 Missouri Insurance Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo.
		327	Robert Morgan, 606 Brotherhood Bldg., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		327	Glen Goble, Room 812, 9 S. Clinton St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		327	Lincoln B. Snedden, 318 31st Ave., McKeesport, Pa.
		327	John H. Sylvester, Room 1808, Consumers Bldg., Chicago 4, Ill.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail .....	6	200	James A. Suffridge, 666 Main St., Lafayette, Ind.
		200	C. C. Coulter, 666 Main St., Lafayette, Ind.
		199	G. A. Sackett, 418 E. 22nd St., Pittsburg, Kans.
		199	Thomas J. Quinlan, 1628 W. Main St., Zanesville, Ohio.
		199	Frank C. Shea, 125 W. Granite St., Butte, Mont.
		199	Vernon A. Housewright, 130 N. Wells St., Room 907, Chicago 6, Ill.
Coopers' International Union of North America .....	2	25	James J. Doyle, Park Square Bldg., Room 927, Boston 16, Mass.
		25	J. Earl Collins, 3711 Warren Ave., Louisville 8, Ky.
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union.....	2	50	Joseph O'Neill, 216 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		50	Sol Cilento, 1417 K St., N. W., Room 401, Washington 5, D. C.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and .....	1	62	Foster J. Pratt, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.

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Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	472	Ed J. Brown, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		472	G. M. Bugniet, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		472	Chas. M. Paulsen, 4937 W. Cuyler Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		471	Walter Lenox, P. O. Box 393, Twenty-nine Palms, Calif.
		471	Edgar S. Hurley, 1918 Grove St., Oakland, Calif.
		471	Rex Fransway, 744 N. 4th St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		471	D. T. Johnstone, 500 Kenneth Road, Glendale 2, Calif.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of .....	3	34	Thomas Allen, Plumbers' Bldg., 1901 5th Ave., Pittsburgh 19, Pa.
		34	Francis B. Comfort, 20 W. Queen Lane, Philadelphia 44, Pa.
		34	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont St., Room 10, Boston 16, Mass.
Engineers, International Union of Operating .....	5	217	Wm. E. Maloney, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		217	F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		217	Jos. J. Delaney, 4451 Tibbett Ave., Fieldstone, Bronx, N. Y.
		216	Frank P. Converse, 216 High Ave., Cleveland 15, Ohio.
		216	Charles B. Gramling, Route 5, Box 365, Atlanta, Ga.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo- .....	3	39	Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
		39	Matthew Woll, 570 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
		38	Henry F. Schmal, 3138 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 18, Mo.
Farm Labor Union, National.....	3	3	H. L. Mitchell, Box 443, Memphis, Tenn.
		2	F. R. Betton, 1151 Bayard Ave., St. Louis 13, Mo.
		2	Barney B. Taylor, Box 443, Memphis, Tenn.
			*J. E. Clayton.
			*A. E. Cox.
Fire Fighters, International Association of .....	5	91	John P. Redmond, 206-208 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		91	George J. Richardson, 206-208 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		91	George T. Slocum, 424 Sweet St., N. E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
		91	John P. Crane, 207 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		91	Glenn Thom, 207 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of .....	5	117	John F. McNamara, Room 517, Paddock Bldg., 101 Tremont St., Boston 3, Mass.
		116	Joseph P. Clark, Suite 1410, 330 S. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		116	Anthony J. Matz, Room 508, 1321 Arch St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
		116	Robert J. Tormey, Room 1510, 100 N. LaSalle St., Chicago 2, Ill.
		116	James M. Kennedy, Room 1510, 100 N. LaSalle St., Chicago 2, Ill.

\* J. E. Clayton substituted for F. R. Betton, October 11, 1946, Fifth Day.

\* A. E. Cox substituted for Barney B. Taylor, October 11, 1946, Fifth Day.

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Garment Workers of America, United..	5	80	Joseph P. McCurdy, 1505 Riverside Ave., Baltimore 30, Md.
		80	George C. Slater, Room 402, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		80	Miss Anne Peterson, 5615 Valley Glen Way, Los Angeles 43, Calif.
		80	A. Adamski, 547 Doat St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		80	W. R. Brooks, 6030 E. 15th St., Kansas City, Mo.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies .....	7	358	David Dubinsky, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
		357	Charles S. Zimmerman, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		357	Samuel Shore, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		357	Morris Bialis, 222 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
		357	Louis Nelson, 815 Broadway, Brooklyn, N. Y.
		357	Ben Gilbert, 110 N. 9th St., St. Louis, Mo.
		357	Josephine Spica, 128 N. 10th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	4	72	Lee W. Minton, Room 1531, 12 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
		72	Zera C. Wright, 306 W. Washington St., Winchester, Ind.
		71	Joseph St. John, 307 Child St., Rochester 11, N. Y.
		71	William Williams, 910 Fayette St., Washington, Pa.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window .....	1	16	A. U. Debrucque, 9 E. Long St., Columbus, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	3	97	Harry H. Cook, 204 Huron St., Hardee Bldg., Toledo 4, Ohio.
		97	Henry Lemkuhl, 620 Plymouth Road, Baltimore, Md.
		97	Leo A. McCormick, 1817 W. 38th Place, Los Angeles 37, Calif.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International .....	1	33	Thomas Durian, 5328 N. 39th St., Milwaukee 9, Wis.
Government Employees, American Federation of .....	3	109	James B. Burns, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.
		108	Bernice B. Heffner, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.
		108	John Griner, care Railroad Ret. Board, Chicago, Ill.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	2	20	Laurence Foley, 25 School St., Quincy 69, Mass.
		20	Thomas Purcell, 5230 W. Adams St., Chicago 44, Ill.
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International.....	3	50	Samuel Reinlib, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
		50	Frank Albano, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
		50	Louis Rooney, 410 S. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United.....	5		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>64 Max Zaritsky, 245 Fifth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.</li> <li>64 Alex Rose, 31 W. 37th St., New York 18, N. Y.</li> <li>64 Herman Finkelstein, 1947 E. 17th St., Brooklyn 29, N. Y.</li> <li>64 Margaret Mahr, 203 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago 1, Ill.</li> <li>64 Martin Lawlor, 129 87th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.</li> </ul>
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International .....	7		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>346 Joseph V. Moreschi, 821 15th St., N. W., 5th floor, Washington 5, D. C.</li> <li>346 Joseph Marshall, 201 Golden Gate Bldg., 25 Taylor St., San Francisco 2, Calif.</li> <li>345 Herbert Rivers, 821 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.</li> <li>345 Joseph B. Etchison, 8 E. Long St., 414 Atlas Bldg., Columbus 15, Ohio.</li> <li>345 Anthony C. D'Andrea, 814 W. Harrison St., Chicago 7, Ill.</li> <li>345 Theodore Nischwitz, 404 Leland Office Bldg., Springfield, Ill.</li> <li>345 Patrick Waldron, 55 W. 42nd St., 731 Bryant Park Bldg., New York 18, N. Y.</li> </ul>
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America...	6		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>479 Hugo Ernst, 528 Walnut St., Room 610, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.</li> <li>479 Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State St., Rochester 4, N. Y.</li> <li>479 Chris Lane, 184 W. Canton, Boston, Mass.</li> <li>479 Louis Koenig, 1442 Griswold St., Detroit 26, Mich.</li> <li>479 Pauline Newman, 2800 First Ave., Room 103, Seattle, Wash.</li> <li>478 J. W. Van Hook, 681 Kip St., Los Angeles 14, Calif.</li> </ul>
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	1		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>93 Leon Williams, 551 5th Ave., New York 17, N. Y.</li> </ul>
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>27 William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Ave., Cleveland 13, Ohio.</li> <li>27 Harry J. Hagen, 4750 Highland Ave., St. Louis 13, Mo.</li> <li>27 Walter M. Matthews, 1322 Third Ave., New York 21, N. Y.</li> </ul>
Laundry Workers' International Union	4		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>125 Sam J. Byers, 1258 Consolidated Bldg., Indianapolis 4, Ind.</li> <li>125 Charles T. Lindgren, 1258 Consolidated Bldg., Indianapolis 4, Ind.</li> <li>125 John Paris, 82 W. Montcalm St., Detroit, Mich.</li> <li>125 Ralph B. Hosack, 2902 Brooklyn Ave., Kansas City 3, Mo.</li> </ul>
Leather Workers' International Union, United .....	1		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>40 Bernard G. Quinn, 916 Lafayette Bldg., 5th and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia 6, Pa.</li> </ul>

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Letter Carriers, National Association of .....	6	102	William C. Doherty, 408 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		102	Jerome J. Keating, 405 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		101	A. F. Baker, 304 W. 42nd St., Austin, Tex.
		101	Thomas H. Gerraty, 211 Park Ave., East Orange, N. J.
		101	L. V. McGuigan, 1527 N. Boston Ave., Tulsa, Okla.
		101	P. M. Payton, Post Office, Kansas City, Mo.
Longshoremen's Association, International .....	3	230	Joseph P. Ryan, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
		230	John R. Owens, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
		230	August Wolf, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of .....	5	289	E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich.
		289	A. Shoemake, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich.
		289	J. J. Farnan, 1202 Belmont Ave., South Bend, Ind.
		288	T. L. Jones, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich.
		288	E. J. Plondke, 608 S. Dearborn, Suite 1648-B, Chicago 5, Ill.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of .....	2	23	William McCarthy, Room 306, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		22	John J. Conway, 1415 Clearview, Philadelphia, Pa.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	6	212	Earl W. Jimerson, 160 N. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
		212	Patrick E. Gorman, 160 N. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
		212	Milton S. Maxwell, 3012 16th St., San Francisco, Calif.
		211	T. J. Lloyd, 1748 Harvard Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah.
		211	Joseph Belsky, 37 Union Square, W., Butcher Workmen's Bldg., New York, N. Y.
		211	R. Emmett Kelly, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
			*John Malone, 1207 Park Ave., Fort Worth 6, Tex.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet .....	4	63	Robert Byron, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		63	James J. Ryan, 118 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		62	James T. Moriarty, Room 473, State House, Boston 33, Mass.
		62	James W. Close, 620 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.

\* John Malone substituted for Milton S. Maxwell, October 9, 1946, Third Day.



# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Mine Workers of America, United....	9	445	John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers' Bldg., Washington 5, D. C.
		445	John O'Leary, United Mine Workers' Bldg., Washington 5, D. C.
		445	Thomas Kennedy, United Mine Workers' Bldg., Washington 5, D. C.
		445	William Green, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		444	Percy Tetlow, 2615 Camden St., Columbus, Ohio.
		444	Martin F. Brennan, United Mine Workers' Bldg., Hazleton, Pa.
		444	John Kmetz, United Mine Workers' Bldg., Washington 5, D. C.
		444	Hugh White, United Mine Workers' Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
		444	William Mitch, 520 Comer Bldg., Birmingham, Ala.
Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International....	6	113	Harry Stevenson, 530 Walnut St., Cincinnati 1, Ohio.
		113	J. A. Burks, 1101 Forrest Ave., Tarrant, Ala.
		113	Alfred Cook, 225-17 135th Ave., Springfield Gardens 13, Long Island, N. Y.
		113	John F. Dunachie, 102-05 86th Ave., Richmond Hill, Long Island, N. Y.
		113	Philip Bennett, Ford Hotel, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		113	Hugo Benson, 959 Weeks Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Musicians, American Federation of...	6	167	James C. Petrillo, 570 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
		167	Joseph N. Weber, 621 Alta Drive, Beverly Hills, Calif.
		167	Charles L. Bagley, 900 Continental Bldg., 408 S. Spring St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.
		167	Frank B. Field, 45 Lincoln Ave., South Norwalk, Conn.
		166	Raymond J. Meurer, 1073 Iroquois Ave., Detroit, Mich.
		166	Roy W. Singer, 745 Flagler St., Miami 36, Fla.
Office Employees' International Union..	2	103	Paul R. Hutchings, 1221 G St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		103	J. Howard Hicks, 1221 G St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	7	220	L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators' Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		220	L. M. Rafferty, Painters and Decorators' Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		220	Christian M. Madsen, 3209 W. Evergreen Ave., Chicago 51, Ill.
		219	Pete Yablonski, 14 Yates, Newark, N. J.
		219	James P. Meehan, 84 Towerhill, Lawrence, Mass.
		219	Frank Owens, 239 Hathway, Houston, Tex.
		219	Robert J. Watt, 1421 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of .....	5	80	Matthew J. Burns, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.
		80	Joseph Addy, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.
		80	Paul L. Phillips, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.
		80	Frank P. Barry, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.
		80	John W. Bailey, 204 Capital Theatre, Kalamazoo 5, Mich.
Pattern Makers' League of North America .....	1	110	George Q. Lynch, 311 Machinists' Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative .....	4	63	John E. Rooney, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		63	M. J. McDonough, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		62	John J. Hauck, 3469 St. Vincent St., Philadelphia 24, Pa.
		62	John Donlin, 5145 W. Cermak Road, Cicero 50, Ill.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of .....	7	286	Martin P. Durkin, 506 Machinists' Bldg., 9th St. and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		286	George Meany, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		286	Edward J. Hillock, 506 Machinists' Bldg., 9th St. and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		286	Charles M. Rau, 408 S. Leavitt St., Chicago 12, Ill.
		286	Peter T. Schoemann, 2710 N. Grant Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.
		285	Robert Lynch, 28 Patterson St., Jersey City 7, N. J.
		285	R. J. Picard, 733½ E. Manchester Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal.....	3	39	Ray Kelsay, P. O. Box 641, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		39	Mike Stafford, care Mr. Ray Kelsay, P. O. Box 641, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		39	John Grzenia, 1705 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car..	3	34	A. Philip Randolph, 217 W. 125th St., Room 301, New York 27, N. Y.
		33	M. P. Webster, 3456-58 S. State St., Chicago, Ill.
		33	Claude E. Grooms, 3456 S. State St., 5th floor, Chicago 16, Ill.
Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers' National Association of.....	1	15	Harold McAvoy, 907 Lorimer St., Brooklyn 22, N. Y.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative .....	4	54	James M. Duffy, Box 752, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		54	Edwin L. Wheatley, 215 Broad Street Bank Bldg., Trenton, N. J.
		54	Robert Golden, 1923 Nevin Ave., Richmond, Calif.
		53	William Campbell, Erwin, Tenn.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate .....	1	15	James F. Mowatt, 3709 Quincy St., Brentwood, Md.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International .....	5	127	George L. Berry, Presamen's Home, Tenn.
		127	George L. Googe, 416 Hurt Bldg., Atlanta 3, Ga.
		127	James F. Doyle, 608 S. Dearborn St., Room 220, Chicago 5, Ill.
		127	William A. Lewis, 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Ill.
		126	George Higgins, 608 S. Dearborn St., Room 510, Chicago 5, Ill.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	6	129	John P. Burke, Drawer 30, Fort Edward, N. Y.
		129	H. W. Sullivan, Drawer 30, Fort Edward, N. Y.
		129	Elmer P. Meinz, 229 Hampden Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
		129	Godfrey Ruddick, 629 Avenue C, Bogalusa, La.
		128	James S. Killen, 1018 Vermont Ave., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		128	Raymond Richards, Hotel Appleton, Appleton, Wis.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric .....	6	191	A. L. Spradling, 1106 Griswold Bldg., 1214 Griswold St., Detroit 26, Mich.
		191	Thomas Meany, 698 E. 120th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		191	Michael Mastrian, 529 6th Ave., N., Minneapolis, Minn.
		191	Guy E. Tipton, 312 Chouteau Bldg., 4030 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis 10, Mo.
		191	Arnold R. Hokanson, 6541½ 20th St., N. W., Seattle 7, Wash.
		190	George E. Maguire, 4 Lincoln Road, Salem, Mass.
Radio Directors' Guild.....	1	1	Edward A. Byron, 730 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
			*Newman H. Burnett, Room 214, 114 E. 52nd St., New York, N. Y.
Railway Mail Association.....	3	76	C. M. Harvey, 506-508 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		76	J. L. Reilly, 506-508 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		75	Omar M. House, 6219 N. Winthrop Ave., Chicago 40, Ill.
			*Ole Twait.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition .....	3	29	Charles D. Aquadro, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
		29	Homer J. Meyers, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
		28	Ben D. Vetter, R. R. No. 1, Muncie, Kans.
Seafarers' International Union of North America .....	4	113	Harry Lundeborg, Seaboard Bldg., 105 Market St., Suite 201, San Francisco 5, Calif.
		113	John Hawk, 51 Beaver St., New York, N. Y.
		112	Patrick McHugh, 206 Essex St., Boston, Mass.
		112	Victor A. Olander, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.

\* Newman H. Burnett substituted for Edward A. Byron, October 9, 1946, Third Day.

\* Ole Twait substituted for C. M. Harvey, October 11, 1946, Fifth Day.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Al- liance of Theatrical.....	5	84	Richard F. Walsh, 630 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		84	William P. Raoul, 630 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		84	Thomas V. Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark, N. J.
		84	Eugene J. Atkinson, 188 W. Randolph St., Room 2105, Chicago, Ill.
		84	Michael J. Mungovan, 334 University Ave., Rochester, N. Y.
State County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of.....	5	134	Arnold S. Zander, Federation Bldg., Madison 1, Wis.
		134	Gordon W. Chapman, Federation Bldg., Madison 1, Wis.
		134	H. Z. Collier, Federation Bldg., Madison 1, Wis.
		134	John M. Leary, 6724 Stony Island, Chicago 49, Ill.
		134	George W. Thorpe, 635 Main St., Room 236, Hartford, Conn.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International....	3	31	Leo J. Buckley, 475 5th Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
		31	Frank R. Adams, 1846 Transportation Bldg., 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Ill.
		31	Charles Sinnigan, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	1	19	Paul A. Givens, 8 E. Market St., Room 324, Indianapolis 4, Ind.
Stove Mounters' International Union..	3	34	Edw. W. Kaiser, 1513 Hogan St., St. Louis, Mo.
		33	Raymond Levingsaton, 8 Drumm Ct., Newark, Ohio.
		33	Willard Fogleson, 922 Boerman Ave., Kalamazoo, Mich.
Supervisors, The National Association of Postal .....	1	20	Michael Nave, Post Office, Chicago, Ill.
Switchmen's Union of North America	2	46	Thos. C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Ave., Buffalo 2, N. Y.
		46	Paul M. Carter, 1511 Maple Ave., Evanston, Ill.
Teachers, American Federation of....	4	77	Joseph F. Landis, 967 Elbon Road, Cleveland Heights 21, Ohio.
		77	Irvin R. Kuenli, 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.
		76	Selma M. Borchardt, Homer Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		76	John D. Connors, 1440 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7		893 Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind. 893 John F. English, Room 311, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 893 Frank W. Brewster, 522 Denny Way, Seattle 9, Wash. 893 Robert Lester, 720 Fifth St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. 893 John J. O'Rourke, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. 893 Ray Schoessling, 216 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 892 Thomas Flynn, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind. *Dave Beck.
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad..	2		150 G. E. Leighty, 3673 W. Pine Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo. 150 E. J. Manion, 106 Palisades Ave., Santa Monica, Calif.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial .....	4		62 W. L. Allen, 5913 Georgia Ave., N. W., Washington 11, D. C. 62 George R. Pawson, 17 MacDonnell Ave., Toronto 3, Ont., Canada. 62 Harry S. Leimbach, 4518 3rd St., S. E., Washington 20, D. C. 62 John B. Alcorn, 15917 Holmur, Detroit 21, Mich.
Textile Workers of America, United..	4		125 Anthony Valente, 402 Sixth St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. 125 Lloyd Klenert, 402 Sixth St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. 125 Benjamin Haskel, 402 Sixth St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. 125 Bernard L. Eberts, Evans Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	2		110 John O'Hare, 806 Realty Bldg., Louisville, Ky. 110 R. J. Petree, 806 Realty Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Typographical Union, International..	6		107 Woodruff Randolph, Box 428, Indianapolis 6, Ind. 107 John W. Austin, 374 17th St., Oakland, Calif. 107 Harold H. Clark, 229 Beaumont Road, Columbus 2, Ohio. 107 Bernard M. Egan, 5302 Carrolton St., Houston 3, Tex. 106 John Forster, 410 White Bldg., Buffalo 2, N. Y. 106 Tillman K. Garrison, 13218 4th Ave., N. W., Seattle 77, Wash.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	3		84 Sal B. Hoffmann, 1500 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 21, Pa. 83 Alfred R. Rota, 610 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill. 83 William Kohn, 2214 35th St., Astoria, Long Island City, N. Y.
Metal Trades Department.....	1		1 John P. Frey, Room 402, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Railroad Employees' Department.....	1		1 Fred N. Aten, 936 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago 11, Ill.

\* Dave Beck substituted for John J. O'Rourke, October 15, 1946, Seventh Day.

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	I. M. Ornburn, 202 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor...	1	1	John Busby, care Birmingham Federation of Labor, 417½ N. 21st St., Birmingham, Ala.
Alaska State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Thomas J. Moore, Box 2601, Juneau, Alaska.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor..	1	1	C. W. Mowery, P. O. Box 532, Hot Springs, Ark.
California State Federation of Labor..	1	1	C. J. Haggerty, 402 Flood Bldg., San Francisco 2, Calif.
Colorado State Federation of Labor...	1	1	George W. Brayfield, 312 Insurance Bldg. Denver 2, Colo.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor	1	1	Joseph M. Rourke, 1024 Main St., Bridgeport, Conn.
Florida State Federation of Labor...	1	1	James A. Harper, 516 28th St., West Palm Beach, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor....	1	1	A. C. Lawrence, 780 Clemont Drive, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	August Rosqvist, 1246 N. Grant, Pocatello, Idaho.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, 503 Security Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Carl H. Mullen, 701 Peoples Bank Bldg., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. A. Couch, 412 Paramount Bldg., Des Moines 9, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Frank E. Welsh, 643 N. Green St., Wichita, Kans.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Edward H. Weyler, 1402 Washington Bldg., Louisville 2, Ky.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor..	1	1	R. L. Soule, 627 North St., New Orleans, La.
Maine State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Benjamin J. Dorsky, 44 Pier St., Bangor, Me.
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert Buxbaum, 1133 Harford Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Kenneth J. Kelley, 135 Liberty St., Braintree, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor..	1	1	George W. Dean, 306 Bauch Bldg., Lansing, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor..	1	1	R. A. Olson, Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Warren S. Welsh, 2730 Lafayette, St. Joseph, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor..	1	1	James D. Graham, 419 Breckenridge St., Helena, Mont.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Nebraska State Federation of Labor..	1	1	John J. Guenther, 318 W. O. W. Bldg., Omaha 2, Nebr.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor	1	1	Louis P. Marcianti, 374 Plane St., Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Thomas A. Murray, 365 W. 14th St., Room 902, New York 11, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Michael J. Lyden, 405 Atlas Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor..	1	1	J. Cline House, 802 Cotton Exchange Bldg., Oklahoma City 2, Okla.
Oregon State Federation of Labor....	1	1	James T. Marr, 506 Labor Temple, Portland 4, Oreg.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor	1	1	James L. McDevitt, 430 North St., Harrisburg, Pa. *Earl C. Bohr, Federation Bldg., Front and Pine Sts., Harrisburg, Pa.
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Work- ingmen .....	1	1	Nicholas Nogueras Rivera, Box 270, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Daniel A. White, 145 Knowlton St., Riverside, R. I.
South Carolina State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	John L. McKinney, 88 Hub City Court, Spartanburg, S. C.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Fred Stratton, 311 Morgan St., Knoxville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Acreman, 703 Littlefield Bldg., Austin 15, Tex.
Vermont State Federation of Labor... 1	1	1	Max Wexler, 500 Charlotte St., 117 White Bldg., Utica, N. Y.
Virginia State Federation of Labor... 1	1	1	Jack S. Smith, Box 358, Buckroe Beach, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	E. M. Weston, 619 Lyon Bldg., Seattle 4, Wash.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	E. A. Carter, 362 Fairview Drive, Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Wm. Nagorsne, 1012 N. Third St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Martin Cahill, Lock Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Akron, Ohio, Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. A. Rogers, 655 First Central Tower, Akron, Ohio.
Alton and Vicinity, Illinois Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Theo. C. Sheppard, P. O. Box 206, Alton, Ill.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council....	1	1	Redmond M. Burr, 320 S. 5th Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.

\* Earl C. Bohr substituted for James L. McDevitt, October 14, 1946, Sixth Day.

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Elmer J. Hewitt, Room 32, Boardwalk Arcade, Tennessee Ave. and Boardwalk, Atlantic City, N. J.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades...	1	1	Henry W. Chandler, P. O. Box 1207, Atlanta 1, Ga.
Auburn, N. Y., Federation of Labor..	1	1	Walter O'Hagan, Goss Bldg., Genesee St., Auburn, N. Y.
Augusta, Ga., Central Labor Union...	1	1	William W. Holley, 2516 North View Ave., Augusta, Ga.
Aurora, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Harold E. Kellogg, 510 Calumet Ave., Aurora, Ill.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor..	1	1	Harry Cohen, 39 South St., Baltimore 2, Md.
Barberton, Ohio, Central Labor Union	1	1	John O. Weaver, 744 St. Clair Ave., Barberton, Ohio.
Baton Rouge, La., Central Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	Perry A. Turner, 109 S. 18th St., Baton Rouge, La.
Battle Creek, Mich., Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Charles W. Harnden, P. O. Box 414, Battle Creek, Mich.
Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Wm. P. Reichling, 810 Scheel St., Belleville, Ill.
Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Harold P. Smith, 15 Proctor St., Binghamton, N. Y.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council....	1	1	Ted Williams, P. O. Box 1426, Birmingham, Ala.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union...	1	1	John J. Del Monte, 678 Boylston St., Newton, Mass.
Brunswick, Ga., Central Labor Union..	1	1	C. K. Curry, Mansfield and Bay Sts., Brunswick, Ga.
Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor...	1	1	Robert A. Smith, 310 White Bldg., Buffalo 2, N. Y.
Burlington, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Martin Baner, Room 200, Labor Temple, Burlington, Iowa.
Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Leon B. Schachter, 224 Federal St., Camden, N. J.
Canton, Ohio, Federation of Labor...	1	1	George Teufel, 4508 Emma Place, N. W., Canton 7, Ohio.
Cape Girardeau and Vicinity, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union...	1	1	W. E. Redding, 117-A N. Frederick St., Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank W. Snyder, 362 Fairview Drive, Charleston 2, W. Va.
Cheyenne, Wyo., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Frank Perkinson, care of Secretary, Trades and Labor Assembly, 604 W. 25th St., P. O. Box 812, Cheyenne, Wyo.



# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor...	1	1	Gus Moline, 6651 Keota Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union	1	1	John J. Hurst, 1739 Northcut Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor..	1	1	Thomas A. Lenehan, 1248 Walnut Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
Clinton County, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Edgar F. Smith, care of Secretary, Central Trades and Labor Union, 689 N. Clinton St., Breese, Ill.
Clinton and Vic., Iowa, Labor Congress .....	1	1	Leroy Jones, 425 Third Ave., S., Clinton, Iowa.
Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union...	1	1	John E. Breidenbach, 202 S. Ludlow St., Dayton 2, Ohio.
Delaware County, Pa., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Willard L. Morse, 113 W. 7th St., Media, Pa.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Jack Luker, 222 E. 2nd Ave., Denver, Colo.
Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	J. W. Soutter, 1367 E. 14th St., Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, 82 W. Montcalm St., Detroit 1, Mich.
Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly .....	1	1	Elmer Schaffer, Labor Temple, 320 W. First St., Duluth, Minn. *E. C. Slaughter, Labor Temple, 320 W. First St., Duluth, Minn.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Stewart A. Seifert, 1322 Washington St., Easton, Pa.
East St. Louis, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union .....	1	1	Fern R. Rauch, 1439 N. 42nd St., East St. Louis, Ill.
Edwardsville, Ill., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	John A. Haywood, Box 162, Glen Carbon, Ill.
Elgin, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	Howard Floyd, 19 N. Spring St., Elgin, Ill.
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, 639 Salem Ave., Elizabeth, N. J.
Elkhart County, Ind., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Frank Anulies, 817 Tipton St., Elkhart, Ind.
Fort Smith, Ark., Central Trades Council .....	1	1	Joe Y. Baker, 2328 N. Edward St., Fort Smith, Ark.

\* E. C. Slaughter substituted for Elmer Schaffer, October 14, 1946, Sixth Day.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Freeport, Ill., Central Labor Union...	1	{	1 John L. Held, 1128 W. Staver St., Freeport, Ill. *George Fink, 410 W. Garfield St., Freeport, Ill.
Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	1 C. H. Cary, 323 Holland Bldg., Fresno 1, Calif.
Galesburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	1 W. H. Moon, 1138 N. Seminary St., Galesburg, Ill.
Galveston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	1 B. A. Gritts, 214 23rd St., Galveston, Tex.
Green Bay, Wis., Federated Trades Council .....	1	1	1 Emil Waldow, 821 N. Broadway St., Green Bay, Wis.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	{	1 C. Edwin Miller, 1119 Derry St., Harrisburg, Pa. *Edward H. Miller, 341 Reily St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Hastings, Nebr., Central Labor Union	1	1	1 L. E. Bayles, 721 E. 5th St., Hastings, Nebr.
Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	1 Joseph Quinn, 217 W. 44th St., Union City, N. J.
Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	1 C. E. Kerns, 900 N. Plum St., Hutchinson, Kans.
Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor Union	1	1	1 C. G. Smith, Labor Temple, 808 Main St., Jacksonville, Fla.
Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	1 S. P. Miller, 68 W. Van Buren St., Joliet, Ill.
Joplin, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	1 R. Boyd Prince, 214 Main St., Joplin, Mo.
Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	1 Florence H. Bailey, 206 Capital Theatre Bldg., Kalamazoo 5, Mich.
Kankakee, Ill., Federation of Labor..	1	1	1 Leroy Lottinville, 482 S. Fifth Ave., Kankakee, Ill.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	1 Geo. J. Harrison, 1879 Minnesota Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	1 Hugh S. O'Neill, 101 E. Armour Blvd., Kansas City 2, Mo.
Kaukauna, Wis., Central Labor Union	1	1	1 Eugene Wiedenbeck, R. R. No. 3, Kaukauna, Wis.
Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	1 Hartwick C. Dahl, 6317 23rd Ave., Kenosha, Wis.

\* George Fink substituted for John L. Held, October 10, 1946, Fourth Day.

\* Edward H. Miller substituted for C. Edwin Miller, October 7, 1946, First Day.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council .....	1	1	Herman C. Diehl, 10812 S. Park Ave., Chicago 28, Ill.
Ketchikan, Alaska, Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Louise Collier, 321-A Grant St., Ketchikan, Alaska.
Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union 1		1	Manley Hood, 311 Morgan St., Knoxville, Tenn.
La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	George W. Hall, 423 King St., La Crosse, Wis.
Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Percy G. Snow, 730 N. Milwaukee Ave., Libertyville, Ill.
Lansing, Mich., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	John Reid, 325 Center St., East Lansing, Mich.
Laramie, Wyo., Central Labor Union.. 1		1	Huston Martin, Box 920, Rock Springs, Wyo.
La Salle, Ill., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	George R. Fritz, 533 First St., LaSalle, Ill.
Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades Council .....	1	1	Linnie M. Doyal (Mrs.), 900 Ridgeroad, Park Hill, North Little Rock, Ark.
Logansport, Ind., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	James Bain, 1126 20th St., Logansport, Ind.
Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Jack Arnold, 324 E. 4th St., Long Beach, Calif.
Los Angeles County, Calif., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	W. J. Bassett, 536 Maple Ave., Los Angeles 13, Calif.
Louisville, Ky., Central Labor Union.. 1		1	Harry F. Petty, 1402 Washington Bldg., Louisville 2, Ky.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union.. 1		1	Sidney E. Le Bow, 18 Prescott St., Lowell, Mass.
Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor.. 1		1	Vidkunn Ulriksson, University Club, Madison, Wis.
Malden and Vic., Mass., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Jack Halpern, 888 Washington St., Boston 11, Mass.
Marquette, Mich., Central Labor Union 1		1	Dexter D. Clark, R. 1, Box 128, Marquette, Mich.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union.... 1		1	Clyde Foster, Box 106, Miami 1, Fla.
Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	Robert A. Tillman, 762 S. Highland St., Memphis, Tenn.
Merced, Calif., Central Labor Council 1		1	C. Al Green, care Secretary, Central Labor Council, P. O. Box 967, Merced, Calif.
Michigan City, Ind., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Michael Joseph, 403 Franklin St., Michigan City, Ind.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Middletown, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	La Verne J. Knox, 1008 Hughes St., Middletown, Ohio.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council .....	1	1	Frank H. Ranney, 518 Metropolitan Block, 1012 N. 3rd St., Room 518, Milwaukee 3, Wis.
Minneapolis and Hennepin County, Minn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	A. J. Kilday, 32 S. 6th St., Minneapolis 2, Minn.
Missoula County, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Samuel H. Rivin, 1201 S. 5th St., W., Missoula, Mont.
Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council..	1	1	C. H. Applewhite, 72½ St. Michael St., Mobile, Ala.
Modesto and Vic., Calif., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	H. C. Torreano, care Secretary, Central Labor Union, 1005 F St., Modesto, Calif.
Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	Claude Jodoin, 397 West St. Catherine St., Montreal, Que., Canada.
Muncie, Ind., Central Labor Union...	1	1	George McMahon, 400 N. Calvert St., Muncie, Ind.
Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	David Hanly, 4 Academy Place, Nashville, Tenn.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council..	1	1	John J. Vohden, Jr., 56 19th Ave., Newark, N. J.
New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	S. P. Jason, 129 Union St., New Bedford, Mass.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	Harvey Netters, 520 S. Rampart St., New Orleans, La.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity .....	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Harry S. Jordan, 1103 Main St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Oakland, Calif., Alameda County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert S. Ash, 3678 Midvale Ave., Oakland 2, Calif.
Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Jack Wood, P. O. Box 562, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Albert M. Witsling, 1316 Jefferson St., Omaha, Nebr.
Orange County, Calif., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Kathryn Arnold, 324 E. 4th St., Long Beach 2, Calif.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association .....	1	1	P. J. Tomkins, 288 Cathcart St., Ottawa, Ont., Canada.
Owensboro, Ky., Central Labor Union	1	1	James J. Johnson, 723 Bolivar St., Owensboro, Ky.
Paducah, Ky., Central Labor Union..	1	1	J. E. Lovvo, P. O. Box 646, Paducah, Ky.
Passaic County, N. J., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Sal Maso, 45 E. 21st St., Paterson, N. J.
Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor As- sembly .....	1	1	Joseph Wilke, 317 Livingston St., Peoria, Ill.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Isidor Melamed, care ILG Health Center, 22nd and Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pontiac-Oakland County, Mich., Fed- eration of Labor.....	1	1	G. Burton McLaughlin, P. O. Box 1, Pontiac, Mich.
Portland, Me., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Horace E. Howe, 55 Morning St., Port- land 5, Me.
Portland, Oreg., Central Labor Coun- cil, Portland and Vicinity.....	1	1	Gust Anderson, 101 Labor Temple, Port- land 4, Oreg.
Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Will E. Furber, 1009 Maplewood Ave., Portsmouth, N. H.
Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John J. Regan, 239 Park Square Bldg., Boston, Mass.
Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Joe Powers, 316 Boundary St., Raleigh, N. C.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Coun- cil .....	1	1	George M. Rhodes, 505 Brighton Ave., Pennside, Reading, Pa.
Richmond, Va., Central Labor Union	1	1	Emanuel D. Williams, 405½ E. Clay St., Richmond, Va.
Riverside, Calif., Central Labor Union	1	1	Alice V. Griffin, 568 4th St., San Ber- nardino, Calif.
Rockford, Ill., Federation of Labor..	1	1	William Karwelis, 2957 11th St., Rock- ford, Ill.
Rock Island and Moline, Ill., Daven- port, Iowa, Tri-City Federation of Labor .....	1	1	H. E. Druckmiller, 1706½ 2nd Ave., Rock Island, Ill.
Rock Springs, Wyo., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Virgil Wright, P. O. Box 920, Rock Springs, Wyo.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union .....	1	1	William J. Gibbons, 1283 Purcell Ave., St. Louis 14, Mo.
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor As- sembly .....	1	1	Frank J. Thill, 1587 Wellesly St., St. Paul, Minn.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Salem, Oreg., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	Myrl G. Clark, 445 Center St., Salem, Oreg.
Salinas, Calif., Monterey County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mae Stoneman, 117 Pajaro St., Salinas, Calif.
San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council...	1	1	Wm. B. Arnold, P. O. Box 1538, San Antonio 6, Tex.
San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Harry E. Griffin, 568 4th St., San Bernardino, Calif.
San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John W. Quimby, 1720 Robinson St., San Diego, Calif.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council..	1	1	Anthony Costa, 106 Valencia St., San Francisco 3, Calif.
San Mateo, Calif., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Henry Johnson, 1217 Burlingame Ave., Burlingame, Calif.
San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Richard J. Seltzer, 1347 American Ave., Long Beach, Calif.
San Rafael, Calif., Marin County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	C. T. McDonough, 918 C St., San Rafael, Calif.
Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Loleta Grande Cheney, 25 E. Ortega St., Santa Barbara, Calif.
Santa Clara County, Calif., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Le Roy Pette, 72 N. 2nd St., San Jose, Calif.
Santa Maria, Calif., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Bee Tumber, 409 Rush Ave., Santa Maria, Calif.
Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Al Mason, 137 Pier Ave., Ocean Park, Calif.
Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	W. M. Tanner, care Secretary, Trades and Labor Assembly, 814 E. 31st St., Savannah, Ga.
Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor .....	1	1	R. J. Carmichael, 2109 Eastern Parkway, Schenectady, N. Y.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Joseph L. Downes, 1911 Electric St., Dunmore, Pa.
Seattle and Vic., Wash., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Claude O'Reilly, 7912 Fremont Ave., Seattle, Wash.
Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Floyd T. Smith, 2600 George St., Sioux City 17, Iowa.
Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Ralph W. Tschetter, 1605 W. 9th St., Sioux Falls, S. Dak.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	John J. Kearney, 184 W. Canton St., Boston 16, Mass.
South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Edwin Turnock, 1221 E. Campeau St., South Bend, Ind.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Union 1	1	1	David Stalker, 219 S. Browne St., Spokane 8, Wash.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.. 1	1	1	Sam Bonansinga, P. O. Box 631, Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union 1	1	1	E. J. Barrett, 209½ W. Olive, Springfield, Mo.
Stevens Point, Wis., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	John G. Arnold, 313½ Main St., Stevens Point, Wis.
Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	William S. Quinn, 309 S. Franklin St., Syracuse, N. Y.
Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	O. B. Soucie, Room 210, I. O. O. F. Bldg., Terre Haute, Ind.
Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union... 1	1	1	Otto W. Brach, 912 Adams St., Toledo, Ohio.
Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union.. 1	1	1	Joseph G. Landgraf, 228 Churchill Ave., Trenton, N. J.
Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council..... 1	1	1	Oscar A. Vinall, 114 S. Boulder, Tulsa 3, Okla.
Urbana-Champaign, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor..... 1	1	1	Sherdie C. Jones, 403½ Stanage Ave., Champaign, Ill. *Max Snider, 106 Iowa St., Urbana, Ill.
Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Miguel Garriga, 719 Humbert Ave., Utica, N. Y.
Vancouver, Wash., Clark County, Wash., Central Labor Council..... 1	1	1	William R. Smith, 910 Washington St., Vancouver, Wash.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Frank J. Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Washington, Ind., Central Labor Union 1	1	1	Walter Reed, 908 W. Main St., Washington, Ind.
Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly..... 1	1	1	Rolly C. Barr, 7 Whitbar St., Wheeling, W. Va.
Wichita, Kans., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	A. J. Porth, 122½ N. St. Francis, Wichita 2, Kans.

\* Max Snider substituted for Sherdie C. Jones, October 15, 1946, Seventh Day.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Windsor, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. T. Breese, 355 Curry Ave., Windsor, Ont., Canada.
Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	J. M. Tate, 1022 Albert St., Winston-Salem, N. C.
Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	John Krohn, 441 13th Ave., N., Wisconsin Rapids, Wis.
Wood River, Ill., Central Labor Union 1	1	1	Percy F. Lauck, 416 Jefferson Ave., Alton, Ill.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union 1	1	1	Cecelia Nicholson, 28 Preston St., Worcester 3, Mass.
York, Pa., Federation of Trades Unions 1	1	1	Alvin W. Eshleman, 124 S. Pershing Ave., York, Pa.
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo. ....	1	1	Maury E. Rubin, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 6, Mo.
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mobile, Ala. ....	1	1	Stanton O. Dann, 2004 Emogene St., Mobile, Ala.
Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union No. 19388, Louisville, Ky....	1	23	Philip Farrell, 1310 Washington Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Aluminum Workers' Union No. 23120, Lafayette, Ind. ....	1	18	Clarence Cope, 222 Russell St., West Lafayette, Ind.
Blast Furnace and Coke Oven Workers' Union No. 20572, Toledo, Ohio 1	1	5	William F. Sturm, 230 Melrose Ave., Toledo, Ohio.
Brushmakers' Union No. 16303, New York, N. Y. ....	1	5	Anthony Varrone, 1349 85th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Button Workers' Union No. 20538, Auburn, N. Y. ....	1	5	Anna Tuleya, 27 Canoga St., Auburn, N. Y.
Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	15	Catharine Connelly, N. E. corner 13th and Spring Garden Sts., Philadelphia 23, Pa.
Chemical Workers' Union No. 23516, Niagara Falls, N. Y. ....	1	1	C. W. Bussard, 1103 Main St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Corn Products Workers' Union No. 19931, Keokuk, Iowa.....	1	3	C. D. Weiny, 1329 Cedar St., Keokuk, Iowa.
Editorial Association No. 23773, Dayton, Ohio .....	1	1	C. F. Hackman, 311-A Sunnycrest, Dayton, Ohio.
Enamel Workers' Union No. 22614, Moundsville, W. Va. ....	1	4	Chas. Mills, 10 Ash Ave., Moundsville, W. Va.



# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 12985, Butte, Mont. ....	1	1	Jno. H. Driscoll, 522 W. Granite St., Butte, Mont.
Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis. ....	1	16	Ira Ohmsted, 1700 T2nd St., Kenosha, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 18558, La Crosse, Wis. ....	1	6	Earl Mahnke, 1820 Green Bay St., La Crosse, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 18619, Cedar Rapids, Iowa ....	1	4	Ray F. Arends, 1208 Ellis Blvd., N. W., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Federal Labor Union No. 18852, Kansas City, Kans. ....	1	16	J. A. Leveridge, 1109 Central St., Kansas City, Mo.
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	21	Alex I. Dever, 6958 Clinton Road, Upper Darby, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill. ....	1	5	Thomas J. Shanklin, 3028 College Ave., East St. Louis, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 19140, Toledo, Ohio ....	1	4	Clyde Valentine, 533 Geneva St., Toledo, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 19147, Cedar Rapids, Iowa ....	1	1	R. E. Lacy, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Federal Labor Union No. 19152, Minneapolis, Minn. ....	1	23	Raleigh H. Meyer, 501 E. Hennepin Ave., Room 4, Minneapolis, Minn.
Federal Labor Union No. 19168.....	1	1	W. D. Vollmers, 720 W. Third St., Hastings, Minn.
Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Wash. ....	1	4	Sam P. Ming, 7033 Tulane Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Federal Labor Union No. 19199, Superior, Wis. ....	1	2	George A. Zipoy, 501 E. Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis 14, Minn.
Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich. ....	1	8	Fred Kundrata, 589 W. Webster Ave., Muskegon, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	1	43	Wilbur Le Clair, 6641 N. 54th St., Milwaukee 9, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 19897, Jersey City and Vicinity, N. J. ....	1	1	George J. Kane, 777 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 20388, Battle Creek, Mich. ....	1	21	Edward H. Pilsworth, 10 Grand Ave., Battle Creek, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 20839, Connersville, Ind. ....	1	7	Nelson E. Best, 430½ Central Ave., Connersville, Ind.
Federal Labor Union No. 20878, Clinton, Iowa ....	1	9	Earl Haack, 2320 Camanche Ave., Clinton, Iowa.

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 22122, Euclid, Ohio .....	1		1 George Bauck, Jr., R. F. D. No. 1, Trail- ard Drive, Willoughby, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 22454, New Orleans, La. ....	1		1 Claude P. Babin, 4421 Iberville St., New Orleans, La.
Federal Labor Union No. 22542, St. Louis, Mo. ....	1		1 John Hoffman, 4716 Hamilton, Pine Lawn Co., St. Louis, Mo.
Federal Labor Union No. 22631 (46 votes); Metal Workers' Union Fab- ricated No. 19340 (3 votes); Steel Workers' Cooperative Union No. 18499 (5 votes); Milwaukee, Wis....	1	54	John E. Cudahy, 2112 W. National Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 23010, Lud- ington, Mich. ....	1	3	Emil W. Stahl, 803 S. Madison St., Lud- ington, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 23185, Fall River, Mass. ....	1	3	Louis F. Rutkowski, 115 5th St., Fall River, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 23529, Sioux City, Iowa .....	1	4	Charles Balkema, 1119 27th St., Sioux City, Iowa.
Federal Labor Union No. 23805, Terre Haute, Ind. ....	1	1	Mac Gardner, 910 6th Ave., Terre Haute, Ind.
Federal Labor Union No. 23823, Newark, Ohio .....	1	3	Albert Tyhurst, 149 S. Second St., New- ark, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 23826, Dol- lar Bay, Mich.....	1	1	George Hiltunen, Dollar Bay, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 23843, Min- neapolis and St. Paul, Minn.....	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn.
Federal Labor Union No. 23968, Los Angeles, Calif. ....	1	2	Harry M. Shiffman, 6636 Hollywood Blvd., Room 216, Los Angeles 28, Calif.
Federal Labor Union No. 23983, Syra- cuse, N. Y. ....	1	4	James Oliver, 441 S. Salina St., Syra- cuse 2, N. Y.
Flour, Cereal, Feed, Mill and Grain Elevator Workers' Union No. 21008, St. Joseph, Mo.....	1	2	Jack Guinn, 2427 Seneca St., St. Joseph, Mo.
Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers' Union No. 19184, Buffalo, N. Y. ....	1	21	Peter Rybka, 506 White Bldg., Buffalo 2, N. Y.
Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers' Union No. 22453, Greenville, Tex....	1	1	Roy O. Wellborn, 1508 S. W. 25th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers' Union No. 22884, Decatur, Ill. ....	1	2	Waldron S. Cusick, 315 Longview Place, Decatur, Ill.
Flour Mill Workers No. 21021, Buf- falo, N. Y. ....	1	9	Stanley J. Bauer, 874 Fillmore Ave., Buffalo 12, N. Y.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegates	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Flour Mill Workers' Union No. 21896, Detroit, Mich. ....	1		1 Frank J. Ion, 13000-900 Seymour St., Detroit, Mich.
Flour Mill Workers' Union, United, No. 21910, Chicago, Ill. ....	1		1 Frank Tredore, 3835 N. Sawyer Ave., Chicago 18, Ill.
Fur Workers' Union No. 21479 (1 vote); Fur Workers' Union No. 21480 (1 vote); Fur Workers' Un- ion No. 21481 (1 vote); Toronto, Ontario, Canada .....	1		3 Max Federman, 169 Robert St., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Gardeners and Florists' Union No. 16615, Chicago, Ill. ....	1		1 William J. O'Brien, 7123 Bennett Ave., Chicago 49, Ill.
Grain Processors' Union No. 23111, Winona, Minn. ....	1		1 Al R. Lejk, 261 E. Sanborn St., Winona, Minn.
Grain Processors' Union No. 23760, Oskaloosa, Iowa .....	1		1 Richard E. Mercer, 646 N. C St., Oskaloosa, Iowa.
Grain Processors' Union, American Federation of, No. 23856, Wabasha, Minn. ....	1		1 James Mastro, Wabasha, Minn.
Insurance Agents, American Federa- tion of Industrial and Ordinary, No. 20817, Chicago, Ill. ....	1		1 Peter J. Bockstahler, 6949 S. Carpenter St., Chicago 21, Ill.
Insurance Agents, Industrial and Ord- inary, Local No. 23351, Chicago, Ill.	1		2 George E. Gillen, 3146 W. Lyndale St., Chicago 47, Ill.
Labor and Community Newspaper Workers' Union No. 21877, Chicago, Ill. ....	1		1 Anton Johannsen, 148 E. Huron St., Chicago, Ill.
Match Workers' Union, United, No. 18566, Wadsworth, Ohio. ....	1		7 Raymond Barnett, 68 Fairview Ave., Wadsworth, Ohio.
Metal Workers, Fabricated, No. 23935, Morris, Ill. ....	1		1 Garland B. Hextell, 537 Tremont Ave., Morris, Ill.
Mill and Elevator Employes' Union No. 20694, Wichita Falls, Tex. ....	1		1 H. A. Schneider, 501 E. Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis 14, Minn.
Newspaper Commercial Associates' Union No. 21662, Chicago and Vic., Ill. ....	1		3 Irving J. Braveman, Room 554, 20 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17886, Chicago, Ill. ....	1		1 Morris Seskind, 1256 S. Kedzie Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Newspaper Writers and Reporters, No. 22279, American Federation of, San Francisco, Calif. ....	1		1 Charles Omstead, 2111 Webster St., Oak- land, Calif.
Newswriters' Union No. 21892, Salis- bury, N. C. ....	1		1 E. A. Tarver, P. O. Box 2513, Charlotte, N. C.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION

ORGANIZATION	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Reporters and Photographers' Union No. 23609, East St. Louis, Ill.....	1		1 Charles O. Stewart, care Daily Journal, 425 Missouri Ave., East St. Louis, Ill.
Saw, File and Steel Products Workers of America, United, No. 22254, Phila- delphia, Pa. ....	1	25	Otto Vollmer, 7169 Gillespie St., Phila- delphia 35, Pa.
Seltzer Water Workers' Union No. 23181, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	M. Wolpert, 175 E. Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Shorthand Reporters, Illinois Federa- tion of, No. 20145, Chicago, Ill....	1	1	Abe Levin, 715 Irving Park Road, Chi- cago, Ill.
Supervisory Employes' Union No. 23833, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	2	Ervin W. Zumach, 2936 W. Oriole Drive, Milwaukee, Wis.
Telegraph Employes' Federal Labor Union, Southern Division, No. 22671, Nashville, Tenn. ....	1	49	Hal R. Swann, P. O. Box 841, Atlanta, Ga.
Telegraph Workers' Federal Labor Un- ion, Gulf Division, No. 22679, Dal- las, Tex. ....	1	42	W. Lee Cooney, 1915½ Main St., Dallas 1, Tex.
Textile Examiners & Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.
Theatrical Agents and Managers' Un- ion, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.....	1	6	Milton Weintraub, 25 W. 45th St., New York 19, N. Y.
Waste Material Handlers' Union No. 20467, Chicago, Ill.....	1	5	Paul J. Dorfman, 3157 W. Roosevelt Road, Chicago 12, Ill.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	Tom O'Brien, M. P., 71 South End Road, Hamstead, London, N. W. 3, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	1	1	Sam Watson, 5, Westminster Bridge Road, top floor, London, S. E. 1, Eng- land.
National Women's Trade Union League of America .....	1	1	Percy R. Bengough, 172 McLaren St., Ottawa, Ont., Canada.
Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary	1	—	Agnes Nestor, 630 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		—	Mary Cramer, 306 N. Sixth St., Hannibal, Mo.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
94	National and International Unions .....	362	65,029
3	Departments .....	3	3
40	State Bodies .....	40	40
163	Central Labor Unions .....	163	163
80	Local Trades and Federal Labor Unions .....	76	552
4	Fraternal Organizations .....	5	3
384		649	65,790

# LIST OF DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan. 1913 George W. Perkins.	*1915 *1917
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1913 { Charles L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1931 { Joseph P. Ryan. Joseph V. Moreschi.
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	*1914 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1932 { Joseph A. Franklin. E. E. Milliman.
1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	†1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1933 { Thomas E. Burke. Christian M. Madsen.
1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1934 { Michael J. Collieran. Edward Flore.
1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	1917 { John Golden. James Lord.	1935 { Henry P. Schmal. Dennis Lane.
1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	1936 { William J. McSorley. Edward Canavan.
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1919 { Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.	1937 { William C. Birthright. John B. Haggerty.
1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1920 { Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	1938 { P. J. Morrin. Daniel J. Tobin.
1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester.	1939 { Felix H. Knight. James Maloney.
1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.	**1940
1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek.	**1941
1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1924 { Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Gainor.	1942 { Daniel J. Tobin. Isidore Nagler.
1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1925 { A. Adamski. Edw. J. Evans.	1943 { Harold D. Ulrich. Hugo Ernst.
1908 { Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1926 { †Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson.	1944 { Holt Ross. W. C. Doherty.
1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1927 { John Coefield. Michael Casey.	1945 { George Meany Ed J. Brown
1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1928 { Michael F. Greene. William B. Fitzgerald.	1946 { Thos. Kennedy.
1911 { Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1929 { William J. Rooney. William P. Clarke.	
1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1930 { John J. Manning. Thomas E. Maloy.	

## From British Trades Union Congress

1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smilie.	1930 { A. A. Findlay. A. Shaw.
1895 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard.
1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	**1914	1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Duke.
1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1915 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall.
1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.	1916 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.	1934 { A. G. Walkden. John Stokes.
1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1917 { John Hill. Arthur Hayday.	1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Naesmith.
1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran.	1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1936 { William Kean. George Gibson.
1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.	1919 { S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1937 { William R. Townley. John C. Little.
1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	1920 { J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.	1938 { Joseph Jones. J. W. Stephenson.
1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.	1921 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker.	1939 { Herbert Henry Elvin. John Brown.
1904 { William Abraham. James Gignall.	1922 { E. L. Poulton. H. Smith.	1940 { Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Citrine.
1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1923 { R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson.	1941 { George W. Thomson. Edward Hough.
1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1924 { C. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales.	1942 { Jack Tanner. Arthur Bryn Roberts.
1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Lodge.	1925 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell.	1943 { Harry N. Harrison. W. Bevliss.
1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1926 { J. Bromley. G. Hicks.	1944 { John Brown. Arthur Horner.
1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1927 { Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood.	*1945

1910 { W. Brace. Ben Turner.	1928 { John Marchbank. E. Edwards.	1946 { Tom O'Brien. Sam Watson.
1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.	1929 { J. T. Brownlie. J. Bell.	

## To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1932 Frank B. Powers.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1933 James C. Quinn.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1935 James Maloney.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1936 M. J. Gillooly.
1903 John Coleman.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1937 R. A. Henning.
1904 John H. Richards.	1921 John O'Hara.	1938 Joseph J. Kehoe.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	1939 E. L. Wheatley.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	1940 Claude O'Reilly.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1924 Walter W. Britton.	1941 Harry Stevenson.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1925 James Duncan.	1942 Thomas J. Lyons.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1926 James B. Connors.	1943 Arnold S. Zander.
1910 John J. Manning.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.	1944 Anthony Valente.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.	*1945
1912 John T. Smith.	1929 John D. Haggerty.	1946 Matthew Woll.
1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1930 Adolph Kummer.	
1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1931 Charles J. Case.	

## From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1899 David A. Carey.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1933 Fred J. White.
1900 David A. Carey.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1934 William Dunn.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M. C.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1936 George R. Brunet.
1903 James Simpson.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1937 Rod Plant.
1904 John A. Flett.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1938 W. G. Russell.
1905 William V. Todd.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1939 D. W. Kennedy.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	1940 E. A. Jamieson.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1924 John Colbert.	1941 H. C. Simpson.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1925 Donald Dear.	1942 Donovan Swailes.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1926 Richard Lynch.	1943 Joseph Matte.
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.	1944 A. R. Johnstone.
1911 Wm. Glockling.	1928 Wm. Varley.	*1945
1912 John W. Bruce.	1929 James A. Whitebone.	1946 Percy Bengough.
1913 Gus Franco.	1930 William E. Stephenson.	
1914 R. A. Rigg.	1931 Collin McDonald.	

## From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

## From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Guiterrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
	1941 { Luis N. Morones. Roberto Haberman.	

\* No convention.

\*\* No delegates.

† Did not attend.

# Conventions

## OF THE

### American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21
1909	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	November 8-20
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23
1920	Montreal, Quebec, Canada	June 7-19
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28
1929	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 7-18
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17
1931	Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada	October 5-15
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nov. 21-Dec. 2
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19
1936	Tampa, Fla.	November 16-27
1937	Denver, Colo.	October 4-15
1938	Houston, Tex.	October 3-13
1939	Cincinnati, Ohio	October 2-13
1940	New Orleans, La.	November 18-29
1941	Seattle, Wash.	October 6-16
1942	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 5-14
1943	Boston, Mass.	October 4-14
1944	New Orleans, La.	November 20-30
1945	Convention canceled because of wartime conditions	
1946	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-17

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

#### 1946

#### PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behoves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

#### CONSTITUTION

##### ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

##### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

##### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2 A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention, together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered, has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of 15 members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organization; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least 10 days previous to the holding of the annual convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the



American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding 12 months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.—All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

<sup>2</sup> All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

<sup>3</sup> Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

<sup>4</sup> Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

<sup>5</sup> All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced, and committees to which they are to be referred, and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

<sup>6</sup> The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention, to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates; and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pre-

pare for the use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, 13 Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December succeeding the convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be

required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$20,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

SEC. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President, with the approval of the Executive Council, shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the Constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served them the emergency action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President, who shall, within 15 days, render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

ation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$18,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or

disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee, and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The salaries of organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council, in addition to which they shall receive railroad fare and hotel expenses when traveling away from the city in which they reside. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the Constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

A National or International Union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution, except in cases where two (2) or more National or International Unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and, if found guilty by it, said organization or organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself, but without the right to vote.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws, as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions, and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two (2) cents per member per month up to 200,000 members, and one and one-half (1½) cents per member per month for members in excess of 200,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-six (36) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on

or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with

any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the unions involved, the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of Local Unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

#### ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of 1 cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding 10 weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within 60 days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor



and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council, the moneys of the Defense Fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the Defense Fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within 24 hours, call a meeting of said union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the Defense Fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said Defense Fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits

unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the Defense Fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of 10 cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) in the Defense Fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the Defense Fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than 5 cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall not be less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar (\$1.00), together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the financial secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These

stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade of Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies, affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership, and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five dollars (\$5.00), payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

#### ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this, in no instance, shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which

time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The executive council of each department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organiza-

tions having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall, on roll call, be entitled to two votes. A roll call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.



## FOLLOWING ARE RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION DULY MADE, SECONDED AND PASSED, THE FOLLOWING RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 8, OF ARTICLE 9, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5-20, 1936, AND AMENDED BY CONVENTION ACTION, NEW ORLEANS, LA., NOVEMBER 26, 1940.

1. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adopt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council. In the event the Executive Council finds a State Federation of Labor guilty after hearing of charges filed, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without condition to be fulfilled by said State Federation of Labor; (b) suspend said State Federation from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said State Federation for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said State Federation of Labor have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor shall be severed, revoke its charter subject to appeal to the next succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any Central Labor Union or any Federal or

Local Labor Union and where the President of the American Federation of Labor, in pursuance of this authority, has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

3. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and of Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor.

Approved by 1936 convention, held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497 official proceedings.) THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 14, 1937:

### EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED.

"Whenever a directly chartered Trade or Federal Labor Union or State or City Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor secedes, or its charter is suspended or revoked, and demand is made upon such organization or its officers to deliver to the President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved, and on recovery thereof the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."



# Sixty-fifth Convention .

## of the

# American Federation of Labor

## 1946

# Proceedings

Chicago, Ill., October 7, 1946

## Report of

### FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Pursuant to law the Sixty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the Mural Room of the Morrison Hotel at 10 o'clock, Mr. Joseph Keenan, Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, presiding as Temporary Chairman.

While the delegates and guests were assembling an orchestra under the direction of William Fantozzi entertained with a musical program.

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** I have the pleasure at this time of introducing a member of the Theatrical Stage Employees' Alliance, Mr. John Pane-Gesser, Chicago's most outstanding tenor. He opened the Chicago World's Fair, and he will now sing the "Star Spangled Banner" and "Oh, Canada."

The delegates and visitors remained standing while Mr. Pane-Gesser sang the National Anthems of the United States and Canada.

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** It is an honor for me at this time to present to this convention a

great churchman, interested in everything in which every member here is interested. He is also deeply interested in labor-management throughout the United States, and many of the trade unionists of Chicago have had the pleasure of working with him and discussing many problems here in the city and also in the nation.

It is my honor at this time to present to you His Eminence, Samuel Cardinal Stritch, who will pronounce the invocation.

### INVOCATION

(His Eminence, Samuel Cardinal Stritch)

Almighty and Eternal God, Giver of all good gifts, look down with favor upon these leaders of labor, gathered here together to better understand the putting into practice of the principles of justice and charity in our economic

life; better to realize the fullness of the benefits of our democratic institutions; better to bring out the realization of the fact that we are, in our democracy, an organic society in which all contribute together to the welfare of the home; better to defend the weak and the helpless in their efforts to secure for themselves and their families the means of subsistence, the means which will enable them to contribute more richly to our democracy.

Almighty and Eternal God, grant these things; give these leaders light during the days of this convention; give them strength and give them courage; help them to defend always the ranks of laborers against the saboteurs and against the selfish and the greedy, and make them to bring this great body of labor in our democracy to the full fruition of its opportunities and of its possibilities.

We ask these things, Almighty God, in the prayer which Thou hast taught us:

Our Father, Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy Name; Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day, our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil—Amen.

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** Thank you, Cardinal Stritch.

I have been highly honored today in being selected as Temporary Chairman for the opening of this great convention. It is fifty-three years ago since the American Federation of Labor held its convention here in the City of Chicago. That was in the year of 1893, the year of the Chicago World's Fair. There are very few men in this hall, possibly, who attended that convention. There are many men who came along shortly after that, but I know you men whose lives date back to the turn of the century can well remember the conditions that existed at that time.

As an apprentice in my own trade I can well remember the lunch periods in which the older men, the journeymen talked about their experiences in organizing the unions that they represented. I can remember them telling of their fights with employers. I can remember them telling about the men who were put on the blacklists that extended all over the United States, how they picked up their families in New York after they were discovered and moved out to the West Coast, sometimes changing their names in the hope that they would not be found out. But somehow, some way, they were always found out, and it was then necessary for them to carry on their gypsy life and move to some other location, where they could go on for a short period of time and probably support their families.

In those days there was no National Labor Relations Act. Everything had to be done, as we call it, the hard way. The law, in most cases, insofar as the police and other agencies of government were concerned, was against us.

But those men were courageous men and they carried on in spite of all obstacles and today in this city, in this hotel, we see the fruits of their efforts. It must have been hopeless in many cases, but they had the courage, they had the will. If they did not have the courage or the will this organization, the American Federation of Labor, would not be as great as it is today, it would not have carried on and brought the people of this country out of starvation and degradation and led them to become a part of society, in most cases living in the way that we as Americans want to live.

I just wanted to make these few opening remarks because I know that this convention at this time is occurring at one of the most critical periods in the history of our country—yes, in the history of the world, and out of this convention there must come something that will direct and give hope to the people in the other parts of the world who feel that they can depend upon America to carry them through these trying times. One of the greatest forces in all the world is this great American Federation of Labor, to accomplish these things.

I just want to thank you for allowing me to make these opening remarks, and I now want to go on with the program.

### Tribute To John Fitzpatrick

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** It was our plan today to have with us one of the outstanding persons in the City of Chicago. He was President of the Chicago Federation of Labor for almost 50 years. He was a byword in the city, and anyone who had him for a friend had one of the greatest friends anyone could know. I made this statement last Sunday and I still make it: His friendship was as dear and as priceless as the love of a mother for a child.

The Lord saw fit to take him from us a week ago today, and I am going to impose upon this convention at this time to rise for just a moment in respect to that grand old man of Chicago, John Fitzpatrick.

(In response to the request of the Chairman the delegates and visitors arose and stood in silent tribute for a moment.)

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** It now gives me a great deal of pleasure to introduce to you a young man who just yesterday was elected to carry on in the place of the great old man of labor. He is a member of the Teamsters' organization and is President of the Bakery Drivers' Union here in Chicago. His relationship with all types of business that he has been in contact with and with his employers gives you his background and gives you his qualifications.

At this time I am going to call on Bill Lee, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, who will bid you welcome.

**MR. WILLIAM LEE**  
(President, Chicago Federation of Labor)

Delegates, Mayor Kelly, President Green, Mr. Chairman, honored guests, delegates and friends: As the previous speaker has just said, it is over 50 years since the American Federation of Labor has honored us by holding its convention here in the City of Chicago, the city wherein labor plays a very important part, where labor is recognized as a predominating factor in industry and the economic and political life.

We of the American Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the affiliates here in the City of Chicago welcome you here. We hope that you will have a most enjoyable stay. We hope that when you leave here you will go away with the kindest thoughts and memories of this very fine city.

I am not here to advise you today. I am merely here to welcome you. I know that the delegates were selected because of their qualifications and I know that you are all qualified and capable of handling the affairs of labor. That is your responsibility. We leave that to you. Ours is to entertain you and make your stay just as pleasant as we possibly can. We hope that you will take advantage of the program that has been arranged for you. We hope that you will get around and see our fine city, our parks, our schools, our churches, and many places of amusement. These are the things that we have in the offing for you.

Again I say I hope you will take advantage of it, and if at any time throughout your stay we can assist you in any way whatsoever do not hesitate.

So, now as a representative of the Chicago Federation of Labor, I extend to you a most hearty welcome. Thank you.

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** Thank you, Bill.

Like all great cities in the United States, in order to make them great we must have good administration. We, in the City of Chicago, are blessed with a Mayor whom I believe every labor executive or officer knows personally, a man who is fairly familiar and who has made a study of the objectives of labor in this great city. He is also very much interested in the welfare of the citizenry of Chicago. That is his first duty and the duty that he takes a personal interest in.

I am happy at this time to introduce to you the Mayor of the City of Chicago, Edward F. Kelly.

**EDWARD F. KELLY**  
(Mayor of the City of Chicago, Ill.)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Your Excellency Governor Green and you other distinguished men who have come from far and wide in order that you may be counted as unselfish men working in the interest of mankind: It is not my purpose to enter into any lengthy speech or talk this morning, because I

have not the facilities nor the ability to enlighten you in any way as far as the economics of the country or labor conditions are concerned. But I think the entire nation is watching this convention.

Of course, Chicago is gratified to know that you came here for this momentous occasion. I think this is one of the most important meetings that could be held or is held in the entire nation, or practically in the entire world. You have the power, you have the influence, and you have the confidence of the people, the mine run of people, and anything you do here will be set down in a sort of catechism which will be followed by a great majority of the people of this country. So that in my opinion, you have more than the ordinary convention to think of. You have to think of the entire world.

We in Chicago have had very fine contact with this organization. The reason for that is that we have had intelligent leadership, and intelligent leadership to a great extent on the industrial side. So that, comparatively speaking, we have had very few strikes and we have sat across the table and worked out many of those things that looked like they would be strikes, except for the streamlining of the officials of labor in this Chicago area.

We are also indebted for the great work that was done during the war by the American Federation of Labor. They have never hesitated, they did every thing that they were asked to do, they did much toward maintaining the servicemen's centers with their money and other contributions.

So, we are proud of this great representative of the great labor brigade. We are gratified to see how streamlined you are. Many people talk of progress in every direction, but fail to talk about the real progress that has been made by the intelligent leadership of this great Union.

I am very proud to be here today. I feel honored because you invited me to open this convention as the Mayor of Chicago. I know Chicago feels the same way. We have world peace to think about. We have a chaotic world, chaotic times. It is going to take good, sound thinking to go out of this convention with advice not only to this city but to the entire world with things that the people will follow and think are worthy of deep consideration.

Your objective is American. You are Americans. Of course, if everything you stand for was followed there would never be any war. You are an organization for the purpose of not helping just one man but helping all men and women. Your thought is to bring the world out of chaos. Your thought is to have every man feel that he is a part and "belongs," as a good two-fisted citizen, of the United States. You are independent in thought, you are independent in action and I have found that the one thing that you had in mind was decency and the right to raise your people, your daughters and sons, as they should be raised in great communities such as this. I am proud of the fact that this organization is still in very good hands not only here but throughout the whole United States, and that is not to go back as some other organizations might go back. We are proud of you. We are happy that you are here, and, as my friend, Bill Lee said, anything you want goes. He has the privilege of saying that because he is recognized here as a fine, decent man in labor,

a man who has the respect of this entire community, and I was delighted to know that labor recognized him on last Sunday.

So, gentlemen, please feel that Chicago is yours, that you are in a cosmopolitan city. We have 30 races and 60 different dialects in this city, and we have all learned to rub shoulders with one another. It is a 100 per cent patriotic city, as is your organization. So you belong in this great city, because you are the type of people that make up this great city.

I want to thank you for coming here, and I hope that you will come back.

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** Thank you, Mr. Mayor. I know that you mean every word of it.

I now have the pleasure of presenting at this time a man who has been Chairman or President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor for a number of years. He is one of the outstanding labor men in the community and we in Illinois love him and respect his judgment.

He and his partner, Vic Olander, are responsible for the legislation that is presented by our State Organizations to the Legislature. I feel that the State of Illinois at this time is the equal in labor legislation of any State in the Union, and it is mostly due to the efforts of these two great men, Reuben Soderstrom and Vic Olander.

It is now my pleasure to introduce to you Reuben Soderstrom, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

### **MR. REUBEN SODERSTROM (President, Illinois State Federation of Labor)**

Mr. Chairman, Governor Green, distinguished guests on the platform, my fellow delegates to this great convention: I feel happy and proud to be selected by the Illinois State Federation of Labor to extend a most cordial welcome to the A. F. of L. delegates who have assembled here this morning. In extending that welcome I want to talk to you just briefly about this great State of Illinois and the working people who inhabit it.

The State of Illinois is a well-balanced State. We have all kinds of industry within the State, mills and mines and transportation—plenty of farmland. So in that respect our economy is well-balanced. About 10 per cent of all of the manufactured products in our country is produced here in the State of Illinois, and 10 per cent of the trade unionists of America live and work within the boundaries of this great State, and most of these trade union people belong to the A. F. of L. Unions. So, the State of Illinois is rather definitely an A. F. of L. State.

All of these people join with me in extending a most cordial and hearty welcome to the delegates assembled here. We are also anxious to have the officers of the American Federation of Labor feel at home while deliberating here in the City of Chicago.

Like all labor leaders, they have come up from the ranks. The career of President Wil-

liam Green, who is seated here on the platform, well illustrates the point that I have in mind. He began his union activities in the State of Ohio as a coal miner. He started his career of labor leadership as the President of his Local Union. He served on pit committees in the mines. He was a delegate to his Central Body. He became an officer of the International Union, the United Mine Workers of America, and later on was selected as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

When Samuel Gompers passed on in 1924 he became the unanimous choice of the American Federation of Labor for the office of President. He has been re-elected to that position at every convention held by the American Federation of Labor since that time without opposition. He is our most eminent labor statesman. He is our greatest leader. He holds the highest union position in America, which means that he is the most important trade unionist in all this world.

The career of Brother George Meany, our distinguished and trustworthy Secretary-Treasurer, can be traced in almost identical fashion. And the same is true of all of the officers who constitute the Executive Council. They have climbed from the bottom to the highest pinnacle of success and service within the labor movement, and I want to congratulate them and compliment them on the fine, satisfactory service they are rendering to the wage earners of America.

Now, friends, there are many people in Illinois and particularly in the City of Chicago, and they join me in extending the warmest kind of a welcome to the delegates and officers of this great convention. During the next two weeks the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor will be at the beck and call of the delegates to this convention. We are going to hold ourselves available to look out for the needs of the delegates with respect to their convenience and their comfort and their entertainment, so that when these deliberations are over two weeks hence it can be truthfully said that this great gathering, held in the City of Chicago in 1946 was the greatest convention ever held by the American Federation of Labor. Now, there is a good deal of hospitality, as the Mayor has stated, in the City of Chicago and the working people of this State want the delegates to enjoy it and to share in it. Over and above everything else, we in Illinois want the delegates to know and to feel that they are welcome.

So, in closing, in behalf of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, I bid you a most hearty welcome to the City of Chicago.

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** Thank you, President Soderstrom.

(At this time the official convention picture was taken.)

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** I stated previously that in order to have a great city or a great State much depends upon the administration of the executive officers of the city or of the State. I also want to point out to you that in the accomplishing of the work that is necessary for our organization in this State we also need the assistance and the help of this man I am

going to call upon. During his term of office as Governor our Federation has always looked upon him as a friend, and he has always helped us in passing the legislation that was necessary to take care of the people who needed care under the laws that we enacted.

At this time it is an extreme pleasure for me to present to you the Governor of Illinois, Dwight Green.

### HONORABLE DWIGHT H. GREEN (Governor of State of Illinois)

It is indeed an honor to welcome to Illinois, and to its great metropolis of Chicago, this annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. I most sincerely hope that you will enjoy our Midwestern hospitality, and that Illinois may provide a setting for a convention which shall not only well serve the cause of labor, but which shall provide sound leadership and inspiration for our nation in the very troubled times in which you meet.

To participate in this small way in your meeting is to me invigorating and refreshing. The American Federation of Labor is a typically American institution. The broad vision of its founders, the steady march of progress which it has made through generations, its constant battle to achieve greater freedom and prosperity for its expanding membership under our free American economy, and through the legal processes of our representative government, are a convincing demonstration that the American way is the best way, and that the American way works.

I do not minimize the strife and the struggle which has punctuated the advance of American labor, from the days of the 12-hour day, and the subsistence wage, to your position of prosperity and power of today. Along that line of march, you have met the resistance of many strong and sincere men, many of whom have lived to learn that you were right. Yet no honest man could doubt that your zeal for your own cause has been guided by a real patriotic devotion to our country. Certainly that has been proved by the record of your contribution to the victory of America in the recent global war. In the national effort which achieved that victory, labor was a willing partner—and a full partner—with the American farmer, American business man, and the American fighting man. It seems to me that the problem we face today, after a most disappointing year of so-called peace, is to restore that partnership and get it functioning on the big job which is ahead of us.

The year that has passed so swiftly since the guns ceased firing, has brought us, not the realization of the hopes that were in our eager hearts on V-J Day, but a growing confusion. First and foremost of those hopes was our prayer for the speedy return of our sons in the armed forces, and the establishment of an enduring peace in the world. Many of our boys have come home, but others are being drafted into service, many of them to go overseas. And despite millions of words in an unending succession of peace meetings and international organizations, the world is a tinder-box, and real peace daily seems to grow more remote.

At home, the situation is no better. A year ago the working man was thinking of his own problems in the terms of maintaining his take-home pay, and resisting the increased cost of food and clothing and housing. Today, his first thought is not how much is in his pay envelope, but where, at any price, he can buy the meat for an American meal, clothing for himself and his family, and where he can obtain a decent place to live.

We must candidly face the fact that all of us—in government, in business, and in labor—have been getting nowhere fast. Why? I think it is because we have been trying to ride two horses at the same time. We have been trying to operate under the American system of a free economy, based on the profit motive and the law of supply and demand. At the same time, we have superimposed upon that system the controls of a well-intentioned paternalism, which promised "stabilization" of production, and now threatens us with the "stabilization" of a full stop. With the war ended, there has been no incentive for any man to sell his corn, his cattle, his lumber, or his labor, or to risk his capital, except the profit incentive. The inevitable result has been strikes—strikes by labor—strikes by farmers—strikes by producers everywhere. The result is no houses, no meat, and—both literally and in the sense in which the term is fully understood by all Americans—no soap.

Controls breed controls and regimentation breeds regimentation—not only because bureaucratic power and jobs increase with more bureaucratic rules to enforce—but because every interference with any phase of our economic system requires interference somewhere else to restore the economic balance which has been disturbed. Thus, we have seen that price controls inevitably bring wage controls. Also, we have learned that governmental control and fixing of wages destroys free collective bargaining and makes any strike become a strike against the government, with all the complications that term implies.

It is clear that America must soon choose between a speedy return to our own free economy, or a permanent system of governmental regulation and regimentation of all production. The imperialistic and socialist governments which control the other great nations of the world are frankly committed to the control of the production of all basic necessities by national laws and international agreements. It is going to take aggressive and forthright action to preserve the fundamental freedoms of American life.

On the record of the history of the American Federation of Labor, and on the whole record which is before your Federation today, I am confident that you will not be persuaded by any false promises of security, to trade your American heritage of freedom for any mess of collectivist pottage. Certainly the trade unions of Europe lost both their security and their freedom when they listened to the promises of the dictators. Even the workers of Britain have learned that the planned economy of a Labor government, with its mantle of cradle-to-the-grave protection, does not achieve the basic needs or the simple aspirations of free men. By the same token, any American industrialists who are hoping to crush labor through governmental restrictions may be reminded of the fate



of the industrialists of Italy and Germany, who sought protection from labor at the hands of Mussolini and Hitler. They paid for that protection with their very lives.

I am convinced that the welfare of the American working man, and the production of the goods which are so vitally needed for our national postwar prosperity, can best be served through the operation of free collective bargaining. As I said at the recent convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, I know of no labor controversy in this State which was not speedily settled when Labor and Capital were free to bargain without the interference of federally imposed formulas or regulations. I believe that only a return to real economic freedom can achieve the fundamental co-operation of American labor, American agriculture and American industry, which is so essential to our living together in comfort and tolerance.

Your convention will deal with many specific problems vital to the millions of American homes represented by your delegates. May you serve them well, and may you also help to preserve the basic freedoms which are the strength of America and the hope of the world.

Again I extend to you a most cordial welcome to Illinois.

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** Thank you, Governor Green.

As good administration is necessary in government, we in labor must have cooperation and consideration in our everyday dealings. Here in Chicago over the years we have developed a relationship with the employers, as the Mayor has told you, to a point where we have but very few stoppages or strikes in Chicago. That does not come overnight, it must come through understanding and confidence, one in the other, and the leaders here in the city have worked together with the employer and brought that about.

We had hoped that today that the President of the Chamber of Commerce would be with us, but he was taken sick on Saturday and rushed to the hospital. In his stead we have with us today Mr. Joseph Powers, Vice-President of Butler Brothers and Vice-President of the Chicago Chamber of Commerce, who will say a few words to us—Mr. Powers.

### MR. JOSEPH POWERS (Vice-President, Chicago Chamber of Commerce)

American Federation of Labor leaders and guests: It is with great regret that Mr. Freeman is unable to be here personally. As Mr. Keenan said, he was taken ill early in the week, but had hoped until Saturday morning to have the privilege to be here. I have talked with Mr. Freeman on many occasions about labor and management problems and I know how strongly and deeply and earnestly he feels that both of us have a real job to do. His message to you bears the title, "There Is a Job To Be Done," and is as follows:

Thank you for extending to me the honor of speaking before this Sixty-fifth Annual Con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor. Personally I appreciate it, and even more than that because we—you and I—have a job to do, and it is the most important job that we have ever undertaken, and chances are, ever will again undertake. We—you and your associates—I and my associates—have got to keep this huge American industrial machine running—we've got to keep it in high gear and oiled down to the minutest cog.

Fortunately the machine at our disposal is the best one ever conceived by the mind of man. It is so because it was built by the people of all groups—by organized and unorganized labor, by farmer and management. All these poured into it their best materials of thought and energy, increasing its capacity until today America stands out among all nations of the world as the country with the highest living standards and the greatest mass production.

Of course this didn't "just happen." It began when those pioneering, venturing and resourceful people from all parts of the Old World wanted something better than they had or was in prospect for them. They wanted that "something" so much that they were willing to risk life itself. With this motivating purpose, they set out for the shores of our New World in small, frail boats that tossed on the seas like corks on fishing lines. Those early settlers had "the stuff" from which great nations are made, and of which this maxim was written: "The difficult we do immediately; the impossible takes a little longer."

Some of those pioneers left the already old and crowded countries of Europe to escape religious persecution; others to escape political tyranny; others just in the spirit of adventure to go to a new place where they had heard gold was on top of the ground, food grew wild, and game was abundant. For all kinds of reasons they came. They intermarried; they migrated; they worked. The country was large; much of the land was very rich; the forests and almost every kind of ore abounded. They found room and resources. Utilizing that newly found opportunity, they set up a new kind of human activity.

After the Revolution, there came a still broader sense of freedom; a new kind of government was launched and our political and social patterns began to form. From this process came the States and the central Federal Government with its legislative, executive and judicial triumvirate. Our governmental methods and procedures have been far from perfect. We have seen graft, incompetence, waste, abuses, and not a little tyranny corrode the masthead of our government. But even so, ours has been better than most, and under it men and women have had the opportunity to choose for themselves what trades they want to follow, where they want to live and to work, and with whom they want to associate. They can worship as they please; they can speak as they please so long as they speak the truth, and no questions asked.

Given a vast, rich country and this freedom, is it any wonder that many of the people who sprang from out of our melting pot of venturesome souls, should achieve great things? Some, it is true, exploited our natural resources and their less aggressive fellowmen. Their industrial records are not nice. But the majority



who created industrial empires did so because of their honesty, genius, courage and energy, and the nation as a whole grew and prospered. It was they who endowed our great schools, libraries, hospitals, medical research foundations, art galleries, museums, and other public benefits. More has been given for such beneficent purposes in this country in the last 100 years than in all of the rest of the world in all history.

In our government we have the scandals that have left some scars. But the majority of our political and civil service office holders are honest, sincere, patriotic, hard-working public servants. Our two-party system seems to be the best that has ever been devised—although some talk is heard that there is need for a change from this republic or democratic form of government to one of totalitarianism with tyrannical, concentration camp secret police, called "Communism."

It is perhaps understandable that a few who are frustrated and lust for power want such a change, and would be willing to line up with a Stalin. But no person who has studied, weighed and compared what he would get in exchange for his priceless freedom of action, his high living standards, his opportunity to get ahead according to his ability, wants anything that smacks of dictatorship, much less a member of the N.K.V.D. knocking on his door.

I have great faith in the common sense and good judgment of the American people. Assembled here today are many of Labor's most outstanding leaders. Upon you rests a grave responsibility. Along with the nation's industrial and political leaders, you must see that our America has the opportunity to continue her development and to produce enough goods for everybody and at a price they can afford to pay.

There are people in this land who honestly believe that the pioneering days of opportunity are over, and that our development has already passed its peak. They say that there is no more new land, that our forests have been emasculated, that most of our oil and ore are gone, and they voice all sorts of dire predictions. Job's lamentations have nothing on their walls. Listen to this—I want to quote a most interesting item:

"The present is an age of talkers and not of doers, and the reason is that the world is growing old. We are so far advanced in the arts and sciences that we live in retrospect and dote on past achievements.

"The accumulation of knowledge has been so great that we are lost in wonder at the height it has reached instead of attempting to climb or add to it, while the variety of objects distracts and dazzles the looker-on.

"What niche remains unoccupied? What path untrod? What is the use of doing anything unless we could do it better than all those who have gone before us? And what hope is there of this?"

When do you think that familiar story originated? In last week's *Colliers*? This month's *Readers' Digest*? Or, perhaps it is from this morning's newspaper? It sounds as recent as wet printers' ink, but it was written in 1815—131 years ago—by Sir William Hazlett, an English essayist and a great liberal of his time.

Think of it! They were saying 131 years ago to their youth that there were no new paths to be traveled—no more could the high road of adventure be followed!

The people of the 19th century hardly knew a comfort, convenience, or luxury which we accept as an every day matter of course. Since we are now in a postwar era, suppose we trace just a few of the developments through the various wars in which we have engaged, beginning with the Civil War.

By that time new and wonderful inventions had appeared. There was the telegraph, steam trains, although no transcontinental trains; medicine had given mankind anesthetics and was isolating infectious diseases through vaccinations. But not until 1885 did Louis Pasteur discover the cure for rabies in dogs and hydrophobia in men.

The Gatling gun was invented in 1861, but the war was almost over before it came into use. During most of the Civil War the muzzle loading Minie musket was used, and the first far-flung rifle requiring shells was made. Out of the next 33 fruitful years came undreamed discoveries—the telephone, the horseless carriage, the trans-Atlantic cable, the incandescent lamp, and the wireless. With the wireless we could for the first time communicate with ships at sea.

Preventive medicine, through the efforts of Joseph Lister, saw its beginning, and the catgut suture introduced advances in surgical technique. It was during that period that Professor and Madame Curie gave us radium, and Walter Reed found that yellow fever was carried only by the mosquito. The first cartridge belt rifle came into use, and it had a clip of five cartridges. The Diesel engine and the motion picture machines came into being. Motion picture business, as you know, is now the second largest industry in the world—out-ranked only by steel.

When World War I broke, we had airplanes, but they carried no armaments. The radio was coming into use. The tank and the four-wheel drive truck put in their appearance. And all of the inventions of previous years went through miraculous stages of improvement. It was at that time that medicine introduced the first "shock treatment" and saved many wounded who otherwise might have died. The sciences of farming and animal husbandry were in their infancy.

By the time World War II was under way, the Flying Fortress and the fast fighter were so familiar to us that they were subjects of conversation of the 6-year-olds. The range of our guns was even farther than the engineers hoped when they started to plan them. The perfected radio and radar were ours.

During this war we have made greater strides in inventions and developments than in all the preceding years put together. The atom bomb outstrips them all. This awesome instrument for good or for evil calls for a choice by the leaders of men. We can use it for opening an age of undreamed of productivity and better living, or we can use it to destroy our civilization.

Research has become the handmaiden of need. We have learned how to make magnesium from sea water; nylon stronger than silk, from air, water and coal; rubber from molasses; fabric from milk, and so on. Re-

search is strangling the bugaboo that we are exhausting our natural resources. An eminent chemist told me recently that we have enough coal to last two or three thousand years if another coal vein is never discovered. Should we ever run out of coal, we can still make nylon out of castor oil; and I agreed with him when he said that off-hand he couldn't think of any better use for castor oil.

When the results of research carried on during this wartime are converted to peacetime living, there will be hundreds of new materials for old uses, and new uses for old materials. All of the sciences will have made lasting contributions to the happier lot of people.

Is opportunity in this land of ours gone? No! I say that our greatest opportunity of all lies ahead of us, and the fruits of that opportunity are ours if we will conduct ourselves with the good common sense with which God was good enough to endow us. But those fruits are not going to fall into our laps—there are no golden cornucopias to be emptied over us. We have all got to go to work, and stay on the job, management and labor alike. An honest day's work for an honest day's pay must return to its former prestige in our dealings. During the war this nation produced beyond all expectations. We produced as we did because most of us worked together. We did so because we had unity of purpose; we had teamwork of the highest order. We had an enemy to conquer, and we conquered that enemy. It is no less important now that we produce for peaceful pursuits in the same spirit of teamwork. If we do not, we are likely to lose the freedom for which the blood of our forefathers, our sons and brothers has spilled through the years.

More than a year after the war has ended, we find ourselves with more people on the payrolls than ever before in our history and a greater need for goods. Why? There are all manner of theories, but no one seems to come up with a satisfactory answer. Some say it is because of OPA. Of course we all know that when OPA squeezes too hard, the goods jump into a black market which is the most wasteful, inefficient and inflationary of all operations. Some say it is because manufacturers are hoarding for higher prices; some, because too many goods are being exported; others, because of strikes and reduced production per hour by the average industrial worker; others say it is because of the huge backlog of demand for goods long scarce. It seems reasonable that the condition in which we find ourselves is the result of the combination of all these and still other factors. But whatever the cause, it is not insurmountable. If industrial and labor leaders will get down to brass tacks and put their leadership abilities into action, this country could snap out of its dilemma of acute shortages and inflated prices in short order, and be on its way to the greatest era of prosperity it has ever experienced, not for one group or a few groups, but for all.

If every able-bodied citizen will exert himself, he can produce more, invent more, develop more, and have more. Many of our people need many things—and they can have them if they and we will all go to work, make them and distribute them. It looks now

as if this country will produce over \$200 billion worth of goods this year; that the national income will be \$160 to \$165 billion and that retail sales will amount to \$107 billion. This is more than the remainder of the entire world ever turned out in a year; yet it does not represent our capacity nor supply our need. The only limitation that I can see on our progress is that which we place on it ourselves—plain lack of zeal, just good old elbow grease, if you please.

Since the war we have messed things up. There have been selfish leaders in all sectors of our national makeup who have stood in the way of our going forward. Much fallacious thinking is making the rounds. Some think that higher wage rates, restricted output per worker, and full employment will raise the standard of living for the average fellow. Of course they won't. Those who think that way forget that they too are consumers—that they too must buy these same goods—and that the goods made must be made and distributed at a profit or both the manufacturer and the distributor go out of business. And where does that lead the worker? To unemployment and breadlines. You and I must point out these facts. We must tell them across the land and up and down this land. Fair wages, full production per worker and fair profit will maintain employment and keep the American industrial machine throbbing.

Nature's inexorable law governs the propagation of the human race. In a free country such as ours, nature seems to produce people of varying capacities and tendencies in about the same proportion year after year, generation after generation. Perhaps the same proportions are born in non-free countries too, but because they are people who have so little control over their activities, their potentialities have no chance to develop. Only a few members of the human race, wherever found, have the natural capacity to attain leadership in labor, political, professional or industrial fields. Undoubtedly, some who possess this inherent capacity have allowed it to lie dormant for lack of ambition and energy. There are also those who have limited inherent leadership qualities who have forged ahead through sheer ambition and spirit, and have done some outstanding things. No matter how the few arrive at leadership, on them falls the greatest responsibility of all men. It is they who must lead the rest.

Many have graduated from your ranks into industrial, scientific, political and professional positions of leadership; but the majority of the present members of your great organization work for someone who pay them for their work, and will remain supervised workers all of their lives. This means that your members look to at least two places for leadership and guidance. It is logical and sound that there be those who are supervised and those who supervise. Every army must have privates—all its soldiers cannot be lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels, generals. If it were, chances are it could be annihilated in short order. However, these supervised workers need not be on dead center. They have the capacity to improve their technique to do better and better work if their two-way leadership—your organization and industry—teaches them how. As methods and machines are improved, they can

grow more productive and earn more pay. No man ever finishes his education. You and I are very conscious of the fact that we learn something every day. One of the most educational experiences I have ever had was as a member of the War Labor Board. I learned a great deal from my labor member friends on that Board—some of it the hard way—but it was good for me and I like to think I'm a better equipped manager today because of it.

You and I represent the groups who are responsible for the millions of honest, sincere, ambitious and eager workers, who are likely to continue at their present trades all of their lives. This is our greatest responsibility. They are due the truth from both of us. They are due all the educational effort we are capable of putting forth. They cannot get what they have a right to expect from us and our economy unless we cooperate. When we pull at cross purposes, they are bound to lose.

Every company owes its employees good tools, good direction and supervision, good surroundings, fair pay, fair hours, friendship, continuous expert training, recognition, merited promotions, as steady employment as is possible to furnish after wise and far-seeing planning, and as many other advantages as the nature of its business will permit. For instance, my company more than 50 years ago began giving all employees two-week vacations after one year's work, and we make no distinction whatsoever between production and clerical people, whether it be vacations, sick leave, or what.

The union owes its members able leadership, the truth, schooling in basic Americanization, information about what is done with the money the members pay as dues, a truly democratic setup, friendship, recognition, protection from exploitation from any source, and able, expert, personable economist negotiators. Labor leaders who know their economics, sociology and psychology have no difficulty in holding the loyalty and cooperation of their members or in negotiating with the representatives of fair and objective companies with which they do business. It is just as much to the interest of the worker to keep the company for which he works on a sound basis as it is to the managers and the stockholders. In every situation, mutually advantageous terms can be reached by open-minded negotiations. Strikes are costly both to the company and to the workers. The gains from strikes seldom offset losses nowadays—everyone, including the general public, is loser.

"Strong arm" tactics are long outmoded. The labor "boss" must give way to the labor leader, just as the tyrant in industry must make way for the reasonable and intelligent manager. The public interest is at stake at every negotiating table. Therefore, the negotiators on both sides should have a sympathetic understanding of the relationships and problems of the employer and the employee, and how they affect the welfare of the country at large.

Much progress has been made on both sides but there is still much to do. We must not—we dare not—postpone getting together on our purposes, which after all must be for the good of the whole.

Gentlemen—America needs its leaders to carry it safely through its postwar crises. As I said in the beginning, we—you and I—

have a job to do. I think we are going to do it!

**CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** At this time it is an extreme pleasure, I assure you, to present the next speaker. Some 22 years ago this organization selected him as their President, and during those 22 years our country has had its ups and downs, so to speak. He was first selected for that high position during those roaring '20's, or during the bright days of the '20's. He served during the darkest days of our nation's history, and during the '30's when half of our membership was unemployed and we were in the worst depression in the history of our country. He struggled through and brought us through those crises.

Then came the war. I had the pleasure during those five years of representing the American Federation of Labor on War Boards, and I came in close contact with him. I got to know him, to learn him and to love him, and during those five years as head of your organization he was called upon to make some very grave decisions—decisions that affected the welfare of every member of the American Federation of Labor. But he had a choice to make—a choice between the organization he represented and his country, and in every case his country came first. He was deeply moved by the loss of life, by the horror of war and by the effects of it upon our great nation and upon our union.

Today I have the pleasure of presenting him to you—a great humanitarian, a great civic leader and one of the greatest Americans—President William Green.

## PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Chairman Keenan, Your Eminence, Cardinal Stritch, Mayor Kelly, His Excellency, Governor Green, my dear friend, Soderstrom, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Mr. Powers, representing the Chicago Chamber of Commerce, delegates and friends: It is very difficult to command language that would adequately express our deep appreciation of the cordial welcome extended us here this morning. But in simple language we can state that we interpret the presence of these distinguished men here today and their words as evidence of the sincerity of their welcome, of the assurance extended us that everything that they can do will be done in order to make our stay in this great city comfortable and happy.

When we considered the selection of a city in which to hold this historic Sixty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor our faces instinctively turned toward this great industrial city in the Middle West. We knew of its reputation, of the character of its people, of its hospitality, of its location and its convenience. And so we decided to hold the first convention following the close of the World War in this great industrial city located in a great Commonwealth, the State of Illinois. I know our stay here is going to be pleasant.

We will work in a most happy environment. The stage is set for us to perform our duties in an able way, and I am confident that when we complete our work we will move back home without one single feeling of regret, united and determined to carry on in behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

It seems appropriate and fitting for me to refer to the passing of a great, rugged, heroic defender of the philosophy and principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, a great outstanding figure who served for almost a half century as the President of the Chicago Federation of Labor. I refer to one we loved beyond expression, John Fitzpatrick, who passed away a short time ago. We join with his friends here in mourning his loss. We assure them that though he may have passed into the Great Beyond he will ever live in our memories, our hearts and our affections.

It would be impossible for us to assemble on this occasion without our thoughts turning toward the great war and the great emergency through which we passed. And so we find ourselves practically unconsciously reviewing the past, thinking about incidents that took place and sharing with all the free-loving people of the world in their feeling of happiness, because we were able to defeat Fascism, Nazism and totalitarianism most decisively.

But it seems quite appropriate for us to think about the service rendered by the great army of production here on the North American continent in the United States of America.

I make this assertion without fear of contradiction, that the war abroad could not have been won except for the devoted service given by that army of production here in the United States of America. I make answer without reservation to those who have indulged in criticism and complaint, those who have found fault regardless of the perfect record that has been made by the men who served in the mills, the mines, the workshops, the factories and the transportation lines of the nation.

Truly here was located the arsenal of democracy! The men who worked in the factories of this nation reached new heights in production. The Government called for 50,000 planes and our workers turned out hundreds of thousands of them. The Government asked for more ships, and behold the picture,—the sea lanes of the world filled with floating vessels manufactured by skilled workmen in the shipyards of our nation. They asked for more war material of all kinds, and the response was immediate. The suffering people of Europe asked for help and help was extended them. If they wanted skilled workers at Corpus Christi in order to build an air field our skilled construction workers' organizations supplied them in full measure. If they wanted more in the shipyards at Seattle our people were moved across the country, skilled workers, at the expense of the organizations to which they belong. If they needed men to manufacture the atomic bomb at Pasco or at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, when the officers of the Government appealed to us to send the men we never faltered. They responded in full measure, and all of these goods were produced in volume sufficient to meet the requirements of that great war.

And then they gave their lives in the workshops and mills and factories. They suffered

just as did our brave soldiers on the battlefields of Europe. The figures show that about as many gave their lives as members of the army of production and as many were maimed serving in the army of production as were killed and maimed on the battlefields of Europe. Aren't we proud of that record? We resent these attacks that are being made upon us by those who hate organized labor and whose hate is fundamental, and regardless of what we do or what we say they will always hate organized labor and the members of organized labor. But we challenge one of them to point to a single instance where our people failed to respond to the call of the Government during all of these trying years.

When the history of the war is written and we are permitted to open the pages and look over it we will find one of the brightest pages in that history where there is inscribed thereon the heroic, the patriotic, the efficient service rendered by the great army of production in the mills, in the mines and in the factories of the nation.

We will think about those things at this convention and we will be influenced, perhaps, in some of our decisions by our knowledge of the skill and the efficiency and the genius represented by our workers in the mills and mines and factories and of the transportation lines of the nation.

I want to say here publicly that this is an outstanding representative convention. The delegates sitting here in this hall are conscious of their deep responsibilities. That must be true when they take into account the fact that there are represented in this convention and on the floor of this convention by you who are here 7,100,000 paid up members in the American Federation of Labor.

Those who represent such a constituency as that in a great city such as this must be fully conscious of their deep responsibilities. They want to reflect the hopes and the aspirations of those seven million workers. They want to legislate for them. They want to register their opinions and their point of view upon economic, political and other questions to come before this convention, and they will endeavor to do so so that they can go back home and there receive the thanks of a great constituency numbering over seven million working men and women.

But now the war is over and we are facing difficult problems as a result of that great conflict. It is very difficult indeed for us to adjust ourselves to the reconversion period through which we are passing. We are impatient because we want to be free from governmental control and governmental regulation and live as free Americans in a free country where democracy is the basis of our government. During the war we subjected ourselves to governmental domination and governmental control so far as that was necessary in order to win the war. It is mere repetition when I say here today that we made a solemn pledge to the President of the United States, immediately after Pearl Harbor, that we would place the strike weapon behind the door and leave it there until victory was won over the totalitarian forces of the world. The record shows that we kept that pledge ninety-nine and nine-tenths per cent and that is a record of which we are proud. We subjected ourselves

to other controls willingly and voluntarily in order to win the war.

But now the war is over. It has been about a year since V-J Day and we are disturbed because of the confused situation that has developed, the tendency on the part of Government to still exercise control over our economic life and to relegate even collective bargaining to the rear and clothe a governmental agency with authority to veto the collective bargaining agreements reached around the conference table between employers and employees.

We resent that, we protest against it, and here in this convention we will register our will against governmental control of our economic life.

Then on the question of price control we have been passing through a situation that has subjected us to very trying experiences. Fairly decent governmental control was exercised by the Government up to June 30, when the first governmental control act was passed and was in operation. Then the Congress of the United States refused to continue the act in its former character. I am not sure that it was then suited for the changed conditions that had come about, but at least an examination of the act itself and the record leads us to the conclusion that it at least was better than the act they finally passed. Instead of this act now in operation, passed by the Congress of the United States, being a price control law, I would classify it as a profit promoting measure. Labor has suffered as a result of it already. We are suffering now. We believe that some new way must be found, and with the exception of perhaps continued control of rent and some other items comparable to that, we believe the time has come when price control, along with wage control, should be lifted by the Government of the United States.

We hear some complaints from some unthinking persons and individuals that labor is not measuring up to the economic requirements of the nation, that we are limiting production. All of that is untrue. The productive capacity of the individual worker has constantly increased. As new means and new methods are developed out of the laboratories and the scientific investigations of the nation, and as these new methods are applied, industry and the worker have become more and more efficient. Fewer workers are producing more.

Much study was given to improved mechanism during the war, and out of the laboratory tests and investigations which were made we found that the individual worker had been more efficient.

The war has shown the amazing productivity of American industry. From 1942 to the war's end production per man hour in the munitions industry rose 61 per cent. Our all-out war effort accomplished in less than four years a productivity increase which would normally have taken 15 years. The cooperation of labor was fundamental in bringing about this immense gain and without it we could not have won the war. The effect of increase in production per man hour is shown when we look back at the last 20 years. From 1926 to the end of the war the average hourly earnings of workers in American factories rose 90 per cent, yet the wholesale prices of products made by those workers were only 2 per cent higher at

the end of this period than at the beginning. Startling facts, aren't they? In some peacetime years prices have actually declined while wages rose, so great has been the increased efficiency of American industry. This meant that workers gained in two ways, by high wages and lower living costs.

For instance, from 1923 to 1929 wages of factory workers rose 8 per cent, while the wholesale prices of goods they made actually declined by 12 per cent. We are students of economics enough to know that there is but one remedy for inflation—a great evil—and that is full production. And what is needed is not so much price control as the centering upon full production by the workers of the nation and by cooperation of management making it possible for us to apply the law of economics and bring about production so it will balance with the law of supply and demand. Everyone knows that. Any article that is short will call for more prices and create black markets, but full production means a solution of the problem of inflation.

The record shows that our workers are centering their efforts in that direction, and I predict that if management will cooperate with labor, if the Government will stop breaking down the morale of workers by threatening to enact slave legislation and impose that upon the workers of the nation, within a period of two years we will reach full production in this country and we will apply the remedy for inflation.

Let me show you just a little about what has happened in one industry. The experience in the electric power industry is particularly striking. A recent Labor Department study shows what strong union organization and increasing production per man hour accomplished over the peacetime period from 1917 to 1939. In those 22 years production per man hour rose to 235 per cent. The result was, first, workers doubled their weekly wage and also reduced their hours by 15 per cent, from 47 to 40 hours per week. Consequently, more electric power was delivered to more families at cheaper rates—wages up, service down. The number of city families using electric power in their homes rose from 9,000,000 to 23,000,000, and the price they paid for current was cut in half.

Thirdly, returns to investors in this industry were enough to attract the capital and expand productive capacity, so that power plants employed almost three times as many workers and were able to supply the immense demand. Capital investment rose from \$3,000,000,000 to \$14,000,000,000 and employment increased from 105,000 to 269,000 workers. This is one typical example of the dynamic progress that is possible under the free enterprise system, where production per man hour rises and unions see to it that workers receive their share of the increased wealth produced. Everyone benefited—workers, employers, and the public generally.

I wish we had the facts of the mining industry. The development there has been remarkable. The production of tonnage per man hour has increased by leaps and bounds. These brave, courageous men who work in the mines have measured up to new heights in production. We owe them a debt of gratitude we can never pay, and the nation owes it to them

as well, and we are happy to know that they have a leader and leaders who stood up and uncompromisingly fought for the creation of a national welfare fund for the injured miners of the nation.

I say to you, my friends, that that objective will now be the objective of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; we must establish in this nation security in every condition of life—old age, illness and infirmity—and in addition we must provide hospitalization and nursing facilities and medical care for every man and woman in the United States, for human life is above material welfare in this nation.

We have a housing program that we will deal with in this convention. We are conscious of the shortage of houses. In my opinion it will take many, many years before we are able to catch up with the public demand and the public need. But our Building and Construction Trades Department is making its contribution in a most wonderful way toward the development of housing. The veterans who came home are crying for homes. Many of them cannot afford to buy homes, but they want to rent homes and pay their rent every month. These veterans who offered their lives on the battlefields of Europe ought to be accorded a place where they can live back home in their own homeland in decency and in comfort.

My friends, our building trades people are meeting the issue. It is not because of any question of their service or of the shortage of skilled labor. They have approved an apprenticeship system which will provide for sufficient workers to meet the requirements of the nation. The shortage of housing is directly traceable to lack of material needed in building construction. We are going to cooperate in full measure. We are counting on these skilled men to do in peacetime what they did in wartime. Give them the opportunity to build the houses and they will build them in America in a way that will challenge our admiration.

I hope and trust that the shortage of material will be overcome and that within the near future we will be able to launch an extensive housing program that will very soon supply homes for all who need them. Congress failed us, too. It refused to pass the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, a bill needed so badly in order to stimulate and promote housing. The reactionary members of Congress, those reactionaries who belong to all political parties stood up, in spite of our appeal and the appeals of building construction contractors who stood with us, and opposed legislation needed in order to promote housing. Much of the responsibility, therefore, for the existing situation is directly traceable to failure on the part of Congress to meet the requirements of the situation.

Now we are going to fight on for higher wages, because we cannot be made consistently more efficient without sharing in that efficiency. We have not reached the limit. There are a lot of people complaining about high wages and charging that that is what is contributing toward inflation. First of all, you must place in the hands of the consuming public the purchasing power with which to buy the goods that industry produces, and if there is an unbalance between purchasing power

and production, we will have the same condition as we have now during this period of inflation. The market must be there, it must be created, and the way it can be created is through the payment of wages, so that the workers of the nation shall possess the buying power adequate and necessary in order to consume the goods which industry produces.

And then if fewer workers produce more goods, are they to remain down on the wage level they occupied before they were made more efficient? Is it to be a one-sided affair, that only capital of the nation shall be the beneficiaries of efficiency? The answer of 7,000,000 members in the American Federation is no, with increasing emphasis. We are determined to mobilize our economic strength and to force from unwilling employers, if necessary, that wage standard to which we are entitled under this modern development situation.

And then we are thinking about the promotion of social security legislation. We centered our efforts in the State Legislatures and in the Federal Congress toward the enactment of modern day social security legislation. If there is any one thing that makes for a better social order, that serves to create a better social order, it is to establish a feeling of security in the hearts and minds of the masses of people. If they pass the sunset of life feeling secure they will adjust themselves to every change in life in a better way than if they face it with a feeling of distress and uncertainty. They must be accorded an opportunity to look to the rising sun of life with hope and aspiration and to the sunset of life with a feeling of security, and we, the 7,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor are concentrating our efforts toward the enactment of decent, human, modern day social security.

One more point, and that is this: We are going to drive hard and unilaterally and successfully against these reactionaries in Congress and in the State Legislatures who have joined together for the purpose of enacting legislation which would limit the activity of free democratic trade unions in a free America and subject members of organizations to a condition of involuntary servitude. That principle was involved in the notorious Case Bill, passed by the Congress of the United States, but fortunately vetoed by the President of the United States. Under the operation of that law the Norris-LaGuardia Act would have been repealed and the conditions that prevailed when the Danbury Hatters were drawn into court would have been re-established in America. We would have moved back a half a century, and yet after this great brilliant service rendered by the army of production during the war these reactionaries now compensate us by trying to make us slaves in America. In the different States they are attempting to enact legislation denying us the right to freely contract with employers, interfering with the right of contract. Why do they do that to labor? Why don't they do it with people of money?

In the State of Nebraska a reprehensible statute is submitted to the people for their approval or disapproval in the November election which, if passed, will deny organized labor in the State of Nebraska the right to nego-



tiate a closed shop agreement. In other words, they try to impose involuntary servitude on you by making a union man work with a non-union man against his will. Well, if they had sought expert advice and come to some of us and asked us whether such a law was possible of enforcement we would have told them "I'd like to see you make a union miner working under a closed shop agreement work with a non-union miner against his will; I'd like to see you make a motion picture operator work with a non-union motion picture operator against his will, or a printing pressman or a building mechanic." After all, his labor belongs to himself. He can give it or withhold it at will, and while they might prohibit a closed shop contract they cannot, under the organic law of the nation, make you work with non-union workers against your will. But they are trying it. They tried it in Florida. They are trying it in California. They tried it in Louisiana and they tried it in Arkansas; they are trying it in Nebraska now, and they are trying it in other Commonwealths throughout the nation.

Well, our answer to that is this, that we are keeping a record of those who vote against us, a record of those who sponsor legislation against us and who have supported it and voted for it, and we are going to acquaint the sovereign citizens of America who belong to our organized movement and we are going to ask them to march to the polls as one body, just as they strike as one, and vote as one, and make them stay at home.

I have referred to these matters because this convention will consider them all before we complete our work. Just one more matter.

Our great free democratic movement rests upon a sound and constructive basis. It will serve working men and women as long as freedom reigns and democracy functions. Its existence is threatened only when and where totalitarianism is substituted for the democratic process and dictatorship for the popular will. Nazism, Fascism and Totalitarianism in any form, is abhorrent to working men and women who adequately appraise the value of the blessings of freedom and liberty.

These are fateful days—days when we must choose between the defense and preservation of our carefully developed and applied economic and political philosophy and the persistent preaching of those who would lead us into the by-paths of ideological experimentation.

We, the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, are the guardians of a sacred trust—the preservation of the philosophy and principles of our movement which have evolved out of almost a century of human experience.

There is little difference, if any, between the totalitarianism of Communism and the Nazism and Fascism of Hitler and Mussolini. The philosophy of each provides for dictatorship and control and the subjugation of the individual to the will of the State. None of the Four Freedoms function where totalitarianism controls except under limitations prescribed by a gracious dictator.

Shall we be free or fettered? Shall we be the wards of the State or shall the State be subject to the will of the people? Shall the labor and service of a human being be his own priceless possession or shall it be the property

of the State? Shall we embrace a philosophy which provides for forced labor and involuntary servitude? Shall we live in a land where working men and women may exercise the right to strike and give or withhold their labor and service at will? Shall our unions be free formed democratic unions or government dominated, government controlled and government administered unions?

There is no doubt as to what answer will be made to these questions by the delegates in attendance at this convention. With one voice they will proclaim their uncompromising opposition to Communism or Totalitarianism in any way open or disguised in any form whatsoever. The seven million one hundred thousand members they represent in this convention will stand as a bulwark in support of this position. This great army regards democracy, freedom and liberty as a common heritage to be maintained and preserved at any cost. They possess a keen appreciation of the significance and true meaning of the immortal words of Patrick Henry—"Give me liberty or give me death."

Summing it up, we of the American Federation of Labor stand steadfast and immovable against Communism and Totalitarianism. We cherish the blessings of freedom and democracy. We resent the attempts of those who seek to utilize any branch of organized labor for the purpose of imposing upon our Nation a form of foreign conceived ideology, totally unsuited to our American way of life. We call upon the workers everywhere, who believe as we of the American Federation of Labor do on this issue, to come with us and stand with us in defense of Americanism and against Communism and Totalitarianism.

The primary purpose of the American Federation of Labor is to promote the economic, social and industrial welfare of working men and women and to protect them against injustice and exploitation. We submit our record of achievement in the realization of this objective as evidence of the sound premise upon which our economic philosophy is based.

The mobilization of our economic strength into free democratic unions, experimentation in collective bargaining, the utilization of the parent body and all its organized units as educational agencies and the pursuit of a non-partisan political policy, have served as the instrumentalities through which the material, social and cultural welfare of the masses has been lifted to high and still higher levels.

The membership of the American Federation of Labor has negotiated wage agreements through collective bargaining providing for terms and conditions of employment and in addition through its sponsorship of the Fair Labor Standards Act has served in lifting the substandard rates of pay for thousands of underprivileged and unprotected unorganized workers.

Our interest in the spiritual and moral welfare of those who work and serve is of tremendous importance. We fully realize that men and women do not live by bread alone. The intangible and internal and most precious forces of human life are enriched through the establishment of humane standards of living or impoverished by constant association with sweat shops, slums and degrading working conditions. Environment plays a very large part in the promotion of spiritual and moral

values. For that reason, we of the American Federation of Labor seek to create such favorable economic and social conditions as will serve to enhance spiritual and moral values. Neither religion nor morality thrives on poverty. It is difficult to appeal to the spiritual or moral sense of any individual who, living in a land of plenty, finds his earnings are insufficient to maintain himself and family in decency and comfort. That means when organized labor fights for higher wages, old age security, welfare funds and the establishment of decent humane conditions of employment, it is laying the basis for the enhancement of spiritual and moral betterment.

We, of the American Federation of Labor, will gladly cooperate with the Church and with civic organizations in the promotion of humane, spiritual and moral value and in the advancement of civic and community betterment. We are Americans first. We believe a good citizenship is a prerequisite to good unionism. Count on us to fight on for the promotion of spiritual and moral values, for economic, civic and community betterment, for better homes and a better homeland and for an America which manifests a new sense of appreciation of the virtue and value of democracy.

Now, I am through. I have brought you this message, because after reviewing events that have transpired since Pearl Harbor it seems to me that it was most appropriate and fitting on this historic occasion to present to you these questions that I have dealt with on this occasion. I have not been disappointed because, as I spoke to you just now, I have read in the faces of every one of you evidence of deep interest in every subject referred to. The American Federation of Labor has passed from the point where it served as a mere organization. It is now a part of the institutional life of our nation. It is an institution in itself. I know the hearts and minds of laborers, every one of them, and I know that it is their avowed and determined purpose to establish and maintain the fundamental principles and philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. They still behold the picture when the architects of this movement laid the foundation securely and well and erected upon it a superstructure that has endured and met every test in the changing economic life of our nation. It is our trust to preserve and maintain it. You will measure up to this responsibility in this convention. I know you will, and we are going out of here united, stronger, more determined than ever to go forward, maintaining all the gains we have reaped during the half a century or more of our existence, reaching out and gaining more and bestowing upon posterity the democratic processes which we have established in a free America.

I thank you.  
(Applause.)

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I now officially declare this historic Sixty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in session and open for the transaction of business.

The Chair wishes to announce that two distinguished speakers will be present this afternoon—Commander Louis Starr of the Vet-

erans of Foreign Wars will address the convention at 2:30. General Omar N. Bradley, Administrator of the Veterans Administration, will speak at 3:00 o'clock.

We will also have a report of the Credentials Committee immediately upon reconvening at the afternoon session.

#### Introduction of Fraternal Delegate O'Brien

Now, it seems appropriate and fitting for me to introduce to you our visitor from Great Britain and fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress who arrived in the city this morning. We extend to him a most hearty, sincere and cordial welcome. We have maintained an unbroken fraternal relationship with the great labor movement of Great Britain for more than half a century. I express the hope that it will always live, function and be maintained.

I now present him to you, so you can be acquainted with him and when you meet with him you will know who he is, and you may extend to him all courtesies and make sure that I have expressed your feelings on extending to him a hearty welcome. I now present to you for your acquaintanceship Brother Tom O'Brien, Member of Parliament, General Secretary of the National Association of Theatrical and Kine Amusement Employees, a member of the Trades Union General Council—Brother O'Brien.

#### CONVENTION OFFICERS

Secretary Meany announced the appointment of the convention officers as follows:

Thomas Priestly, Assistant Secretary.  
Carl G. Carlson, Sergeant-at-Arms.  
Mrs. Carrie Alexander, Messenger.  
Mrs. John Lawver, Messenger.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chairman of the local entertainment committee, Brother Gene Atkinson, will make an announcement.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ATKINSON:** Fellow delegates, on behalf of the Committee on Arrangements, I would like to say that we have planned an extensive, yet flexible program of entertainment for your pleasure, and hope that you will make full use of it. We want your time in Chicago to be most enjoyable, and we ask each of you to stop at the Committee desk in the A. F. of L. Headquarters where you received your credentials and acquaint yourself with what we have to offer.

There are a limited number of tickets to the Notre Dame-Purdue game next Saturday and the Northwestern-Minnesota football game to be played this coming Saturday. Those who wish to attend those games should register with the Committee, who will give you full particulars.

I advise the delegates to get to that as soon



as possible. We also ask you to register there for sightseeing trips and tours. The Ladies' Committee has planned a number of special features for the women, so all the women delegates and guests are to register with the Ladies' Committee at the desk at Convention Headquarters.

In conclusion I would like to say that you

can do as much or as little as you wish, but one thing the Committee insists on—you must have fun, and we are willing to help you.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The convention will stand in recess until 2 o'clock sharp this afternoon.

At 12:40 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned until 2 o'clock p. m.

## FIRST DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock by President Green.

### Escort Committees

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** First of all I want to announce the appointment of a reception committee to meet General Bradley and escort him to the hall. On that committee I will appoint President Burns of the Federation of Government Employees, Brother George Lawson, Secretary of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, and Brother J. H. Lyons, of the Iron Workers International Union.

I will also appoint a committee to escort Commander Starr of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, as follows: Brother Charles MacGowan, of the Boilermakers, Brother Dave Beck, of the Teamsters, and Brother Arnold S. Zander, of the State, County and Municipal Employees.

I will now call upon the Credentials Committee for their report.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HANSON:** President Green, your Committee on Credentials have examined 638 credentials and are now ready to give a partial report. The Secretary of the Committee, Delegate Tipton, will read the report.

Committee Secretary Tipton submitted the following report on behalf of the Committee on Credentials:

To President Green, Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report:

We have examined the credentials of 639 delegates, representing 93 National and International Unions, 3 Departments, 40 State Branches, 160 Central Bodies, and 79 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 5 Fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

### INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Paul Duilzell, George Heller, Pat Somerset, 237 votes.

Alr Line Pilots' Association—David L. Behncke, 45 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, C. W. Sickles, 40 votes.

Automobile Workers of America, International Union United — Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Frank Evans, Peter G. Noll, 431 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—Herman Winter, Joseph Schmidt, William F. Schnitzler, William McGuern, Seb Olinger, James Cross, 1,108 votes.

Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen — William C. Birthright, Charles T. Crane, Anthony Merlino, Patrick H. Reagan, John B. Robinson, 503 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Harry Gunderson, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, John Pelkofer, George Edgerton, 100 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Charles J. MacGowan, William J. Buckley, J. N. Davis, Harry Nacey, George Nolan, J. Duschak, John V. Kearney, 2,417 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Mary Morley, 362 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Frank W. Anderson, 400 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Wm. J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, Elmer Spahr, A. J. Cleland, Thomas H. O'Donnell, 650 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 122 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin,

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

J. H. Lyons, J. A. Evensen, Wm. F. Bauers, C. F. Strickland, Leslie L. Myers, 923 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—O. A. Steinke, 4 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, George Hardy, David Sullivan, Walter Collins, Glenn R. Blake, 1,292 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Felix H. Knight, Irvin Barney, Henri Vaillancourt, Alfred E. McCormick, 1,008 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcherson, M. A. Hutcherson, Frank Duffy, Clement A. Clancy, T. D. Harper, Charles W. Hanson, M. J. Sexton, George Osterkamp, 6,000 votes.

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United—William Shoenberg, Tony Gallo, Arthur J. Strunk, Samuel R. Diskan, 204 votes.

Chemical Workers Union, International—H. A. Bradley, R. E. Tomlinson, Samuel Laderman, 412 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—A. P. Bower, Charles E. Rohrer, Maurice Simons, 100 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of—W. S. Gross, Harold E. Greenwald, John Zitello, Mike Minaden, 176 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, William Biggadike, Stewart Robinson, George J. Wachowski, 458 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, Phil E. Ziegler, Harry R. Lyons, Robert Morgan, Glen B. Goble, Lincoln B. Snedden, John H. Sylvester, 2,292 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—James A. Suffridge, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Thomas J. Quinlan, Frank C. Shea, Vernon A. Housewright, 1,196 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, J. Earl Collins, 50 votes.

Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union—Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, 100 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—Foster J. Pratt, 62 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—Ed J. Brown, G. M. Bugnizet, Chas. M. Paulsen, Walter Lenox, Edgar S. Hurley, Rex Fransway, D. T. Johnstone, 3,300 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Thomas Allen, Francis B. Comfort, John C. MacDonald, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—Wm. E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Jos. J. Delaney, Frank P. Converse, Charles D. Gramling, 1,083 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 116 votes.

Farm Labor, National—H. L. Mitchell, F. R. Betton, Barney B. Taylor, 7 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, 455 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, Joseph P. Clark, Anthony J. Matz, Robert J. Tormey, James M. Kennedy, 581 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—Joseph P. McCurdy, George C. Slater, Anne Peterson, A. Adamski, W. R. Brooks, 400 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, 2,500 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—Lee W. Minton, Zera C. Wright, Joseph St. John, William Williams, 286 votes.

Glass Cutters' League of America, Window—A. U. Debrucque, 16 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Harry H. Cook, Henry Lemkuhl, Leo A. McCormick, 291 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Thomas Durlan, 33 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John Griner, 325 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Laurence Foley, Thomas Purcell, 40 votes.

Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International—Samuel Reinlib, Frank Albano, Louis Rooney, 150 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Max Zaritsky, Alex Rose, Herman Finkelstein, Margaret Mahr, Martin Lawlor, 320 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, Joseph B. Etchison, Anthony C. D'Andrea, Theodore Nischwitz, Patrick Waldron, 2,417 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Hugo Ernst, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris. Lane, Louis Koenig, Pauline Newman, J. W. Van Hook, 2,873 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Leon Williams, 93 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, Harry J. Hagen, Walter M. Matthews, 81 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Sam J. Byers, Charles T. Lindgren, John Paris, Ralph B. Hosack, 500 votes.

Leather Workers' International Union, United—Bernard G. Quinn, 40 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, Thomas H. Geraty, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, 608 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, 690 votes.

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—E. E. Milliman, A. Shoemaker, J. J. Farnan, T. L. Jones, E. J. Plondke, 1,443 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, John J. Conway, 45 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, Milton S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. Emmett Kelly, 1,269 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—Robert Byron, James J. Ryan, James T. Moriarty, James W. Close, 250 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, John O'Leary, Thomas Kennedy, William Green, Percy Tetlow, Martin F. Brennan, John Kmetz, Hugh White, William Mitch, 4,000 votes.

Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International—Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, 678 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—James C. Pettrillo, Joseph N. Weber, Charles L. Bagley, Frank B. Field, Raymond J. Meurer, Roy W. Singer, 1,000 votes.

Office Employees' International Union—Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, 206 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Pete Yablonski, James P. Meehan, Frank Owens, Robert J. Watt, 1,536 votes.

Paper Makers International Brotherhood of—Matthew J. Burns, Joseph Addy, Paul L. Phillips, Frank P. Barry, John W. Bailey, 400 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, 110 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—John E. Rooney, M. J. McDonough, John J. Hauck, John Donlin, 250 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—Martin P. Durkin, George Meany, Edward J. Hillock, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoemann, Robert Lynch, R. J. Picard, 2,000 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal—Ray Kelsay, Mike Stafford, John Grzenla, 117 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car—A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Claude E. Grooms, 100 votes.

Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, National Association of—Harold McAvoy, 15 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, Edwin L. Wheatley, Robert Golden, William Campbell, 215 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—James F. Mowatt, 15 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, George L. Googe, James F. Doyle, William A. Lewis, George Higgins, 634 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Elmer P. Meinz, Godfrey Ruddick, James S. Killen, Raymond Richards, 772 votes.

Radio Directors' Guild—Edward A. Byron, 1 vote.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—A. L. Spradling, Thomas Meany, Michael Mastrian, Guy E. Tipton, Arnold R. Hokanson, George E. Maguire, 1,145 votes.

Railway Mail Association—C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, 227 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—Charles D. Aquadro, Homer J. Meyers, Ben D. Vetter, 86 votes.

Seafarers' International Union of North America—Harry Lundeborg, John Hawk, Patrick McHugh, 450 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of—George L. Warfel, 12 votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of—Richard F. Walsh, William P. Raoul, Thomas V. Green, Eugene J. Atkinson, Michael J. Mungovan, 420 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, John M. Leary, George W. Thorpe, 670 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leo J. Buckley, Frank R. Adams, Charles Sinnigan, 93 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Paul A. Givens, 19 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. W. Kaiser, Raymond Livingston, Willard Fogleson, 100 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thos. C. Cashen, Paul M. Carter, 92 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, John D. Connors, 306 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, John F. English, Frank W. Brewster, Robert Lester, John J. O'Rourke, Ray Schoessling, 6,250 votes.

Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad—G. E. Leighty, E. J. Manion, 300 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—W. L. Allen, George R. Pawson, Harry S. Leimbach, John B. Alcorn, 248 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Benjamin Haskel, Bernard L. Eberts, 500 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—John O'Hare, R. J. Petree, 220 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Harold H. Clark, Bernard M. Egan, John Forster, Tillman K. Garrison, 640 votes.  
 Upholsterers' International Union of North America—Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred R. Rota, William Kohn, 250 votes.

### Departments

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.  
 Railroad Employes' Department—Fred N. Aten, 1 vote.  
 Union Label Trades Department—I. M. Ornburn, 1 vote.

### State Branches

Alabama State Federation of Labor—John Eusby, 1 vote.  
 Alaska State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Moore, 1 vote.  
 Arkansas State Federation of Labor—J. W. Mowery, 1 vote.  
 California State Federation of Labor—C. J. Haggerty, 1 vote.  
 Colorado State Federation of Labor—George W. Brayfield, 1 vote.  
 Connecticut State Federation of Labor—Joseph M. Rourke, 1 vote.  
 Florida State Federation of Labor—James A. Harper, 1 vote.  
 Georgia State Federation of Labor—A. C. Lawrence, 1 vote.  
 Idaho State Federation of Labor—August Rosqvist, 1 vote.  
 Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.  
 Indiana State Federation of Labor—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.  
 Iowa State Federation of Labor—A. A. Couch, 1 vote.  
 Kansas State Federation of Labor—Frank E. Welsh, 1 vote.  
 Kentucky State Federation of Labor—Edward H. Weyler, 1 vote.  
 Louisiana State Federation of Labor—R. L. Soule, 1 vote.  
 Maine State Federation of Labor—Benjamin J. Dorsky, 1 vote.  
 Maryland—District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Robert Buxbaum, 1 vote.  
 Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Kenneth J. Kelley, 1 vote.  
 Michigan State Federation of Labor—George W. Dean, 1 vote.  
 Minnesota State Federation of Labor—R. A. Olson, 1 vote.  
 Missouri State Federation of Labor—Warren S. Welsh, 1 vote.  
 Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.  
 Nebraska State Federation of Labor—John J. Guenther, 1 vote.  
 New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis P. Marclante, 1 vote.  
 New York State Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Murray, 1 vote.  
 Ohio State Federation of Labor—Michael J. Lyden, 1 vote.  
 Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—J. Cline House, 1 vote.  
 Oregon State Federation of Labor—James T. Marr, 1 vote.  
 Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—James L. McDevitt, 1 vote.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Nicolas Noguera Rivera, 1 vote.  
 Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—Daniel A. White, 1 vote.  
 South Carolina State Federation of Labor—John L. McKinney, 1 vote.  
 Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Fred Stratton, 1 vote.  
 Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Acreman, 1 vote.  
 Vermont State Federation of Labor—Max Wexler, 1 vote.  
 Virginia State Federation of Labor—Jack S. Smith, 1 vote.  
 Washington State Federation of Labor—E. M. Weston, 1 vote.  
 West Virginia State Federation of Labor—E. A. Carter, 1 vote.  
 Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Wm. Nasorske, 1 vote.  
 Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Martin Cahill, 1 vote.

### Central Bodies

Akron, O., Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly—J. A. Rogers, 1 vote.  
 Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council—Redmond Burr, 1 vote.  
 Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Henry W. Chandler, 1 vote.  
 Auburn, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Walter O'Hagan, 1 vote.  
 Augusta, Ga., Central Labor Union—William W. Holley, 1 vote.  
 Aurora, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Harold E. Kellogg, 1 vote.  
 Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—Harry Cohen, 1 vote.  
 Barberton, O., Central Labor Union—John O. Weaver, 1 vote.  
 Baton Rouge, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Perry A. Turner, 1 vote.  
 Battle Creek, Mich., Federation of Labor—Charles W. Harnden, 1 vote.  
 Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Wm. P. Reichling, 1 vote.  
 Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Harold P. Smith, 1 vote.  
 Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Ted Williams, 1 vote.  
 Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Del Monte, 1 vote.  
 Brunswick, Ga., Central Labor Union—C. K. Curry, 1 vote.  
 Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Robert A. Smith, 1 vote.  
 Burlington, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Martin Baner, 1 vote.  
 Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union—Leon B. Schachter, 1 vote.  
 Canton, O., Federation of Labor—George Teufel, 1 vote.  
 Cape Girardeau, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union, Cape Girardeau and Vic.—W. E. Redding, 1 vote.  
 Charleston, West Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union—Frank W. Snyder, 1 vote.  
 Cheyenne, Wyo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank Perkinson, 1 vote.  
 Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Gus Moline, 1 vote.  
 Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Union—John J. Hurst, 1 vote.



Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Isidor Melamed, 1 vote.  
 Pontiac-Oakland County, Mich., Federation of Labor—G. Burton McLaughlin, 1 vote.  
 Portland, Maine, Central Labor Union—Horace E. Howe, 1 vote.  
 Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council—Portland and Vic.—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.  
 Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—Will E. Furber, 1 vote.  
 Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Regan, 1 vote.  
 Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union—Joe Powers, 1 vote.  
 Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—George M. Rhodes, 1 vote.  
 Richmond, Va., Central Labor Union—Emanuel D. Williams, 1 vote.  
 Riverside, Calif., Central Labor Union—Alice V. Griffin, 1 vote.  
 Rockford, Ill., Federation of Labor—William Karwels, 1 vote.  
 Rock Island and Moline, Ill., Davenport, Iowa, Tri-City Federation of Labor—H. E. Druckmiller, 1 vote.  
 Rock Springs, Wyo., Central Labor Union—Virgil Wright, 1 vote.  
 Saint Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—William J. Gibbons, 1 vote.  
 Saint Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank J. Thill, 1 vote.  
 Salem, Ore., Trades and Labor Council—Myrl G. Clark, 1 vote.  
 Salinas, Calif., Monterey County Central Labor Union—Mae Stoneman, 1 vote.  
 San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council—Wm. B. Arnold, 1 vote.  
 San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council—Harry E. Griffin, 1 vote.  
 San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—John W. Quimby, 1 vote.  
 San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Anthony Costa, 1 vote.  
 San Mateo, Calif., Central Labor Council—Henry Johnson, 1 vote.  
 San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council—Richard J. Seltzer, 1 vote.  
 San Rafael, Calif., Marin County Central Labor Council—C. T. McDonough, 1 vote.  
 Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Union—Loleta Grande Cheney, 1 vote.  
 Santa Clara, County, Calif., Central Labor Council—Le Roy Pette, 1 vote.  
 Santa Maria, Calif., Central Labor Union—Bee Tumber, 1 vote.  
 Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Union—Al Mason, 1 vote.  
 Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. M. Tanner, 1 vote.  
 Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor—R. J. Carmichael, 1 vote.  
 Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Joseph L. Downes, 1 vote.  
 Seattle, and Vic., Wash., Central Labor Council—Claude O'Reilly, 1 vote.  
 Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Floyd T. Smith, 1 vote.  
 Sioux Falls, S. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—Ralph W. Tschetter, 1 vote.  
 Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Kearney, 1 vote.  
 South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union—Edwin Turnock, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.  
 Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Union—David Stalker, 1 vote.  
 Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—Sam Bonansinga, 1 vote.  
 Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union—E. J. Barrett, 1 vote.  
 Stevens Point, Wis., Central Labor Union—John G. Arnold, 1 vote.  
 Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—William S. Quinn, 1 vote.  
 Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union—O. B. Soule, 1 vote.  
 Toledo, O., Central Labor Union—Otto W. Brach, 1 vote.  
 Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union—Joseph G. Landgraf, 1 vote.  
 Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council—Oscar A. Vinall, 1 vote.  
 Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly—Miguel Garriga, 1 vote.  
 Vancouver, Wash., Clark County Central Labor Council—William R. Smith, 1 vote.  
 Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Frank J. Coleman, 1 vote.  
 Washington, Ind., Central Labor Union—Walter Reed, 1 vote.  
 Wheeling, West Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly—Rolly C. Barr, 1 vote.  
 Wichita, Kans., Trades and Labor Assembly—A. J. Porth, 1 vote.  
 Windsor, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—J. T. Breeze, 1 vote.  
 Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union—J. M. Tate, 1 vote.  
 Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union—John Krohn, 1 vote.  
 Wood River, Ill., Central Labor Union—Percy F. Lauck, 1 vote.  
 Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—Cecelia Nicholson, 1 vote.  
 York, Pa., Federation of Trades Unions—Alvin W. Eshleman, 1 vote.

### Local Unions

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Maury E. Rubin, 1 vote.  
 Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mobile, Ala.—Stanton O. Dann, 1 vote.  
 Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union, United, No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.—Philip Farrell, 23 votes.  
 Aluminum Workers' Union No. 23120, Lafayette, Ind.—Clarence Cope, 18 votes.  
 Blast Furnace and Coke Oven Workers' Union No. 20572, Toledo, Ohio—William F. Sturm, 5 votes.  
 Brushmakers' Union No. 16303, New York, N. Y.—Anthony Varrone, 5 votes.  
 Button Workers' Union No. 20538, Auburn, N. Y.—Anna Tuleya, 5 votes.



Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.—Catharine Connelly, 15 votes.

Chemical Workers' Union No. 23516, Niagara Falls, N. Y.—C. W. Bussard, 1 vote.

Corn Products Workers' Union No. 19931 Keokuk, Iowa—G. D. Welny, 3 votes.

Editorial Association No. 23773, Dayton, Ohio—C. F. Hackman, 1 vote.

Enamel Workers' Union No. 22614, Moundsville West Va.—Chas. Mills, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 12955, Butte, Mont.—Jno. R. Driscoll, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Ira Ohmsted, 16 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18558, La Crosse Wis.—Earl Mahnke, 6 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18619, Cedar Rapids, Iowa—Ray F. Arends, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18852, Kansas City, Kans.—J. A. Leveridge, 16 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Alex I. Dever, 21 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill.—Thomas J. Shanklin, 5 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19140, Toledo, Ohio—Clyde Valentine, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19147, Cedar Rapids, Iowa—R. E. Lacy, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19152, Minneapolis, Minn.—Raleigh H. Meyer, 23 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19168, Hastings, Minn.—W. D. Vollmers, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Wash.—Sam P. Ming, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19199, Superior, Wis.—George A. Zipoy, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich.—Fred Kundraata, 8 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.—Wilbur Le Clair, 43 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19897, Jersey City and Vic., N. J.—George J. Kane, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 20388, Battle Creek, Mich.—Edward H. Pilsworth, 21 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20878, Clinton, Iowa—Earl Haack, 9 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 22122, Euclid, Ohio—George Bauck, Jr., 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 22454, New Orleans, La.—Claude P. Babin, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 22631, (46 votes); Metal Workers' Union, Fabricated, No. 19340, (3 votes); Steel Workers' Cooperative Union No. 18499 (5 votes); Milwaukee, Wis.—John E. Cudahy, 54 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23010, Ludington, Mich.—Emil W. Stahl, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23529, Sioux City, Iowa—Charles Balkema, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23185, Fall River, Mass.—Louis F. Rutkowski, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23805, Terre Haute, Ind.—Mac Gardner, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 23823, Newark, Ohio—Albert Tyhurst, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23826, Dollar Bay, Mich.—George Hiltunen, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 23843, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 23968, Los Angeles, Calif.—Harry M. Shiftman, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23983, Syracuse, N. Y.—James Oliver, 4 votes.

Flour, Cereal, Feed, Mill and Grain Elevator Workers' Union No. 21008, St. Joseph, Mo.—Jack Guinn, 2 votes.

Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers' Union No. 19184, Buffalo, N. Y.—Peter Rybka, 21 votes.

Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers' Union No. 22453, Greenville, Tex.—Roy O. Wellborn, 1 vote.

Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers' Union No. 22884, Decatur, Ill.—Waldron S. Cusick, 2 votes.

Flour Mill Workers' Union No. 21021, Buffalo, N. Y.—Stanley J. Bauer, 9 votes.

Flour Mill Workers' Union No. 21896, Detroit, Mich.—Frank J. Ion, 1 vote.

Flour Mill Workers' Union, United, No. 21910, Chicago, Ill.—Frank Tredore, 1 vote.

Fur Workers' Union No. 21479 (1 vote); Fur Workers' Union No. 21480 (1 vote); Fur Workers' Union No. 21481 (1 vote); Toronto, Ont., Can.—Max Federman, 3 votes.

Gardeners and Florists' Union No. 10615, Chicago, Ill.—William J. O'Brien, 1 vote.

Grain Processors' Union, American Federation of, No. 23111, Winnoa, Minn.—Al R. Lejk, 1 vote.

Grain Processors' Union No. 23760, Osaloosa, Iowa—Richard E. Mercer, 1 vote.

Grain Processors' Union, American Federation of, No. 23856, Wabasha, Minn.—James Mastro, 1 vote.

Insurance Agents, American Federation of Industrial and Ordinary, No. 20817, Chicago, Ill.—Peter J. Bockstahler, 1 vote.

Insurance Agents, Industrial and Ordinary, Local No. 23351, Chicago, Ill.—George E. Gillen, 2 votes.

Labor and Community Newspaper Workers' Union No. 21877, Chicago, Ill.—Anton Johannsen, 1 vote.

Match Workers' Union, United, No. 18565, Wadsworth, Ohio—Raymond Barnett, 7 votes.

Metal Workers, Fabricated, No. 23935, Morris, Ill.—Garland B. Hextell, 1 vote.

Mill and Elevator Employees' Union No. 20694, Wichita Falls, Tex.—H. A. Schneider, 1 vote.

Newspaper Commercial Associates' Union No. 21662, Chicago and Vic., Ill.—Irving J. Braveman, 3 votes.

Newspaper and Reporters, American Federation of, No. 22279, San Francisco, Calif.—Charles Omstead, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17886, Chicago, Ill.—Morris Seskind, 1 vote.

Newswriters' Union No. 21892, Sallsbury, N. C.—E. A. Tarver, 1 vote.

Reporters and Photographers' Union No. 23609, East St. Louis, Ill.—Charles O. Stewart, 1 vote.

Saw, File and Steel Products Workers of America, United, No. 22254, Philadelphia, Pa.—Otto Vollmer, 25 votes.

Seltzer Water Workers' Union No. 23181, New York, N. Y.—M. Wolpert, 1 vote.

Shorthand Reporters, Illinois Federation of, No. 29145, Chicago, Ill.—Abe Levin, 1 vote.

Supervisory Employees' Union No. 23833, Milwaukee, Wis.—Ervin W. Zumach, 2 votes.

Telegraph Employees' Federal Labor Union, Southern Division, No. 22671, Nashville, Tenn.—Hal R. Swann, 49 votes.

Telegraph Workers' Federal Labor Union, Gulf Division, No. 22679, Dallas, Tex.—W. Lee Cooney, 42 votes.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union, Greater New York, No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufrano, 3 votes.

Theatrical Agents and Managers' Union, Association of,—No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Milton Weintraub, 6 votes.

Waste Material Handlers' Union No. 20467, Chicago, Ill.—Paul J. Dorfman, 5 votes.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY TIPTON:** Mr. Chairman and delegates, this is only a partial report of the committee, and I move that the delegates named in this report be seated.

The motion was seconded and carried.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Credentials Committee will be continued and will make supplemental reports from time to time.

We have with us a distinguished visitor who has made a special trip to Chicago, in response to our request, for the purpose of meeting with you and for the purpose of delivering an address. He represents the Veterans of Foreign Wars, a great organization. The relationship between the Veterans of Foreign Wars and our service men and the American Federation of Labor is very close, cordial and friendly. I know our distinguished visitor has an interesting message for you this afternoon. I know you welcome him and are pleased to have him here as our guest.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Louis Starr, National Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who will address you now.

## MR. LOUIS STARR (National Commander, Veterans of Foreign Wars)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and delegates to the 65th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

It is my honor and privilege as Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, representing a membership that has just passed the two million mark, to extend to you our best wishes for a most successful and constructive convention.

The cordial relations and frequent cooperation between our two great organizations over past years have grown inevitably out of the similarity of our democratic structures, out of the points-in-common of our convictions and general purposes, and out of a mutual respect for the specific objectives for which we were respectively organized.

Your distinguished President, William Green, has honored us on several occasions by addressing our National Encampments, including the recent one in Boston. Our Washington representatives have long enjoyed the best of relationships with A. F. of L. executives—I take the liberty to refer particularly to George Meany, Bob Watt and Boris Shishkin, since we have had our most frequent dealings with these able and sincere men.

This is the 65th year in which you have assembled in national body for a statement and re-statement of your aims and objectives through democratic procedure. One month ago the Veterans of Foreign Wars held its 47th annual Encampment—or convention. Both our organizations have long experience behind them; we have seen history made, and we have helped make it.

But we are also vital with the new blood of our sons who continue to build within our ranks—and whom we urge to improve our methods and our achievements.

Large numbers of men are intermingled in our memberships; it is natural and wholesome that there should be common interest and mutual regard. We were partners in the recent war. Many of your members—our members today—left their shops to fight for the preservation of our country and our way of life. Their fathers, their brothers—your members then and now—worked in all the industries of the nation to provide the fighting forces with weapons and supplies in the tremendous quantities necessary to overwhelm our enemies.

The first nucleus of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States appeared on the American scene in 1899—18 years after the founding of the American Federation of Labor. We were then, as we are now, composed of men who saw service in the armed forces of the United States on foreign soil or in hostile waters during some war, campaign or expedition. We were then, and we are now, dedicated to the preservation of American ideals and institutions; to rendering service to needy and disabled veterans, and to the widows and orphans of those who gave their lives; to fostering and promoting true patriotism; and to combating all enemies of the United States—whether within or beyond our borders.



Our guiding principle has always been most adequately expressed in these words: "Honor the dead by serving the living."

For 47 years we have served and championed the cause of the rank and file of veterans. But, from a humble beginning with a few thousand members, we have grown to strong national stature with a membership of two million—and nearly 90 per cent of them are among the winners of World War II.

We are proud that the long history of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is clean and honorable in its relations with organized labor. We have never opposed or doubted the right of working men to organize and bargain collectively for a just share of the fruits of their labor—for a higher standard of living for all our people.

While we have pursued our own ends and objectives—though they have coincided in many ways with yours—the American Federation of Labor has gone steadily and inexorably about its basic business of creating a vast network of member and affiliated unions; and, through their power and the over-all leadership, has written an historical record of reform and achievement in the labor movement.

We of the V. F. W. like the principle stated long ago by the illustrious Samuel Gompers, and often repeated by other A. F. of L. leaders: "You can't be a good union man unless you are first a good American."

That is the ideal of the V. F. W. and its members—and of the growing youth in their families—to be good Americans.

Round together as V. F. W. members are, by the ties of common experience, the concept of proper care for disabled war veterans and their dependents, and a deeply rooted personal interest in the national security, we are ever wary of the constant pressures and temptations which would take us too far afield in economics and politics.

Within the framework of the V. F. W. Constitution and By-Laws, and in accordance with our high purpose, every member is left free to choose his own religious, political and economic faiths.

We believe that any other course we might follow could not do other than disrupt and disperse our organization. We would not divest ourselves of the character which binds us together and makes possible the good works we can accomplish in our own way. We know that if we should so divest ourselves—and attempt to set up as a politico-economic authority—we would cease to be a pure veteran organization.

The V. F. W. believes that an organization of veterans, organized as such, can achieve the greatest good both in "caring for their own" and in promoting the welfare of their nation, by operating along the lines we have chosen to follow.

We must, as a veteran organization, necessarily endeavor to understand and interpret the trends of the day, and exert our influence where we may properly do so. We know that we can often work to good cause with such an American giant as the A. F. of L. We are, in fact, at this time planning to create within our national organization a department of labor-and-management-relations to facilitate such cooperation with management and organ-

ized labor where veterans' interests are involved.

The V. F. W. sees eye-to-eye with you on matters of fundamental Americanism. We have observed with gratification your productive efforts to combat subversive elements which are prone to breed in these difficult post-war times. There is much fishing being done in our troubled national waters. We know—because the V. F. W., too, has been actively engaged in the fight—that the infiltration of alien isms is a definite danger to our way of life.

The V. F. W. has used, and will continue to use, all its power and influence to see that this nation is kept strong and prepared for national defense. We are not blind to the contentious spectacle of the peace negotiations in Paris. We can not yet feel security in the machinery and functioning of the United Nations. Nor can any of us be overly heartened by the way matters have gone in the defeated and occupied countries.

Therefore, let us keep our powder dry, and—until the brotherhood of man has markedly improved—keep our atomic bombs and vital wealth of resources to ourselves.

The American Federation of Labor is an essential part of the great industrial bulwark against war. For no one will dispute the fact that the last war, though it called for all the gallant and well-trained fighting men we could muster, was also pre-eminently an industrial war. Winning it called for all that industry could produce; and, starting almost from scratch, industry turned in a marvelous performance. The over-all record of organized labor was a proud one indeed.

We of the V. F. W. feel that the American Federation of Labor will do its utmost to keep the labor forces in constant readiness for national defense—as well as working for reconversion to a truly better life in peacetime—by a continuing and relentless fight to rid organized labor of elements that are intent upon attacking our democratic way of life. We pledge you our fullest cooperation in the preservation of all Constitutional freedoms and our concept of respect for the dignity of man.

Of the specific problems with which the V. F. W. is presently concerned, in connection with the reintegration of veterans into the peacetime economy, those of most outstanding importance are housing and employment.

We have maintained a long and vigorous campaign to get something done about housing. We have endeavored to work as closely as possible with government, management and labor, to bring order out of chaos and get some houses built for veterans.

The V. F. W. is not in the construction business. We have no connection with management. We are not in the real estate business. But we do want living quarters for veterans—and we urge again that labor, management and government renew their efforts, pool all their resources to meet a real emergency, open their minds to new ideas and methods and get the job done in the American free-enterprise way, with fair and reasonable returns to all concerned.

We have had our representatives in the nation's capital constantly conferring and consulting with government officials in advisory committees; consulting with labor leaders, with

industrialists and construction interests. Our Posts all over the country have cooperated with local agencies and tried to further the program by fact-revealing surveys and constant pressure.

And still the snows will fall this winter on many skeleton houses that can't be completed for lack of materials—and on many bare lots where houses might have been built by this time.

We are told—and I think we may sincerely believe—that the American Federation of Labor with its important building trades and construction unions, is ready to handle a fully expanded housing program. I know that our experience to date has shown your leaders to be most cooperative, and constructive steps have been taken to educate unions across the nation.

We shall continue to make the housing problem a major concern.

We shall carefully examine and consider every means, under existing or proposed legislation, that may get roofs over veterans' heads.

In the matter of employment there is, as usual, considerable confusion in the figures. We are told on the one hand that nearly all of the approximately 13 million veterans of World War II are either employed or in school. On the other hand we have knowledge of considerable numbers of unemployed. And certainly there are great numbers who are not employed so as to earn a decent living in these times. Far too many of our veterans have no real job with an opportunity to build toward a brighter future.

Veterans are still paying, and may continue to pay, for time spent in the armed forces—through lack of opportunity to get footholds in business and industry.

Seniority and "super-seniority" are an old story now. The V. F. W. and A. F. of L. leaders agreed that veterans should have seniority credit for time spent in military service—but questioned any super-seniority that would enable them to displace workers with greater seniority, including veterans of other wars, and so disrupt the entire labor seniority system.

Veterans have not been able uniformly throughout the nation to enjoy the privileges of seniority for military service. There have, of course, been many difficulties and complications in this matter. Seniority should perhaps have been provided by law upon discharge from service, in the same manner as re-employment rights were; for, as time goes by, the principle of seniority equivalent to military service for veterans—particularly the younger ones with little or no job experience—will become increasingly difficult to establish in practice.

At any rate, we all are agreed that the answer to employment, the way to prevent job-strife and bitterness between veterans and non-veterans, must be an expanding economy which will provide increased opportunities for all our people.

The veteran—in our national economy—does not want to be a set-apart "class." He wants to forget his years of dislocation and fit back into the civilian picture.

The V. F. W. has made an exhaustive study of a plan for the creation of a "Veterans

Economic Development Corporation," and sponsored bills introduced simultaneously in both houses of Congress in the last session. This corporation would be a self-supporting Government credit agency designed to create both management and employment opportunities for veterans through stimulating new business and industry under the strictly American free-enterprise system. We expect to ask for passage of this legislation in the next Congress.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars has never wavered in steadfast devotion to fundamental Americanism and the principles of profit incentive and free-enterprise. We think our country can still be run that way. We want freedom for the play of initiative—for all our people. We want it for management. We want it for labor.

I think I can safely state my organization's position to be for a minimum of Government interference in the affairs of responsible labor relations. It appears that the continued and ever-broadening intrusion of Government bureaucracy into the contractual relationships of management and labor has not produced the results anticipated—or at least predicted—by some of the total planners.

As veterans dedicated to the preservation of the democratic way of life, we go along with you in staunchly supporting the right of labor to collective bargaining without unnecessary impediment by a Government which might, through the increasing power of its controls, become a threat to our fundamental rights and freedoms.

For Governments that control are themselves vulnerable to control.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank Commander Starr in your name and in your behalf for his visit with us this afternoon and for his very educating and interesting address. I want him to know that we will cooperate fully with his organization in the promotion of the interests of the veterans, the members of his splendid organization. We are deeply interested in all the subjects to which he referred in his address. We are grateful to him for coming here this afternoon and for visiting with us and for the delivery of his splendid address.

Now it affords me great pleasure to present to you another outstanding and distinguished American. General Omar N. Bradley responded quickly to the invitation extended him to visit with us, to be our guest and to deliver an address. He is here this afternoon. His name is known by every member of the American Federation of Labor in our great country and in practically every home throughout the nation. He served in a most wonderful, heroic and distinguished way on the field of battle. He is held in high regard and high esteem by all American citizens. He is now serving as Administrator of the Veterans Administration.

I am pleased to present to you General Bradley of the Veterans Administration.

## GENERAL OMAR N. BRADLEY (Administrator of the Veterans Administration)

During the war, thirteen million American citizens put aside their private lives for the armed defense of the nation.

While they fought, there were others who worked. It was because we fought together and worked together that we won the war.

Labor represents both the worker and the fighter. One out of every six American wage-earners today is a veteran of this country's wars.

The young man with a union card in his pocket and a discharge button in his lapel knows it is primarily as a worker—rather than as a veteran—that he must make his way.

While in service, he suffered wartime losses in wages, skills and training.

As a veteran, he has earned the chance to help offset these losses.

But ultimately—it is as a worker that he will find job security and honest reward for productive labor.

Every young American veteran today faces a fundamental choice in how he shall think.

He can think of himself primarily as a citizen and he can employ his veterans benefits for his own best interests and those of the nation.

Or he can think of himself primarily as a veteran and he can employ his numerical strength for special privilege at the expense of the nation.

The choice is basically one between national welfare and special interests.

I speak first as an American—and then as Administrator of Veterans Affairs. I speak with strong personal conviction when I say that anyone—whether he be from government, industry, or labor—whether he be the spokesman of veterans, or any other group of American citizens—is morally guilty of betrayal when he puts special interests before the welfare of this nation.

I refuse to believe that any American veteran would deliberately endanger the country he has fought to defend.

There are some veterans who might be deceived by the lure of easy money. There are some who might be misled by the promise of something for nothing.

If we want veterans to think as citizens, we must prove to them that special privilege is nothing more than a fraudulent substitute for honest opportunity.

There is nothing more menacing to the future of the American veteran than the phony champion who bids him think first of himself—to the exclusion of all others.

If we abandon the veteran to this selfish claptrap, if we permit the veteran to barter his opportunities as a citizen for a government handout—we must share the responsibility for selling him down the river.

More than ever before, these men who have risked their lives for our security must now be granted job security that will enable them to live as self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting citizens in a free and independent America.

Where we were once compelled to defend

democracy with the strength of these young men, we must now show that democracy can work for the enrichment of their lives.

For democratic government, to survive, must grant to its people continuing opportunities for greater economic security.

We must prove to veterans—and to all Americans—that political democracy is the forerunner of economic democracy. And we must show that as citizens in this democracy, veterans will find the opportunities to work, earn and prosper more than has ever before been possible in any other nation.

Our veterans today were children during the great depression. Their wants and their ambitions reflect their fears of insecurity.

American veterans want jobs that will reward them fairly for honest labor.

American veterans want security that will free them from the fear of layoffs.

American veterans want homes that are liveable dwellings they can afford.

American veterans want relief from the disabling effects of inflation.

And American veterans want to plan their futures without fear of paralyzing depressions.

This is not a program for veterans alone—but rather one that must be achieved for all Americans.

We shall not accomplish it with special privilege for veterans. We shall not accomplish it with special privilege for labor. We shall not accomplish it with special privilege for management.

Instead, we shall achieve it only with greater freedom of opportunity in a nation where all Americans have learned that—whenever we pursue special privilege at the cost of national welfare—we shall penalize ourselves as well as all others.

American veterans have been granted this greater freedom of opportunity in readjustment provisions of the G.I. Bill. The American people have not sought to compensate veterans—other than those disabled—for their time and suffering in war. Instead, we have sought to replace lost wartime opportunity with greater opportunity to work and earn in peace.

Key provision of that Readjustment Act is the educational and training program which will permit veterans greater freedom than ever before in their choice of vocations.

When growing abuses of on-the-job training threatened the entire program with public distrust and the danger of total rejection, I recommended to Congress a law designed to plug up some of the leaks.

Experience has demonstrated to us that a ceiling is essential to the honest conduct of on-the-job training. The abuses which led to this conclusion were not in established apprenticeship courses. They were found among veterans who were not really trainees but were in jobs involving a normal flow of promotion.

The Veterans Administration is committed to the principle of a ceiling.

However, until continuing studies of journeymen's wages throughout these United States indicate that the level of the ceiling is too high or too low, we shall not take issue with those levels enacted by law of Congress.

Those persons who oppose these ceilings divide themselves into two groups. The first is conscientiously opposed—not to the principle of a ceiling—but rather to the level of the ceiling

as established by law. The second is not only opposed to the principle of a ceiling, but it is opposed to any person that would call a halt on its expansion of special privilege for the veteran.

I feel it my duty as an American citizen to remind veterans that their future lies in honest opportunity rather than special privilege. We dare not benefit one group of the American people at the expense of another.

When veterans and non-veterans, business and labor view their interests in the nation's welfare—we shall then find our real productive strength.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I thank General Bradley for his most interesting address and for his visit with us this afternoon.

Perhaps it would be appropriate for me to remind him that in the delivery of his address he spoke to the representatives of 7,100,000 members of the American Federation of Labor, and most of these served in the army of production, making their contribution toward the winning of the war. I know he will be interested to know that he spoke to such a representative audience here this afternoon.

I can assure him in your name, I know, that it is our purpose, our objective to cooperate with him, as I said we would with Commander Starr, in the promotion of the interests of returning veterans. We provided for those of our members who engaged in the military service to return to their unions without the payment of any additional dues or any additional initiation fees, and in accordance with our fixed rules we recognized all the seniority rights that they gained while they were serving our country abroad.

Please accept our thanks for your visit and for your address this afternoon.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany will now read the names of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

### COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Secretary Meany announced the appointment of the following committee:

I. M. Ornburn, W. R. Brooks, J. A. Evensen, R. J. Petree, John B. Robinson, John C. MacDonald, Martin Lawlor, Charles Aquadro, George Hardy, Frank B. Field, Raymond Livingston, H. E. Greenwald, George T. Richardson, Michael Mastrian, Louis Nelson, Joseph P. Clark, Pauline Newman, William F. Schnitzler, A. U. Dabruque, R. L. Soule, George Nolan, Al J. Cleland, Omar M. House, Robert Morgan, Louis Rooney.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The committee will leave as soon as possible and bring in the report on rules and order of business of the convention.

Now, in line with a custom we have followed, a veteran of the American Federation of Labor

will submit to you a summary of the report of the Executive Council. Our beloved friend to whom I have referred has discharged this duty in splendid style over a long period of time. I am calling upon him to do so this afternoon.

It affords me great pleasure to present to you our very dear old comrade, Brother Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who will read to you a summary of the Council's report.

### SUMMARY OF REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

**DELEGATE DUFFY:** President Green has given me a job. I wouldn't mind, I wouldn't object if he had given it to somebody else. The very first day of this convention he puts me to work. He has practically said to me in the words of the building tradesmen: "Frank, put on your overalls and go to work."

Well, a good soldier obeys orders. I am willing to do it, so here goes.

The report of your Executive Council submitted to this convention covers the period since the last convention which was held in November, 1944. Major emphasis is put on the postwar period. Due to transportation difficulties, it was impossible to hold a convention in 1945. A brief report of the work of your Executive Council for the preceding year was issued under the caption, "1945—An Epochal Year." This summary was prepared when plans for a 1945 convention had to be abandoned.

### SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

In his financial accounting for the 12 months preceding August 31, 1946, Secretary-Treasurer Meany reported a balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year of \$1,742,077.43. Total receipts amounted to \$2,280,979.10, while expenses were \$2,625,923.15. Attention is directed to the fact that \$1,453,042.30 was expended for organizing purposes.

During the 12 months ending August 31, 1946, 211 charters were issued. Of this number two were issued to newly formed national unions. One new Department was formed—the Maritime Trades Department.

It should be noted that our membership reached an all-time high in 1946.

#### Samuel Gompers Fund

The financial accounting of the Gompers Memorial Fund shows a balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year of \$13,583.13.

#### Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building

The report of the trustees discloses a balance on hand on August 31, 1946, of \$31,607.91.

### Auditors' Report

The auditors appointed by President Green submitted a report of their duties. This statement is also included in the report of the Executive Council.

### United Nations, Toward World Order, Advisors to the Economic and Social Council, and Basic Principles of Representation

Under these captions are presented reports of the various international agencies which have been or will be set up under the United Nations Charter.

### Control of Atomic Research and Power

The proposal of the American representative on the Commission to study this important subject is briefly presented. Your Executive Council recommends approval of the principles proposed in our report.

### International Labor Organization

Under this caption there is submitted a concise report of the activities of the I.L.O. since the close of the war. It will be noted that the I.L.O. is laying important plans for the future.

### Free Trade Unions in Europe

The American Federation of Labor is convinced that the revival of free trade unions in Germany is vital to the future democratization of that country. Steps have already been taken to reach this objective. An interesting report on this subject is presented under the above title.

### Our Responsibility for Free Trade Unions

The American Federation of Labor has maintained that a basic agency for the rehabilitation of countries once Axis-controlled is the free trade union movement. Free unions are essentially democratic organizations and their influence and operation strengthens democratic forces. This reasoning prompted us to maintain a representative in Europe to meet with German trade union officials and to keep our Washington office advised of developments. On the basis of reports received, we have been able to guide our policies and to help some of the international union centers to tide over current difficulties.

In the coming year it is planned to continue aid to European trade unions by maintaining our representative in Germany as well as a representative to keep in touch with other European countries.

In this section of the report there is also a report on the effectiveness of our efforts to guide Latin-American countries in their quest for free trade union leadership.

The Executive Council directs attention to the fact that an economic organization of

Inter-American trade unions would constitute a sure guarantee of democracy and human welfare in the future.

### Peace Treaties

The Executive Council, under this caption, directs attention to the fact that though more than a year has elapsed since V-J Day, no treaties of peace have yet been negotiated. A brief survey is presented of efforts thus far made to negotiate peace treaties and attention is directed to the difficulties which have beset those responsible for this important task of negotiating a just peace.

The American Federation of Labor suggests that the nations which value world peace with individual freedom should take steps to conserve an institution they inherited from past generations and consider how best to further freedom in the years ahead.

### Selection of Fraternal Delegates

In accordance with the authorization of the 1944 convention, representatives were appointed to serve as fraternal delegates to attend the conventions of the British Trades Union Congress, and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Secretary-Treasurer Meany, and Vice-President Doherty were assigned to attend the British Trades Union Congress which met at Blackpool on September 10, 1945. Arrangements for the 1945 convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada were cancelled because of governmental restrictions. Vice-President Woll was assigned to attend the 1945 meeting which was cancelled, and the 1946 convention which was held at Windsor, Ontario, beginning September 18, 1946.

President Ed J. Brown, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Secretary Thomas Kennedy, of the United Mine Workers, were appointed fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress which will convene at Brighton on October 21, 1946.

### Government Employees Council

A Government Employees Council, composed of postal employees' international unions and other Government employees organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor was formed on April 11, 1945. This Council is functioning in a very satisfactory way. A report of its activities is submitted in another section of the Report of the Executive Council.

The Executive Council expresses the hope that this Council will continue to serve as an administrative agency through which the economic, social and industrial interests of all Government employees will be promoted.

### Reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers of America

Under this title the Council has been pleased to report that following negotiations between

the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and the President of the United Mine Workers, an understanding was reached which provided for the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with the American Federation of Labor. The reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers brings added strength to the American Federation of Labor as well as strong, co-operative support to the United Mine Workers.

#### **Engineers, Firemen and Oilers**

Under this caption the Council confirms the recommendation of the 1936 convention that a merger between the membership of these two international organizations should be effected. The Executive Council expresses the hope that all possible steps will be taken which will lead to an understanding which will serve to adequately and properly protect the individual and collective interests of the officers and members of each organization concerned.

#### **Changes of Titles of International Unions.**

Authorization was granted the International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union to omit the word "Ladies" from its title, with the definite understanding that such change would not in any way be interpreted as meaning a change in the jurisdiction of that organization.

The Retail Clerks International Protective Association requested concurrence in a change in the name of said organization. This change was effected by the omission of the word "Protective." This change in title was authorized with the understanding that such change would not in any way change the jurisdiction of the organization.

#### **Dissociation of International Association of Machinists**

Because of the importance of the subject-matter the Executive Council has included in this section of its report a comprehensive statement and has also submitted for the record correspondence which was exchanged between the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and the International Association of Machinists.

Attention is called to the fact that several conferences have been held between representatives of the A. F. of L. and the International Association of Machinists looking toward an amicable adjustment of the matter. It is the earnest hope of the Council that further progress will be made through which the International Association of Machinists may again become part of the American Federation of Labor.

#### **Canadian Central Labor Unions**

After conferences between representatives of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada,

and the Executive Council, it was decided to recognize the sole authority of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to charter central labor unions in the Dominion. This step was taken to avoid duplication and to meet what appeared to be the urgent requirements of the situation.

The Executive Council further recommends that the limited number of charters already issued to central bodies in Canada be cancelled. Representatives of any central body or bodies chartered now by the A. F. of L. will be accorded an opportunity to file objections to the acceptance of this recommendation of the Executive Council.

#### **Formation of the Maritime Trades Department**

The Seattle, 1941, convention authorized that steps be taken looking toward the formation of a Maritime Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. At that time it was found inadvisable for all concerned to set up such a Department. However, it recently became obvious that the time had arrived for the formation of such a Department, which action was taken in August, 1946. A Maritime Trades Department was formed and is now functioning.

#### **New International Unions Chartered**

Four new international unions were chartered during the interim between the adjournment of the 64th convention and this date. These new international unions were the Office Employees International Union, National Association of Postal Supervisors, National Farm Labor Union, Radio Directors Guild. The jurisdictions of the four organizations are clearly defined and established. The Executive Council will cooperate fully with the officers and members of these newly formed organizations in their respective fields.

#### **Official Changes**

Under this title there is presented a brief report of changes in the personnel of the Executive Council, President David Dubinsky, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, was selected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Edward Flore. President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, was selected to fill the vacancy brought about by the dissociation of the International Association of Machinists of which former Vice-President Harvey Brown is President.

#### **A. F. of L. Revenue**

The Executive Council made a thorough study of our financial experiences for the past five years. It is obvious that if the Executive Council is to meet the demands made upon it for organizing purposes and for adequate service to our affiliates, there must be some in-



crease in income to the Federation. The Executive Council, therefore, recommends a change in per capita tax to be paid to the American Federation of Labor as indicated in a proposed amendment to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

#### **A. F. of L. Employees Retirement Plan**

Pursuant to instructions of the 1944 convention, the Executive Council has made plans to put into effect a retirement plan for American Federation of Labor employees. This plan was prepared by a committee of the Executive Council, with the assistance of a number of qualified experts in this field. A committee of the Executive Council has been instructed to put the plan into effect at the earliest possible date.

#### **Consumers Cooperatives and Trade Unions**

Your Executive Council commends the growing interest in consumers cooperatives which is developing among our trade unions. All affiliated unions are urged to take an active part in consumers cooperatives in their communities. Where there are still no well organized cooperatives, our unions are urged to organize them.

#### **Benefit Services of Trade Unions**

Following their established custom, the Executive Council has had prepared a compilation showing benefit services of unions which responded to our request for data on this subject. There was a marked rise in the amount of benefits paid in 1946 over those paid in 1945.

#### **American Federationist, Labor's Monthly Survey, North American Labor News, Publicity, Radio and the Free Labor Press**

Under this caption there are submitted brief reports on the various publications and publicity media of the American Federation of Labor.

#### **National Labor Policy**

Since workers started to organize in unions in order to have a voice in terms and conditions of pay, national policy with respect to unions has been in process of formulation. A comprehensive review is presented of the consistent struggle which was encountered by the organized labor movement in its efforts to better wages and working conditions.

The A. F. of L. believes that what is needed now to promote better industrial relations is honest effort by management and unions to bargain collectively for their mutual benefit, supplemented by genuine efforts to work together for better and greater production so that there may be more for all. Cooperation, which is the spirit of partnership, constitutes grounds for increasing the proportional share going to workers.

The Executive Council submits a proposal which we believe would result in better industrial relations. This proposal is submitted for your careful consideration.

#### **National War Labor Board and National Wage Stabilization Board**

The wage stabilization functions of the National War Labor Board were transferred to the National Wage Stabilization Board by Executive Order on December 31, 1945. The National War Labor Board had terminated its activities on December 3, 1945.

Because of the vital importance of wages to the workers of America, a comprehensive and informative report on that subject is included in the report of the Executive Council under the above captions.

#### **War and Reconversion Controls Still in Effect**

The wartime controls of our national economy are presented as a checklist in determining our return to self-government as a free economy.

#### **Principles of Repressive Labor Legislation**

Under this title there is given a report on principles and other significant aspects of the legislation discussed therein. It is not a parliamentary history or voting record on labor legislation, which will be found elsewhere in the report.

It is noted that 160 anti-labor bills were introduced in the National Congress, all designed to destroy the effectiveness of trade unions. A few of the outstanding proposed anti-labor measures are discussed in detail in this section of the report. Included in those under discussion are the Hatch-Ball-Burton Bill, the Norton so-called "Fact-Finding Bill," the Case Bill, President Truman's "draft bill," and the Hobbs Bill.

The American Federation of Labor has exerted every effort to defeat adverse bills and it will continue its efforts to the end that pending anti-labor legislation in Congress may be defeated.

#### **National Labor Relations Board**

Attention is directed to important changes which have taken place in both the administration of the National Labor Relations Act and in the personnel of the National Labor Relations Board. It is noted that while the administration of the Act has improved somewhat, some basic principles which have heretofore been criticized by the American Federation of Labor remain in effect. In addition, many employees of the Board, particularly in the regional offices, continue to perform their duties in such a way as to promote the interest of rival unions. A number of important cases before the Board are discussed in this section of the report.

### Labor and the Courts

This section of the report of the Executive Council is devoted to the activities of our General Counsel. It is noted that more than at any time in its history, the American Federation of Labor has been required to resort to the courts for the protection of Labor's basic rights. A concise report on activities in the several states to defeat anti-labor legislation is given.

Our General Counsel has been instructed to continue to prosecute pending and future anti-labor legislation most vigorously and to render full legal aid and assistance to State Federations subjected to destructive anti-labor laws. The Federation will continue to contest these and similar repressive laws until they are completely wiped off the statute books of the states and the nation.

### State Labor Legislation

Anti-labor forces in many states directed one move after another in state capitols aimed to destroy Labor's fundamental rights and weaken the legal protections due wage earners within a state.

Attention is directed to the fact that now is the proper time to direct efforts toward retrieving losses in education for youth that occurred during the war. This is the time not only to achieve a 16-year minimum for every state in the Union, but also to tighten up on the hours, the night work, and the hazardous occupation provisions of state laws.

The Federation proposes to actively promote amendments to child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act as well as state child labor laws which are deemed most necessary.

Other sections of this part of the report deal with the establishment of State Labor Departments, migratory labor, safety and health, and state health and safety programs.

### The Labor Department

The reorganization of the Department of Labor is reported in this section. Two reorganization plans have been effected, both of which unfortunately tended to weaken the Department of Labor. Instead of developing and integrating the services for workers and industries, vital labor functions were taken out of the Department of Labor despite protests of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council expresses keen disappointment over developments in the administration of labor matters by the Department of Labor.

### Social Insurance Activities

Social security is of vital importance to all wage earners, and the report of the Executive Council on this subject is especially

commended to your attention. The report submitted is comprehensive and informative.

It is noted that all efforts to improve our social security program have met with bitter opposition. Attention is called to the fact that the spearhead of this opposition has been the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies. This organization purports to be a professional organization of public administrators in the field of unemployment compensation but is actually the front for every reactionary interest opposed to improvement of the social security program.

However, the support of the membership of the American Federation of Labor for broadening, expanding, and improving our social security program is heartening and will be effective in the opinion of your Executive Council.

### Housing Legislation

This section of the report deals with one of our most pressing problems. During the past two years the A. F. of L. led in insistence upon early introduction of a far-reaching housing program designed to meet the objectives laid down by our 1944 convention. Our program of recommendations was placed before Congress on January 15, 1945. In February, 1945, legislative proposals designed to carry out this program were presented by the A. F. of L. Housing Committee to the Chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee with the request that a comprehensive postwar housing bill be introduced at the earliest possible date. Our efforts in this direction resulted in the adoption by the U.S. Senate of S. 1592 and the A. F. of L. amendment requiring that not less than prevailing wages be paid on all FHA insured construction. It is regretted, however, that a small but strong lobby representing the speculative elements in the real estate and mortgage lending field succeeded in blocking the bill in the House Banking and Currency Committee. It is our purpose to redouble efforts for the enactment of the A. F. of L. housing program in the coming year.

Attention is directed to the fact that the nation's housing need is urgent. The A. F. of L. housing program should be kept high on Labor's "must" list for enactment in the coming year.

### Federal Aid for Education

This section of the report directs attention to the fact that the duty of any democratic government is to provide educational opportunities for its people. Recently, however, the method by which this objective is to be accomplished has been questioned. The difficulties which have arisen as a result are presented in the report of the Executive Council.

This section of the report deals with a matter of vital concern to wage earners. It is



pointed out that "services for the benefit of all children should be clearly understood to include that aid for the benefit of every child which is available for the benefit of any child."

#### **Workers Education**

In this section of the report attention is directed to the growing need of adult workers for wider educational opportunities. The federal government provides an agricultural extension service which provides farmers with scientific and practical aids in farming, a world famous service. The Department of Commerce provides research and technical assistance for employers engaged in trade and industry. Decades have passed, however, and the government has done nothing to implement the proposal that land grant colleges were to promote the welfare of those in the mechanical arts equal with agriculture as anticipated by the Morrill Act of 1862.

A brief report is submitted on current undertakings in workers education.

#### **Workers Education Bureau**

It is pointed out that the Workers Education Bureau was directly or indirectly responsible for initiating the current projects in workers education upon which the report on Workers Education is based.

#### **Wages**

The rapid price increases of the past year gave rise to grave doubts as to whether workers' buying power is adequate to maintain industrial production at full employment levels. Our important task is, therefore, to build up those economic forces which will bring prices down to a reasonable level. This requires steady production of the goods needed to make up current shortages which are the main cause of inflation. The American Federation of Labor reiterates the constructive principles which have guided our wage policy in the past.

#### **The South Revives Organization Work**

A very brief report is made of the progress thus far realized in our campaign to organize the South. In this campaign the keynote of the American Federation of Labor is "Equal employment opportunity and full participation in unionism." Our southern organization campaign is just getting under way.

#### **National Legislation**

A very comprehensive and informative report on our national legislative activities is

presented under this heading. In the 79th Congress which convened on January 3, 1945, and concluded its second session on August 2, 1946, approximately 11,540 bills were introduced, of which 550 became law. The more important legislative matters in which the American Federation of Labor interested itself are presented in a concise way for your information and guidance.

#### **Special Reports**

##### **Government Employees Council**

Under this title a brief report is submitted on the formation, purposes, and activities of the newest addition to the federated bodies under the American Federation of Labor.

##### **Building and Construction Trades Department**

##### **Metal Trades Department**

##### **Railway Employees Department**

##### **Union Label Trades Department**

These sections comprise the summarized annual reports of the respective A. F. of L. Departments to our regular conventions.

##### **Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen**

Under this caption there is presented a comprehensive report on trade union activities on the Island of Puerto Rico. It is noted that the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen has made substantial progress, has maintained the position of the outstanding labor organization of the island, has conducted its social and educational campaign among the workers, has fought bravely to keep American institutions and ideals and the American flag in Puerto Rico, as well as the ideals and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

#### **Conclusion**

In its conclusion, the Executive Council points out that despite our problems which lie ahead we are fortunate indeed to live in a land which still affords opportunity for its citizens to promote their own welfare and which is in the forefront of technical progress. Attention is called to the fact that we must preserve our freedom if we are to transmit this sacred heritage to future generations. No group has more at stake when freedom is imperiled than the trade union movement. We must resolve to do our part.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The summary of the report just read will be included in the final proceedings of the convention.

(The complete report of the Executive Council follows):

# REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,  
OCTOBER 7, 1946.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-fifth Convention of  
the American Federation of Labor,*

## GREETINGS:

## INTRODUCTION

Since our last convention in 1944, the fighting war has ended on both European and Japanese fronts and we have commenced to work on the problems of restoring peace and plans to achieve the long-time objectives we hoped to realize after the war. Provisions for home problems of demobilization had been well worked out in advance and industrial transition to civilian schedules proceeded well at first. Military demobilization moved too rapidly because the military authorities had not prepared against the mischievous, if not traitorous, propaganda which broke out at home and in armies on foreign soil, to get the soldiers home at once. Many favored speedy demobilization. Most of the nation did not realize that a strong army was needed in the transition period to enforce the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to police conquered countries, and to enable us to stop aggressive action against weak nations.

Although nearly a year has elapsed since the end of military action, treaties necessary to end wars have not yet been negotiated. Until treaties are determined, occupying armies will continue to prevent return to normal living and production.

Decisions upon world agencies and their operation as well as the negotiation of world peace, have sharpened the differences in philosophy and procedures between national democracies and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. During the war and until lately the democracies failed to realize that the USSR was bent on imperialism and aggressive policies to expand its power. It is plain that free government is imperiled by further policies of

appeasement. We expect our government to insist upon justice for all states whether small or large.

Within our country we have practically complete reconversion and have attained a new record of peacetime employment. We are headed toward an end of scarcities in production which will make possible the end of wartime controls. There is world-wide need of the things we can produce. We in the Western Hemisphere have the best opportunity to demonstrate the value of free enterprise and free labor in peacetime production as we have already demonstrated their value in time of war needs.

As our nation has become a world power with great economic resources and outstanding technical ability, the American labor movement must assume its share of responsibility for maintaining progress at home and for preserving free enterprise and free labor in the new international agencies now being organized for international action.

Our ability to benefit by the opportunities awaiting us will be a test of our faith and our ideals.

This brief summary of trends and conditions makes plain the responsibility devolving upon all organizations believing in democratic institutions and human rights and freedom. Upon free trade unions devolves the duty of making clear the meaning and purpose of democratic institutions and in proving by our policies and achievements the value of voluntary cooperation of workers to industry and to all other organized groups. To make such demonstrations effective, trade unions and trade union members must demonstrate skill, experience, resourcefulness and responsibility.

In order to maintain our freedom and opportunities we must give paramount importance to reviewing principles and practices and making sure that those in use assure the best results. Upon our effort and success depends in no measure the future of our free nation.

Upon this convention devolves responsibility for strengthening our organization, reviewing objectives, and making plans for the future. Our report covers the period since the last convention—November 1944—with major emphasis on the postwar period. The Executive Council meeting in August 1945 found transportation conditions such that a convention could not be held. We summarized war problems and trends in our report *1945—An Epochal Year*.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY'S REPORT**

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Sixty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.*

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1945, and ending August 31, 1946.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$1,742,077.43. Of this total, \$1,500,975.06 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$241,102.37, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$2,280,979.10; the total expenses, \$2,625,923.15. Amount of expenses over receipts, \$344,944.05.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1946:

**RECEIPTS**

Balance on hand, August 31, 1945.....	\$2,087,021.48
Per capita tax .....	\$1,458,612.89
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist. . .	1,782.00
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist .....	374,862.41
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund .....	217,674.56
Initiation fees .....	98,397.66
Reinstatement fees .....	4,051.00
Supplies .....	17,372.94
Interest .....	35,580.63
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	25,177.34
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts .....	47,467.67
<b>Total receipts .....</b>	<b>\$2,280,979.10</b>
<b>Grand total .....</b>	<b>\$4,368,000.58</b>

**EXPENSES**

Organizing expenses .....	\$ 882,924.70
Organizers' salaries .....	570,117.60
Office employes' salaries .....	246,190.02
Administrative salaries .....	67,400.00
Miscellaneous general bills .....	344,501.46
Printing and publishing American Federationist .....	114,471.12
Defense Fund .....	379,484.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	20,834.25
<b>Total expenses .....</b>	<b>\$2,625,923.15</b>
<b>Balance on hand, August 31, 1946.....</b>	<b>\$1,742,077.43</b>

## RECAPITULATION

In General Fund .....	\$ 241,102.37
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions....	1,500,975.06
Balance on hand, August 31, 1946.....	<u>\$1,742,077.43</u>

## EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1946:

Rent .....	\$ 27,317.76
Refunds, charter and outfit, per capita tax, supplies, etc.....	635.06
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions .....	20,834.25
Secretary-Treasurer's bond .....	202.50
Insurance, Workmen's Compensation .....	2,705.85
Burglary, Fire .....	128.60
D. C. personal property tax.....	241.70
Social Security old age benefit tax.....	7,285.28
Can., State and D. C. unemployment tax.....	5,550.27
Federal pay-roll tax .....	17,090.87
Expressage, freight and drayage .....	664.10
Legislative salaries and expenses .....	16,441.57
Newspaper, magazines and books (library).....	2,514.57
Research-Statistical Service (supplies and miscellaneous)....	4,724.47
Postage stamps .....	17,362.81
Supplies for resale .....	10,049.51
Printing:	
General .....	\$29,909.17
Convention daily proceedings % 1944 .....	460.00
Convention miscellaneous .....	91.00
A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.....	<u>9,760.55</u>
Office equipment and supplies.....	40,220.72
Miscellaneous expenses .....	12,656.28
Paper supply and envelopes (Mailing Dept.).....	16,328.65
Mailing equipment .....	3,132.90
Office furniture and fixtures.....	1,332.72
Telegrams and telephone.....	444.46
Fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress.....	57,359.30
Auditing and Credential Committee, 1945.....	134.40
Delegates', guest, committee and officers badges, 1946.....	246.48
	<u>250.00</u>

## Salaries:

President .....	20,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer .....	18,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus .....	6,000.00
Office employees .....	246,190.02
Executive Council meetings—(Cincinnati, Miami, Washington, Chicago)—all expenses .....	32,664.32
President, traveling .....	7,055.87
Secretary-Treasurer, traveling .....	6,912.30
Defense Fund .....	379,484.00

## Per capita tax directly affiliated local unions:

Metal Trades Department .....	1,101.86
Union Label Trades Department .....	280.63
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada .....	828.24
*Organizers' salaries and expenses .....	1,453,042.30

## American Federationist:

Cost of printing .....	106,931.50
Postage .....	6,071.47
Story for Junior Federationist .....	240.00
Photographs .....	770.00
Miscellaneous .....	458.15

Legal service .....	42,827.12
Publicity salaries and expenses .....	11,704.36
Special committees and conferences .....	17,005.93

## Contributions to:

Armed Forces (cigarettes) .....	1,500.00
Nat'l. Planning Assoc. ....	500.00
American Red Cross .....	500.00

Total .....	<u>\$2,625,923.15</u>
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## ORGANIZING EXPENSES

\*During the twelve (12) months ending August 31, 1946, the American Federation of Labor expended in organizing activities \$1,453,042.30. Of this amount, \$708,524.56 was spent in organizing and services for directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions; the balance, \$744,517.74, was incurred in the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of national and international unions and in activities in behalf of state federations of labor and city central bodies.

## DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks' benefit and the amount received for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1945, and ending August 31, 1946. During the year, \$200,000.00 was transferred from the Defense Fund to the General Fund as a charge against federal labor unions for additional expense of servicing and special organizing campaign.

### RECEIPTS

Receipts from local trade and federal labor unions for the	
Defense Fund .....	\$217,674.56
Refund of strike benefits .....	5,229.00
Total Receipts .....	<u>\$212,445.56</u>

### EXPENSES

Number	Name	Location	No. of weeks	Aver. Mem.	
21754	Federal Labor, Knoxville, Tenn.....	6	1490+	\$	62,587.00
18456	Federal Labor, Kenosha, Wis. ....	6	1430+		60,067.00
20186	Federal Labor, Barberton, Ohio.....	4	1339+		37,506.00
23393	Federal Labor, Jersey City, N. J.....	4	1007		28,196.00
21626	Federal Labor, Manville, N. J.....	6	649		27,258.00
18565	U. Match Workers, F. L. U., Wadsworth, Ohio .....	6	625+		26,286.00
18851	Federal Labor, Pekin, Ill.....	4	739+		20,699.00
19340	Fabricated Metal Workers, Milwaukee, Wis.	6	329		13,818.00
20121	Federal Labor, Cloquet, Minn.....	6	314+		13,202.00
20957	Flour, Feed & Cereal Workers, Chicago, Ill.	3	480+		10,094.00
21149	U. Match Workers, F. L. U., Oswego, N. Y.	6	221		9,282.00
20254	Federal Labor, Bellaire, Ohio.....	4	293+		8,211.00
20385	U. Match Workers, F. L. U., Oshkosh, Wis.	5	215+		7,539.00
18928	U. Match Workers, F. L. U., Barberton, Ohio	6	118+		4,980.00
21369	Food Packers & Cannery Workers, New York, N. Y.....	6	103+		4,354.00
18816	Stamping & Enameling Workers, New Philadelphia, Ohio.....	4	154+		4,326.00
22813	Federal Labor, Knoxville, Tenn.....	5	103+		3,626.00
20113	Stamping & Enameling Workers, West Lafayette, Ohio.....	1	434		3,038.00
22192	Sawsmith, F. L. U., Lawrenceburg, Ind.....	6	63		2,646.00

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

<i>Number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>No. of weeks</i>	<i>Aver. Mem.</i>	
19496	Title Examiners, Cleveland, Ohio.....	4	87		2,436.00
22153	Office Employees, Barberton, Ohio.....	2	163+		2,289.00
23506	Title Workers, Cleveland, Ohio.....	5	50		1,750.00
23092	Fabricated Metal Workers, Stoughton, Wis.	5	38+		1,344.00
20643	Federal Labor, Scranton, Pa.....	6	31+		1,337.00
23394	Federal Labor, Fort Worth, Tex.....	3	39		819.00
23059	Federal Labor, Allisonia, Va.....	3	36+		770.00
22702	Rubber Workers, Goshen, Ind.....	1	100		700.00

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359,160.00

Amount disbursed for relief to members of striking unions:

19340	Fabricated Metal Workers, Milwaukee, Wis.....	4,095.00
22207	Federal Labor, Lebanon, Ind.....	1,000.00
	Workers Education Bureau.....	10,000.00

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Total expenses ..... \$374,255.00

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## RECAPITULATION

Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1945.....	\$1,862,784.50
Transfer from Defense Fund to General Fund as a charge against local trade and federal labor union for additional expense of servicing and special organizing campaign....	200,000.00

Balance Defense Fund.....	\$1,662,784.50
Receipts for 12 months ending August 31, 1946.....	212,445.56

Total .....	\$1,875,230.06
Strike benefits .....	\$359,160.00
Assistance to members of striking unions.....	5,095.00
Affiliation fee (Workers Education Bureau).....	10,000.00

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Total ..... 374,255.00

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Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1946.....	\$1,500,975.06
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**STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES  
OF THE  
SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR  
ALSO A STATEMENT SHOWING HOW BALANCE ON HAND  
IS DEPOSITED AND INVESTED**

<i>Months</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenses</i>
September, 1945 .....	\$ 184,806.13	\$ 150,218.17
October, 1945 .....	162,003.25	186,345.22
November, 1945 .....	179,269.64	194,105.29
December, 1945 .....	173,391.22	170,700.68
January, 1946 .....	204,303.80	219,066.17
February, 1946 .....	166,887.31	195,639.58
March, 1946 .....	222,115.04	185,313.31
April, 1946 .....	182,943.04	209,762.60
May, 1946 .....	164,470.60	217,529.59
June, 1946 .....	217,266.36	256,782.68
July, 1946 .....	225,790.05	301,766.03
August 1946 .....	197,732.66	338,693.83
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>\$2,280,979.10</b>	<b>\$2,625,923.15</b>
Balance in hands of Secretary—		
Treasurer Aug. 31, 1945 .....	\$2,087,021.48	
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$4,368,000.58</b>	

**RECAPITULATION**

Total Receipts .....	\$4,368,000.58
Total Expenses .....	2,625,923.15
Balance on hand August 31, 1946 .....	\$1,742,077.43
Monies deposited and invested as follows:	
*Total investment in bonds .....	\$1,201,531.25
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. ....	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York (Subject to check) ..	2,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock) .....	15,000.00
City Bank (Subject to check) .....	5,000.00
Union National Bank (Subject to check) Newark, N. J. ....	10,000.00
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check) .....	508,150.18
Secretary-Treasurer's Balance August 31, 1946 .....	\$1,742,077.43

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

**\*LISTING AND DESCRIPTION OF BONDS  
OWNED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR**

	<i>Int. Rate</i>	<i>Earliest Maturity</i>	<i>Amount</i>
U. S. Treasury Bonds 1950-52.....	2%	1950	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds 1952-54 .....	2%	1952	100,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds Series G.....	2½%	1953	50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds Series G.....	2½%	1954	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds 1955-60.....	2¾%	1955	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds 1956-59.....	2¼%	1956	100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds Series G.....	2½%	1956	100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds Series G.....	2½%	1958	100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds Series G.....	2½%	1957	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds 1962-67.....	2½%	1962	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds 1963-68.....	2½%	1963	200,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds 1964-69.....	2½%	1964	100,000.00
Premium on 1955-60 2¾%			
Bonds .....			1,531.25
Total Investment in Bonds.....			<u>\$1,201,531.25</u>

## CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1946, there have been issued 211 charters to national, department, central, local trade and federal labor unions; of this number 2 were issued to the following national unions:

The National Association of Postal Supervisors.

National Farm Labor Union.

Department charter issued as follows:

Maritime Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Central Bodies as follows:

Alabama	Oklahoma
Decatur	Ardmore
Alaska	McAlester
Fairbanks	Shawnee
Connecticut	Pennsylvania
South Norwalk	Hazleton & Vic.
Illinois	South Dakota
Litchfield	Watertown
Zeigler	Texas
Indiana	Corsicana
Wabash	Greeneville
Minnesota	Paris
Faribault	Utah
Nebraska	Geneva
North Platte	Virginia
New York	Charlottesville
Columbia County	West Virginia
Ohio	Bluefield
Wayne County	Wisconsin
	De Pere
	Prairie du Chien

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year.

	1945-1946
Nationals .....	2
Departments .....	1
Central Labor Unions.....	23
Local Trade Unions.....	87
Federal Labor Unions.....	98
Total .....	211

## Directly Chartered Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

On August 31, 1946, we had 1,315 local trade and federal labor unions

with an average membership for the fiscal year of 208,256 and a defense fund of \$1,500,975.06.

The Federation has 1,950 volunteer organizers, as well as 175 paid organizers and the officers of the 767 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$217,674.56 initiation fees, \$98,397.66 and reinstatement fees, \$4,051.00.

**Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated**

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 10.—merged 1.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 26; suspended, 39; joined national and international organizations, 42; revoked, 1; cancelled, 5; reinstated, 25.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 34; suspended, 33; joined national and international organizations, 2; cancelled 11; reinstated 12.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Dropped. 3. Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada. International Association of Machinists. International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America.

**CENTRAL BODY AND STATE FEDERATION AFFILIATIONS**

In accordance with a resolution referred by the 1944 Convention to the Executive Council, the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor has made a survey to show the percentage of local unions affiliated to city central bodies and state federations of labor.

On the basis of answers received to a questionnaire sent to all State federations and city central bodies, seventy-one (71) percent of all eligible local unions are affiliated to State Federations of Labor and thirty-eight (38) percent of all eligible local unions are affiliated to city central bodies.

## TOTAL MEMBERSHIP of AFFILIATED UNIONS

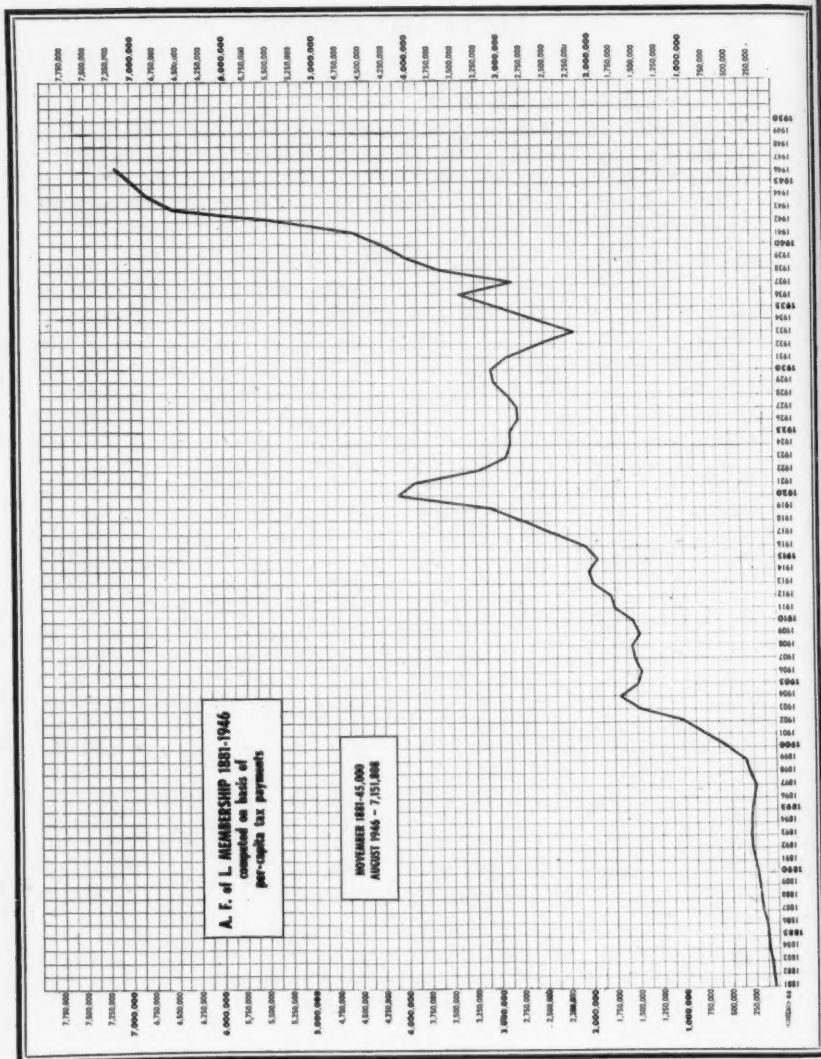
The total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions as of August 31, 1946 is 7,151,808.

This is based on the actual per capita tax received at our office in Washington from our affiliated unions.

The following is the yearly membership in the past 50 years:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>
1897.....	264,825	1922.....	3,195,635
1898.....	278,016	1923.....	2,926,468
1899.....	349,422	1924.....	2,865,799
1900.....	548,321	1925.....	2,877,297
1901.....	787,537	1926.....	2,803,966
1902.....	1,024,399	1927.....	2,812,526
1903.....	1,465,800	1928.....	2,896,063
1904.....	1,676,200	1929.....	2,933,545
1905.....	1,494,300	1930.....	2,961,096
1906.....	1,454,200	1931.....	2,889,550
1907.....	1,538,970	1932.....	2,532,261
1908.....	1,586,885	1933.....	2,126,796
1909.....	1,482,872	1934.....	2,608,011
1910.....	1,562,112	1935.....	3,045,347
1911.....	1,761,835	1936.....	3,422,398
1912.....	1,770,145	1937.....	2,860,933
1913.....	1,996,004	1938.....	3,623,087
1914.....	2,020,671	1939.....	4,006,354
1915.....	1,946,347	1940.....	4,247,443
1916.....	2,072,702	1941.....	4,569,056
1917.....	2,371,434	1942.....	5,482,581
1918.....	2,726,478	1943.....	6,564,141
1919.....	3,260,068	1944.....	6,806,913
1920.....	4,078,740	1945.....	6,931,221
1921.....	3,906,528	1946.....	7,151,808

So that the delegates and membership at large may visualize the membership record at a glance, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership, based on per capita tax payments received, for each year since 1881 up to and including 1946—a total of 66 years.



## VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1936 up to and including 1946. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1946
Actors, associated, & Artists of A. . . . .	44	55	176	201	146	148	190	177	160	237
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators . . . . .	25	25	35	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
*Automobile Workers of A. Intl. Union United . . . . .	190	†	†	42	191	261	368	431	507	431
Bakery & Confect'y Wkrs., I. U. of A. . . . .	261	325	621	730	811	844	919	869	897	1,107
Barbers' International Union, Jour. . . . .	323	408	465	475	490	490	490	492	500	503
Bill Posters . . . . .	14	14	16	18	29	30	30	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of . . . . .	50	50	50	50	50	50	92	100	100	100
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders . . . . .	155	180	280	290	332	426	903	2,867	3,369	2,417
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union . . . . .	270	293	308	308	308	308	390	400	400	400
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of . . . . .	161	131	174	177	187	219	271	271	289	362
Brewery Workmen, Intl. Union . . . . .	420	420	420	420	420	420	†	†	†	†
Brick and Clay Workers, etc. . . . .	10	55	50	100	100	115	130	100	100	122
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasters' I. U. A. . . . .	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Assn. . . . .	160	227	413	395	413	520	861	1,124	1,056	923
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl. Building Serv. Employees' Intl. Union . . . . .	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of . . . . .	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,667	6,000	6,000	6,000
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway . . . . .	583	650	650	650	650	650	700	800	958	1,008
Carvers' Union, International Wood . . . . .	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	†	†	†
Chemical Workers . . . . .	70	70	70	70	70	87	100	100	100	100
Cigarmakers' International Union . . . . .	48	159	164	164	164	164	169	171	171	176
Cleaning & Dye House Wkrs. . . . .	103	185	467	653	737	854	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,196
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail . . . . .	320	360	380	400	400	400	450	429	400	458
Clerks Post Office, Natl. Federation of . . . . .	875	892	910	910	970	1,100	1,558	1,917	2,042	2,292
Carmen, Bro. of Rwy. . . . .	132	168	211	190	180	204				
Cement, Lime & Gypsum Wkrs. . . . .										
Circus, Carnival, Fairs & Rodeo Intl. Union . . . . .	1,200	†	†	†	3	11	†	†	†	†
Clothing Wkrs. of A., Amalgamated . . . . .	20	20	19	14	14	14	†	†	†	†
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car . . . . .	25	26	36	41	42	45	51	51	50	50
Coopers' International Union . . . . .	4	3	3	3	3	4	6	6	6	6
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A. . . . .										
Distillery Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union . . . . .	12	14	18	19	19	22	34	47	71	62
Draftsmen's Union, Intl. . . . .	1,700	1,712	1,750	2,003	2,097	2,010	2,079	2,529	3,129	3,300
Electrical Wkrs., International Bro. . . . .	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Elevator Constructors . . . . .	350	420	420	708	800	800	800	933	1,000	1,083
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating . . . . .	2	2	2	2	3	3				
Engravers, Intl. Union, Metal . . . . .	88	91	102	104	105	105	108	108	109	116
Engravers Union of N. A., Intl. Photo . . . . .										
Farm Labor Union, National . . . . .	255	291	300	307	389	371	382	360	405	455
Fire Fighters, Intl. Assn. of . . . . .	207	236	254	268	312	343	411	475	527	581
Firemen and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of . . . . .	37	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of . . . . .	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Garment Workers of America, United . . . . .	406	395	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400
Garment Workers, Intl. Ladies . . . . .	1,967	†	†	†	375	2,250	2,250	2,250	2,375	2,500
Glass Cutters League of A., Window . . . . .	12	13	12	12	8	16	16	16	16	16
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U.S. & C. . . . .	60	62	108	200	200	200	203	240	240	286
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat . . . . .	116	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Glass Workers, American Flint . . . . .	48	53	179	178	186	203	237	217	256	291
Glove Workers . . . . .	22	17	7	9	16	19	28	31	31	33
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of . . . . .	222	214	212	226	223	240	236	242	268	325
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The . . . . .	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	43	40	40
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Intl. Union, United . . . . .	221	239	225	300	320	320	320	320	320	320
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers . . . . .	654	996	1,477	1,544	1,619	1,837	2,837	4,202	3,331	2,417
Horsehoofers of U. S. and Can. . . . .	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc. . . . .	738	1,071	1,759	1,848	2,025	2,141	2,420	2,328	2,245	2,873
Iron, Steel & Tin Wkrs' Am. Assn. . . . .	9	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Jewelry Workers' International . . . . .	53	60	45	40	45	55	83	81	69	93
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal . . . . .	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81
Laundry Wkrs., International Union . . . . .	60	70	194	292	400	404	450	500	500	500



ORGANIZATIONS	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1946
Leather Wkrs'. Intl. Union, United...	25	25	25	25	25	29	33	32	28	40
Letter Carriers, National Asso. of...	500	525	600	600	600	600	600	600	600	608
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural...	6	5	6	6	5	5	4	4	4	5
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso...	69	72	112	123	124	129	139	136	137	†
Longshoremen's Association, Intl...	406	614	624	663	621	615	631	539	610	690
Machinists, Intl. Association of...	1,137	1,380	1,901	1,900	1,901	2,218	3,285	4,584	6,659	†
Maintenance of Way Emp's, I. B. of...	357	418	523	576	633	657	969	1,185	1,169	1,441
Marble Polishers, etc., Intl. Asso. of...	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	48	45	45
Masters, Mates and Pilots...	25	29	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	43
Master Mech's. and Foremen of Navy Yds. & Naval Sta's, Nat'l Asso. of...	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	5
Messengers, Spec. Del. Nat'l Asso...			11	9	9	9	9	9	9	12
Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen...	194	300	521	629	709	849	948	971	1,005	1,269
Metal Workers' Intl. Asso., Sheet...	160	162	198	200	200	200	204	250	250	250
*Mine Workers of America, United...	4,000	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	4,000
Mine, Mill & Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of...	159	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Mine Wkrs. of A. Intl. Progressive...			350	350	350	350	350	350	350	†
Molders Union of N. A., Intl...	159	222	277	233	304	421	621	619	657	678
Musicians, American Federation of...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Newspaper Guild, American...	5	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Oil Field, etc., Workers...	405	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Office Employees...										205
Painters of America, Bro. of...	665	801	994	1,002	1,002	1,049	1,226	1,328	1,397	1,536
Papermakers, United Bro. of...	66	116	163	206	243	258	271	262	344	400
Patternmakers' League of N. A...	26	42	68	70	74	80	97	107	110	110
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of...	31	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. and Canada...	20	20	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.)...	8	9	10	10	10	11	14	17	27	45
Plasters' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C., Oper...	180	184	191	194	191	212	250	250	250	250
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc...	330	330	377	400	400	454	525	650	1,300	2,000
Polishers, Intl. Union of Metal...	46	56	70	70	70	70	100	100	100	117
Porters, Pro. Sleeping Car...	12	55	60	60	66	72	77	87	90	100
Pocketbook & Novelty Workers...		5	100	100	100	100	122	144	150	150
Post Office & Railway Mail Laborers, National Association...			12	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Potters, National Bro. of Operative...	104	110	120	130	140	160	178	215	215	215
Powder and High Explosive Workers...	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	d	d	d
Printing Pressmen, International...	320	337	372	396	437	457	476	485	493	634
Printers', Die Stampers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate...	13	10	9	9	7	10	8	9	11	15
Pulp Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs...	91	157	300	322	400	442	567	600	613	772
Quarry Workers, International...	20	20	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Railway Employees, Amal., S. & E...	757	767	790	797	800	807	878	988	1,048	1,145
Railway Mail Association...	193	210	217	217	221	227	229	218	218	227
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn., United State, Tile & Comp...	40	40	40	40	40	44	57	70	80	86
Rubber Wkrs. of Amer., United...	85	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
B-Seafarers Intl. Union of N. A...	200	142	22	110	187	200	292	300	300	450
Sheep Shearers Union of N. A...	9	8	8	7	6	6	†	†	†	†
Siderographers, Int. Assn. of...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
State Count & Municipal Emp...		114	200	257	297	337	356	360	460	670
Spinners Union Intl...			5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Stage Employees, Int. Alliance...										
Theatrical...	240	242	278	420	420	420	420	420	420	420
Stenotypers & Electrotypers of U. of A...	81	83	87	83	86	88	80	89	88	93
Stonecutters Asso., Journeymen...	52	50	42	41	41	41	20	19	19	19
Stove Mounters Intl. Union...	23	30	36	42	49	53	80	80	80	100
Supervisors, etc...										16
Switchmen's Union of N. A...	85	89	83	78	81	80	85	88	96	92
Tailors' Union of Amer., Journeymen...	59	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Teachers, Am. Fed. of...	127	154	221	256	300	267	229	229	252	306
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of...	1,610	2,109	3,092	3,500	3,937	4,083	5,056	6,029	6,292	6,250
Telegraphers, Commercial...	20	20	29	35	35	40	71	107	187	248
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad...	350	350	350	350	350	333	300	300	300	300
*Textile Workers of America, United...	1,000	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Tobacco Wkrs Intl. Union of Amer...	85	110	143	147	180	178	182	210	220	220
*Typographical Union, International...	733	755	794	792	†	†	†	†	53	640
Upholsterers, Intl. Union of...	85	102	110	110	148	160	160	160	250	250
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A...	5	9	30	31	31	31	31	31	28	27
Wire Weavers' Protective, American...	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	3
Centrals...	73	785	792	806	816	809	780	758	749	767
State Branches...	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	50	50	50
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor Unions...	1,246	1,925	2,314	2,465	2,471	2,587	2,939	3,301	3,633	2,617
Total vote of Unions...	35,420	29,943	36,656	39,267	41,146	45,282	53,029	63,359	68,184	68,552

† Suspended. a Merged with Hod Carriers and Common Laborers. c Withdrew affiliation.

\* Reinstated. B-Title Changed from Intl. Seamen's Union of America.

e Charter revoked. d Disbanded.

## GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31,

1946 ..... \$136,312.00

Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1946.. 122,728.87

Balance on hand August 31, 1946..... \$13,583.13

Funds deposited as follows:

1,266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Stock..... \$1,266.00

Riggs National Bank checking account..... 12,317.13

Balance on hand August 31, 1946..... \$13,583.13

## CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation for the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the National and International Unions and of all our affiliated bodies, and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

*George Meany*

Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

## REPORT OF TRUSTEES

of

## A. F. OF L. BUILDING

*To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:*

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1946:

## RECEIPTS

Balance on hand Aug. 31, 1945.....	\$29,925.02
Rents .....	\$41,405.52
Dividends .....	36.54
Interest (Sale of Bond).....	2,500.00
Sale of waste paper.....	141.49
Total Receipts .....	\$44,083.55
Receipts and balance.....	\$74,008.57

## EXPENSES

## Maintenance:

Payroll (Building Employees) .....	\$24,399.49
Taxes .....	2,558.44
Taxes (Excise) .....	664.69
Electricity .....	2,001.06
Fuel (coal) .....	929.38
Supplies .....	927.90
Upkeep and repairs.....	5,117.91
Plastering and painting.....	2,907.50
Cleaning windows .....	540.00
Insurance (Liability) .....	841.32
Water rent .....	200.27
Hauling ashes and trash.....	217.00
Safe deposit (Rent) .....	3.60
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	848.30

## Social Security Tax:

Unemployment insurance .....	11.42
Old age benefits .....	232.38

Total Expenses ..... \$42,400.66

Balance on hand Aug. 31, 1946..... \$31,607.91

## RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance.....	\$74,008.57
Expenses .....	42,400.66
	<hr/>
Balance on hand Aug. 31, 1946.....	\$31,607.91
	<hr/>
Monies deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage corporation (1,218 shares).....	\$ 1,218.00
Riggs National Bank.....	30,389.91
	<hr/>
Balance on hand Aug. 31, 1946.....	\$31,607.91
	<hr/>

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council, and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,

GEORGE MEANY,

JOHN P. FREY,

*Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.*

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

## AUDITORS REPORT FOR 1945

The following is the Auditor's report for the fiscal 1944-1945 beginning with September 1, 1944 and ending with August 31, 1945.

*To the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:*

The Auditing Committee appointed by President Green in accordance with Article 3, Section 5 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, has made an audit of the books and herewith submits the following report:

We are pleased to report that all books and records were found to be correct in all respects:

The securities owned were personally counted and found to be correct as recorded on the books of the Secretary-Treasurer.

The cash balance on hand as of August 31, 1945 was verified by comparing the amounts shown on the Secretary-Treasurer's books with statements from the bank where funds are deposited, and was found to be in complete agreement.

The following statement is a listing in detail of the receipts and expenses for the period beginning September 1, 1944 to and including August 31, 1945, showing balance on hand August 31, 1945; also a listing of the assets owned by the American Federation of Labor:

## RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1944 .....		\$2,049,690.97
Per capita tax .....	\$1,418,849.55	
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist .....	1,836.26	
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist .....	476,752.10	
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund .....	270,185.55	
Initiation fees .....	142,550.27	
Reinstatement fees .....	6,448.02	
Supplies .....	15,954.21	
Interest .....	32,366.25	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. L. ....	23,635.67	
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts .....	19,153.98	
Total Receipts .....		\$2,407,731.86
Grand Total .....		\$4,457,422.83

## EXPENSES

Organizing expenses .....	\$ 902,010.34	
Organizers' salaries .....	645,265.14	
Office employees' salaries .....	250,878.72	
Administrative salaries .....	67,400.00	
Miscellaneous general bills .....	354,722.70	
Defense Fund .....	11,060.00	
Printing & publishing American Federationist .....	119,008.95	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. L. ....	20,055.50	
Total Expenses .....		\$2,370,401.35
Balance on hand, August 31, 1945 .....		<u>\$2,087,021.48</u>

## RECAPITULATION

In General Fund .....	\$ 224,236.98
In Defense Fund .....	1,862,784.50

Balance on hand, August 31, 1945 ..... \$2,087,021.48

We have verified the cash balances and counted the securities and find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be invested and deposited as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1946-49, 3½% .....	\$ 225,000.00
Premium on U. S. 1946-49, 3½% Bonds .....	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Certificate of Indebtedness, ⅞% .....	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1950-52, 2% .....	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1952-54, 2% .....	100,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, 2½% .....	350,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1955-60, 2⅞% .....	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. 1955-60, 2⅞% Bonds .....	1,531.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1956-59, 2¼% .....	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1962-67, 2¼% .....	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1963-68, 2½% .....	200,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1964-69, 2½% .....	100,000.00

Total investment in bonds ..... \$1,428,601.57

Riggs National Bank (subject to check) .....	\$ 601,023.91
City Bank (subject to check) .....	5,000.00
Union National Bank, Newark, N. J. (subject to check) .....	10,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York, N. Y. ....	2,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (collateral deposit) .....	25,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Stock (400 shares) .....	15,000.00
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Stock (396 shares) .....	396.00

Secretary-Treasurer's balance, August 31, 1945 ..... \$2,087,021.48

The numbers and denominations of the securities listed above are as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 3½%, 1946-49	
14436F .....	\$ 5,000.00
28631A .....	10,000.00
28632B .....	10,000.00
28633C .....	10,000.00
28634D .....	10,000.00
28635E .....	10,000.00
28636F .....	10,000.00
28637H .....	10,000.00
28638J .....	10,000.00
28639K .....	10,000.00
28640L .....	10,000.00
28641A .....	10,000.00
28642B .....	10,000.00
29974D .....	10,000.00
29975E .....	10,000.00
29976F .....	10,000.00
29977H .....	10,000.00
31874D .....	10,000.00
33783C .....	10,000.00

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

29981A	10,000.00
29982B	10,000.00
29983C	10,000.00
38459K	10,000.00

Total U. S. Treasury 3½% Bonds, 1946-49 \$ 225,000.00

U. S. Treasury Certificates of Indebtedness No. 23661 \$ 100,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1950-52, 2%

4388J	\$10,000.00
4389K	10,000.00
4390L	10,000.00
4391A	10,000.00
4392B	10,000.00

Total U. S. Treasury 2% Bonds, 1950-52 \$ 50,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1952-54, 2%

293C	\$10,000.00
294D	10,000.00
295E	10,000.00
296F	10,000.00
297H	10,000.00
298J	10,000.00
299K	10,000.00
300L	10,000.00
301A	10,000.00
302B	10,000.00

Total U. S. Treasury 2% Bonds, 1952-54 \$ 100,000.00

U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, 2½%

X68616G	\$10,000.00
X68617G	10,000.00
X68618G	10,000.00
X68619G	10,000.00
X68620G	10,000.00
X173145G	10,000.00
X173146G	10,000.00
X173147G	10,000.00
X173148G	10,000.00
X173149G	10,000.00
X39464G	10,000.00
X39465G	10,000.00
X39466G	10,000.00
X39467G	10,000.00
X39468G	10,000.00
X500796G	10,000.00
X500797G	10,000.00
X500798G	10,000.00
X500800G	10,000.00
X500801G	10,000.00
X500802G	10,000.00
X501254G	10,000.00
X501253G	10,000.00
X501252G	10,000.00
X501251G	10,000.00



X566332G	10,000.00	
X566333G	10,000.00	
X566334G	10,000.00	
X566335G	10,000.00	
X566336G	10,000.00	
X566337G	10,000.00	
X566338G	10,000.00	
X566339G	10,000.00	
X566340G	10,000.00	
X566341G	10,000.00	
Total U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, 2½ %		\$ 350,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bond, 1955-60, 2½ %, No. 2727H		\$ 100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1956-59, 2¼ %		
2541A	\$10,000.00	
2542B	10,000.00	
2543C	10,000.00	
2544D	10,000.00	
2545E	10,000.00	
2546F	10,000.00	
2547H	10,000.00	
2548J	10,000.00	
2549K	10,000.00	
2550L	10,000.00	
Total U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1956-59, 2¼ %		\$ 100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1962-67, 2½ %		
4107H	\$10,000.00	
4108J	10,000.00	
4109K	10,000.00	
4110L	10,000.00	
4111A	10,000.00	
4112B	10,000.00	
4113C	10,000.00	
4114D	10,000.00	
4115E	10,000.00	
4116F	10,000.00	
Total U. S. Treasury 1962-67, 2½ % Bonds		\$ 100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1963-68, 2½ %		
4358J	\$100,000.00	
4359K	100,000.00	
Total U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1963-68, 2½ %		\$ 200,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1964-69, 2½ %		
3976F	\$10,000.00	
3977H	10,000.00	
3978J	10,000.00	
3979K	10,000.00	
3980L	10,000.00	
116F	10,000.00	
117H	10,000.00	
118J	10,000.00	
119K	10,000.00	
120L	10,000.00	
Total U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1964-69, 2½ %		\$ 100,000.00

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

## GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts from December 20, 1924 to and including August 31, 1945	\$ 133,774.02
Expenses from January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1945	122,728.87

Balance on hand, August 31, 1945	\$ 11,045.15
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Funds deposited as follows:

Riggs National Bank, checking account	\$ 2,279.15
U. S. Savings Bonds, Maturity value \$10,000.00	7,500.00
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Stock (1266 shares)	1,266.00

Balance on hand, August 31, 1945	\$ 11,045.15
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The bonds in the Gompers Memorial Fund are as follows:

M21870B	\$ 1,000.00
M21871B	1,000.00
M21872B	1,000.00
M21873B	1,000.00
M21874B	1,000.00
M21875B	1,000.00
M21876B	1,000.00
M21877B	1,000.00
M21878B	1,000.00
M21879B	1,000.00

Total U. S. Savings Bonds	\$ 10,000.00
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These bonds were purchased April 10, 1936

Maturity date, April 1946

FUND TO COMBAT ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE  
STATES OF ARKANSAS, CALIFORNIA, AND FLORIDA

Total receipts from September 12, 1944 to and including August 31, 1945	\$ 19,390.30
Forwarded to Leo H. Hill, Florida	\$ 7,948.87
Forwarded to C. J. Haggerty, Calif.	7,948.87
Forwarded to C. W. Marvery, Arkansas	3,179.56
Refund of over-subscription to A. F. of L.	313.00

Total	\$ 19,390.30
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Account Closed	\$ 0.00
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## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR BUILDING FUND

## RECEIPTS

Balance on hand August 31, 1944		\$ 28,543.51
Rents	\$41,448.25	
Dividends	36.54	
Fire replacement	57.74	
Sale of used equipment	126.40	
Sale of waste paper	215.40	
Total receipts		\$ 41,884.33
Receipts and balance		\$ 70,427.84

## EXPENSES

Maintenance:		
Payroll (Building Employees)	\$24,434.59	
Taxes	2,558.44	
Electricity	1,972.90	
Fuel (coal)	920.39	
Supplies	937.07	
Upkeep and repairs	5,602.54	
Plastering and painting	1,068.60	
Cleaning windows	540.00	
Insurance (Liability)	228.45	
Water rent	162.68	
Hauling ashes and trash	228.00	
Safe deposit (rent)	3.60	
Upkeep & repairs of elevators	919.90	
Excise Tax	687.42	
Social Security Tax		
Unemployment Insurance	11.52	
Old Age Benefits	226.72	
Total expenses		\$ 40,502.82
Balance on hand August 31, 1945		\$ 29,925.02

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

## RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance.....	\$ 70,427.84
Expenses .....	40,502.82
	<hr/>
Balance on hand August 31, 1945.....	\$ 29,925.02
	<hr/>
Building Fund Money Deposited and Invested as follows:	
Riggs National Bank.....	\$ 21,207.02
U. S. Savings Bonds (Maturity value \$10,000.00).....	7,500.00
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1218 shares).....	1,218.00
	<hr/>
Balance on hand August 31, 1945.....	\$ 29,925.02
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The bonds in the American Federation of Labor Building Fund are as follows:

U. S. Savings Bonds, Series B  
 Maturity value, \$1,000.00 per bond  
 Maturity date July, 1946  
 Purchased July 21, 1936 at \$750.00

M273333B	
M273334B	
M273335B	
M273336B	
M273337B	
M273338B	
M273339B	
M273340B	
M273341B	
M273342B	\$10,000.00

Concluding our report, we wish to express our appreciation to Secretary-Treasurer Meany and his assistants in his accounting department for the cooperation extended to us in the performance of the work of making this audit. The fact that the books were in excellent condition and that all transactions were clearly and intelligently recorded greatly simplified and expedited our work.

Respectfully submitted,  
 SIGNED

JAMES T. MORIARTY  
*Chairman*  
 SEABORN JONES  
 GEORGE MCKENNA  
*Secretary*

## THE UNITED NATIONS

Early in the present year when arrangements were in the making for a world conference to act upon the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the officers of the American Federation of Labor requested representation of President Roosevelt. We assumed that our experience would be helpful in deciding upon world institutions as would that of employers and farmers. However, the President decided otherwise and appointed only government representatives along with a few individual citizens. The basic functional groups were not included as advisers as was done in the Pan-American Conference. Several score organizations were invited to send representatives, not with the duty of advising, but only to be available should official representatives seek advice.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor prepared recommendations for amending the Dumbarton Oaks draft and authorized President Green to present them to the United States representatives in the conference.

The proposals urged the inclusion of a United Nations Bill of Rights guaranteeing civil rights to all individuals throughout the world; a statement embodying the democratic objectives in support of which the United Nations combined for war; and principles which underlie justice between nations formulated under the Pan American Union.

The American Federation of Labor urged the type of representation utilized in the I.L.O., the only League of Nations organization that weathered the war, be followed for the policy-making agency of the United Nations, the General Assembly, and for the Economic and Social Council authorized to deal with social and economic matters.

We recommended that in addition to a government representative in the General Assembly, a representative from each of the functional organized groups—employers, farmers and workers be added and that the Social and Economic Council be comprised of twelve government representatives and four each from these functional groups.

We urged that the International Labor Organization be made an agency of the United Nations with its work expanded, and recommended that the Philadelphia declaration be made the preamble to the constitution.

The spirit of some of our recommendations with respect to basic principles was included in the preamble and the purposes and principles of the charter approved by the San Francisco Conference, but our recommendation upon the principle of including functional representation was not accepted.

The Charter provides that the General Assembly shall consist of all member nations with not more than five representatives. Each member shall have one vote. The Assembly will have annual sessions and special sessions when need may require.

The Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purposes of:

- a. promoting international cooperation in the political field and en-

couraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

- b. promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

It may consider general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security.

It elects eighteen members to constitute the Economic and Social Council, the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Trusteeship Council. It shall admit new members, suspend or expel members. It shall consider and approve the budget; receive and consider reports from agencies constituting the United Nations.

The Security Council shall consist of eleven members, six selected for a term of two years and not immediately eligible for re-election. Permanent members shall be the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America.

The Security Council has executive authority to take action in the interests of peace and to stop aggression. The Security Council shall determine the existence of a threat to the peace and may recommend action to the parties concerned. The Security Council may use economic as well as military force.

Each member has one vote. An affirmative vote of seven members determines procedural matters. Decision on other matters is by an affirmative vote of seven provided the permanent members concur. Any member whose country was party to the dispute under consideration shall abstain from voting.

All member nations shall undertake to keep armed forces and the necessary facilities available to the Council. The Council shall have a Military Staff Committee consisting of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Council.

The United Nations will undertake international economic and social cooperation to promote:

- a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and developments;
- b. solutions of international economic, social health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and
- c. universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Specialized agencies may be established by inter-governmental agreements in economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related fields. Responsibility for the agencies shall lie in the General Assembly. They would report through the Economic and Security Council which may furnish information to the Security Council.

Chapter S-XI-XIII added to the Dumbarton Oaks draft provides for the Trusteeship Council to deal with non-self-governing nations.

Chapter XIV added by the San Francisco Conference contains the provisions for an International Court of Justice which is now in process of organization.

The Secretariat will consist of a Secretary-General and staff. The Secretary-General will be designated by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council.

Staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General in accord with the regulations approved by the General Assembly and assigned to the various councils and organs of the United Nations. The Secretary-General shall make annual reports to the General Assembly on the work of the organization.

Amendments become effective when approved by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified by two-thirds of the members through their constitutional channels, including the permanent members of the Security Council.

A general conference to review the charter may be held at any time and place determined by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly and a vote of seven members of the Security Council.

Regional arrangements consistent with the purposes of the United Nations, dealing with matters related to the international peace and security, shall keep the Security Council advised of activities.

Though there are provisions in the charter which do not conform to democratic principles and which fall below levels of procedure in effect in the more democratic countries, the Charter represents the level and degree to which agreement could be reached by the fifty nations represented in San Francisco. In view of existing war tensions, national differences, differences in political experiences and thinking, the Charter represents substantial progress in trying to propose ways and means to deal with the causes of war and to promote the arts and procedures of peace.

We urged our Senate to ratify the Charter and make it possible for our Nation to assume its responsibilities in the United Nations—our greatest hope for security against future wars.

The American Federation of Labor will continue to press principles of representation that will give basic functional groups within each nation participation in and responsibility for the success of the organization.

## TOWARD WORLD ORDER

While war was still in progress international conferences were held to develop plans for agencies for dealing with various international problems. The San Francisco Conference, closely following VE Day, decided the final form of the Charter of the United Nations. Representation in our national delegation to that conference was on a political basis and private citizen



organizations were invited to send representatives with whom the delegates might consult.

The Charter includes compromises deemed necessary for the cooperation of widely different nationalities. The two most serious are the special privileges given larger nations—permanent positions on executive agencies and the veto.

The United Nations formally began operation with the first session of the General Assembly in London in January 1946. The Assembly elected the members of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and a World Court.

The Security Council and the Economic and Social Council are now operating. The Trusteeship Council and the World Court are yet to be organized.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary and Stabilization Fund to stabilize interest exchange rates have been organized.

The Food and Agriculture Organization has organized and is preparing to coordinate efforts to meet world food needs.

The Commission on Atomic Energy has been set up to make recommendations upon the development and control of atomic energy.

A World Health Organization has been organized.

The United States has proposed an International Conference on Trade and Employment and developed proposals for the expansion of world trade and employment. The proposal looks to the establishment of an International Trade Organization under the Economic and Social Council.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is in process of organization.

The following commissions set up to explore special fields are already at work:

- The Commission on Human Rights.
- The Sub-Commission on the Status of Women.
- The Temporary Social Commission.
- The Economic and Employment Commission.
- The Statistical Commission.
- The Temporary Transport and Communications Commission.

The Temporary Social Commission has been surveying the agencies and functions of the League of Nations and other existing organizations to make recommendations to the Economic and Social Council on their usefulness. In determining the meaning of "social" the Commission stated:

The standard to be attained is the well-being of all the members of the community so as to enable each one to develop his personality in accordance with the needs of the community, and at the same time to enjoy, from youth to old age, as full a life as may be possible.

The Commission on Human Rights will make recommendations on the following:

1. An international bill of rights;
2. International declarations or conventions on civil liberties, the status of women, freedom of information and similar matters;
3. The protection of minorities;
4. The prevention of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion.

This Commission recommended the collection of detailed information on rights now in effect, declarations by public and private groups, et cetera, and establishment of cooperating groups by member nations. The Commission appointed a Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and the Press.

The Sub-Commission on the Status of Women has recommended political, civil, social, economic and educational equality between the sexes, and as a means to these goals a world survey of laws pertaining to the status of women was advocated, also the calling of a women's conference, and the establishment within the United Nations Secretariat of an Executive Office on Women's Affairs.

The Temporary Transport and Communications Commission recommended that the Universal Postal Union be brought into relationship with the United Nations and that world tele-communications and shipping conferences be held. The Commission also recommended that the European Central Inland Transport Organization and the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization be brought into permanent relationship with the United Nations.

Labor finds serious problems in the structure and the procedures of the United Nations. Membership in the United Nations is confined to nations and each nation is free to determine its own representation. Obviously the functions of some agencies can best be performed by persons with official status and responsibility. Equally obvious is the conclusion that the decisions of agencies dealing with our economy and our culture can best be made by persons representative of the citizen groups accustomed to determining similar matters in our democracy.

At present we can only vaguely foreshadow developments from the operation of forces which, if successful, will grow into world government. The American Federation of Labor is concerned to preserve the ideals and the guarantees that have afforded us democratic opportunity. We believe that direct representatives of citizen groups should represent our nation in the General Assembly, not only to present our views but to develop and maintain in all our citizens a sense of personal responsibility and interest in what eventually may be world legislation. We believe that our representative in a world agency considering world trade and employment should be selected by organizations responsible for those functions at home—organized employers, agriculture and labor. Government, whether local, national or world in scope—whether administered by public or private

representatives—is a service which must promote not only immediate objectives but must advance the welfare of all. With the privilege of representation must go responsibility of service.

### ADVISERS TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Article 71 of the Charter of the United Nations reads as follows:

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

Implementation of this section came before the General Assembly in its First Session in London in January, 1946. Representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions were in London urging acceptance of their organization for consultative relationships with the Economic and Social Council.

President Green sent the following cablegram to the members of the United States delegation:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 10, 1946.

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES,  
American Embassy,  
London, England.

At the San Francisco United Nations Conference the American Federation of Labor upheld the position that in accord with democratic procedures the working people of the United States should have representation within their government's delegations to United Nations conferences dealing with matters affecting their interests. The American Federation of Labor deeply regrets that it has been denied the opportunity to bring to the United States Delegation the benefit of its experience and practical knowledge of human needs in the economic and social fields or to reflect its views on the fundamental political policies involved in winning a just and enduring peace. In the absence of that direct participation I am setting forth the position of the seven million men and women for whom the American Federation of Labor has the responsibility of representing directly. The International Labor Organization which has contributed notably to the cause of social justice throughout the past quarter of a century, should be brought into relationship with the United Nations Organization. The tripartite character of this international organization must be maintained, the scope of its functions preserved, its autonomy and direct access to governments fully safeguarded. No official status should be granted to any non-governmental international organization so long as the United Nations Organization is composed of sovereign nations. However, should the United Nations Organization establish consultative relations with non-governmental international organizations national organizations in the same fields but not affiliated to such international agencies shall be accorded the same relationship. The principles of the Atlantic Charter should be the foundation for wholehearted cooperation to attain a just and enduring peace to stand on the solid foundations of the Four Freedoms. In conclusion the American

Federation of Labor insists that it be accorded recognition in event consultants are selected from Labor in the United States.

WILLIAM GREEN

Above radiogram sent also to following:

HONORABLE EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.  
HON. TOM CONNALLY  
HON. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG  
MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

The Committee on Advisory Relationships reported the following resolution:

In connection with the requests of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the American Federation of Labour, the International Co-operative Alliance, and other non-governmental organizations, that their representatives shall be allowed to take part in the work of the Economic and Social Council, and in accordance with Article 71 of the Charter providing for the carrying out by the Economic and Social Council of appropriate consultations with non-governmental organizations, the General Assembly recommends:

(a) That the Economic and Social Council should as soon as possible adopt suitable arrangements enabling the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Cooperative Alliance as well as other international non-governmental organizations whose experience the Economic and Social Council will find necessary to use, to collaborate for purposes of consultation with the Economic and Social Council.

(b) That the Economic and Social Council should likewise adopt as soon as possible suitable arrangements enabling the American Federation of Labour as well as other national and regional non-governmental organizations whose experience the Economic and Social Council will find necessary to use, to collaborate for purposes of consultation with the Economic and Social Council.

This resolution was adopted by the Assembly.

President Green appointed Vice-Presidents Woll and Dubinsky to serve as the American Federation of Labor advisers to the Economic and Social Council.

### BASIC PRINCIPLES OF REPRESENTATION

From this sketchy and incomplete record of the work of United Nations agencies, it is obvious that its decisions and work in international fields will vitally affect developments and agencies in our own nation. It is also obvious that if we would retain democratic institutions in our own country we must extend principles of democratic representation to our interests and activities in the international field. For example, our Government has proposed an International Conference on Trade and Employment which looks forward to the establishment of a permanent agency in this field. If these non-government agencies which control free enterprise in this country do not have proportional representation in the international agency their authority at home may be minimized.

These principles of representation include:

1. The right of an organization to select its representative or to name a panel from which selection is made.

2. The right to such representation in connection with agencies dealing with matters affecting our welfare.
3. The right to advisory relationship in connection with agencies dealing with matters affecting our welfare but where regulations provide or make possible only government representation.
4. The right to free access of information needed for representative service.
5. Congress should require Administrative agencies of the Federal Government to observe such rights of representation in making official appointments.

The problem of union representation has become increasingly important and difficult with the wide fields given to government agencies for administration. Administrative procedure affords new opportunities for dictation unless those affected by the administration have representation in the determination of basic policies and procedures and the functions of such representatives are clearly defined.

#### CONTROL OF ATOMIC RESEARCH AND POWER

The American representative on the Commission has proposed an International Atomic Development Authority to be entrusted with all phases of the development and use of atomic energy. The Authority would have exclusive responsibility for the following:

1. Managerial control or ownership of all atomic energy activities.
2. Power to control, inspect, and license all other atomic activities.
3. The duty of fostering the beneficial uses of atomic energy.
4. Research and development . . . in the field of atomic knowledge and development. . . .

The Authority would also be charged with determining the rules necessary to protect its powers. Among the acts subject to immediate punishment would be:

1. Illegal possession or use of an atomic bomb;
2. Illegal possession or separation of atomic material suitable for use in an atomic bomb;
3. Seizure of any plant or other property belonging to or licensed by the Authority;
4. Willful interference with the activities of the Authority;
5. Creation or operation of dangerous projects.

The American proposals makes not veto power but decision by majority vote its first and essential condition.

The Authority would conduct continuous surveys into world supplies of materials usable for atomic energy and control and operate all plants producing fissionable materials as well as the products of such plants.

The Authority would have exclusive right of research into atomic explosives and control over research into all other aspects of atomic energy with responsibility for working out a system of licensing to keep its control effective.

The American plan would require the Authority to decentralize its stockpiles of raw and fissionable materials and to maintain a rigorous

inspection system providing "adequate ingress and egress for all qualified representatives of the Authority."

Under the American plan, our bombs would be destroyed and our scientific and manufacturing information released to the Authority step by step as the Authority developed and made effective international controls.

We recommend approval of the principles proposed by our representative.

### INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

The 27th Session of the International Labor Conference took place in Paris from October 15 to November 5, 1945. This session was the I.L.O.'s first since the end of the war.

The United States delegation included: Hon. Frances Perkins, former Secretary of Labor, and Senator Elbert D. Thomas as Government delegates; David J. Zellerbach as Employers' Delegate; and Robert J. Watt as Workers' Delegate, the latter being accompanied by the following American Federation of Labor advisers; Arnold S. Zander, President, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; John T. Jones, President, District No. 16, United Mine Workers of America, and C. L. Darling, former President, American Train Dispatchers Association.

The main task of the Conference was to reaffirm in more definite terms the I.L.O.'s desire to be associated with the new international machinery of the United Nations. It adopted a resolution which welcomed the entry of the United Nations Charter into force and pledged the full co-operation of the I.L.O. with the United Nations. This decision had important constitutional consequences. The I.L.O.'s relations with the League of Nations had to be ended, corresponding relationships so far as possible had to be provided with the United Nations and the I.L.O. had to perform for itself certain services hitherto performed for it by the League. The Conference, therefore, adopted three necessary amendments to the I.L.O.'s Constitution, at the same time requesting their speedy ratification by Governments. These provided (1) that any Member of the United Nations could become an I.L.O. Member by signifying its desire to do so; (2) that the Organization might make budgetary and financial arrangements with the United Nations, and that, pending an agreement on such arrangements, the Conference should make them; and (3) that the Constitution should be amended in the future by vote of two-thirds of the Member countries, including five of the eight States which hold non-elective seats on the Governing Body.

The agenda included five other items. The Conference adopted a recommendation concerning minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories and resolutions on policies in developing measures to provide jobs in the rehabilitation and reconversion period and in framing measures for the protection of children and young workers (Children's Charter), while it completed what the I.L.O. calls a "first discussion" of the problems of medical examination of young workers for fitness for employment and of night work of children and young persons in non-industrial occupations,

with a view to preparing draft international regulations on these questions for submission to the September 1946 Conference in Montreal.

The ten-member negotiating committee of the I.L.O. met the negotiating committee of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on May 28-29, 1946 in New York, and discussed terms for a partnership to promote peace through social justice. The draft agreement—the first to be negotiated by the United Nations with a specialized inter-governmental agency—was initialled on May 30 and subsequently approved by the Economic and Social Council. It is now subject to ratification by the General Assembly of the United Nations and by the 29th Session of the International Labor Conference, which will open in Montreal, Canada, in September 1946. There are twenty articles and a preamble, which may be summarized as follows:

Art. 1. The United Nations recognizes the International Labor Organization as a specialized agency responsible for taking such action as may be appropriate under its basic instrument for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth therein.

Art. 2 provides for reciprocal representation under which the representatives of the United Nations will participate without vote in I.L.O. meetings and I.L.O. representatives will be allowed to participate in Economic and Social Council, General Assembly and Trusteeship Council meetings on matters of concern to the I.L.O.

Art. 3 provides that the I.L.O. will consider items proposed by the United Nations and that the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council will consider the I.L.O. items.

Formal recommendations of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council will, under Art. 4, be considered by the appropriate organ of the I.L.O. and reports made of any action taken upon them. A pledge of cooperation in any necessary Economic and Social Council steps for coordination of specialized agencies and of the United Nations is also contained in that article.

Complete and prompt exchange of information and documents between the United Nations and I.L.O. is provided for under Art. 5, while the next article requires the I.L.O. to provide any assistance to the Security Council.

Cooperation with the Trusteeship Council and with the United Nations in connection with non-self-governing territories is provided under Arts. 7 and 8.

Art. 9 grants to the I.L.O. the right of access to the International Court of Justice on appropriate matters.

Under Art. 10, the I.L.O. agrees to consult the United Nations before making any decision concerning the location of its permanent headquarters, and in Art. 11, the United Nations and I.L.O. recognize that the eventual development of a single unified international civil service is desirable and agree to develop common personnel standards designed to avoid serious discrepancies in terms and conditions of employment, to avoid competition in recruitment of personnel, and to facilitate interchange of personnel in order to maintain the maximum benefit from their services. To minimize duplication in the collection of statistical information and assure the most effective utilization of information which is obtained.

Art. 12 outlines the respective spheres of each and provides for suitable coordination. A similar provision with respect to the administrative and technical services is made under the following article.

In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations the I.L.O.



in Art. 14 agrees to transmit its budget estimates to the United Nations in order that the General Assembly may make recommendations concerning it. Possible eventual inclusion of the I.L.O. within a general budget is hinted and provision made that collection of I.L.O. contributions from the United Nations members may be undertaken by the United Nations through a supplementary agreement.

The remaining articles include arrangements for liaison between the two organizations and for revision by subsequent agreement.

The Third Regional Labor Conference of American States was held in Mexico from April 1 to 16, 1946. Robert J. Watt, A. F. of L. International Representative, represented the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. The United States delegation included Senator Dennis Chavez and Verne A. Zimmer as Government delegates; David J. Zellerbach as Employers' delegate; and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany as Workers' delegate, accompanied by A. F. Cadena, A. F. of L. representative, San Antonio, Texas.

Fourteen Latin-American republics, the United States and Canada took part in the Conference. It adopted 28 resolutions, the most important of which—known as the Industrial Relations Charter—recommended that the American States should guarantee freedom of association in their constitutions and laid down principles constituting a definition of freedom of association, as well as principles governing the protection of the exercise of the right to organize and bargain collectively. Other resolutions dealt with vocational training in all its aspects; the nature and scope of labor inspection and their administrative organization; and systems for the voluntary adjustment of labor disputes. The Conference called the attention of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to the desirability of studying, in cooperation with the I.L.O. and other interested international bodies, "the most efficient methods of facilitating the process of harmonious industrialization of the Latin American countries which is an indispensable basis for their social welfare." It proposed that the Governing Body of the I.L.O. establish a committee of experts on social problems of the indigenous populations of the world, and called for the establishment of the principles of equal treatment and equal wages for work of equal value, with remedial action in case of discrimination in one country against the nationals of another.

The 28th (Maritime) Session of the International Labor Conference was held at Seattle, Washington, from June 6 to 29, 1946.

The United States delegation included Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Labor, and Congressman Henry M. Jackson as Government delegates, and Maitland S. Pennington as Employers' delegate. Harry Lundberg, President of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, who was appointed Workers' delegate, was unfortunately prevented from attending because of the threatened maritime tie-up, but his place was taken by Morris Weisberger, Vice-President of the Union, accompanied by the following A. F. of L. advisers: Captain C. F. May, Vice-President, National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, and

Andrew MacDonald, Chairman, Radio Officers' Union, Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America.

The Conference dealt with a nine-item agenda which had been fixed by the Governing Body of the I.L.O. on recommendation by the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O. After preliminary consideration had been given to this agenda at a Preparatory Technical Maritime Conference held at Copenhagen in November-December 1945. It adopted nine International Labor Conventions, four recommendations, and nine resolutions. The Conventions adopted at the Seattle Conference concerned food and catering for crews; the certification of ships' cooks; medical examination of seafarers; vacation holidays with pay; crew accommodation; social security for seafarers; certification of able seamen; seafarers' pensions; and wages, hours of work on board ship, and manning. For the first time in the history of international social and economic collaboration, an international multi-lateral treaty establishing minimum wages and maximum hours of work was successfully negotiated. It establishes a minimum monthly wage of \$64, or the equivalent in other currencies, for able seamen employed in the world's merchant marines; fixes maximum hours of seamen in the deck, engine-room, room and catering department of sea-going ships; and provides that the standards it establishes may be applied either by national laws or regulations or by collective agreements or by a combination of both. The minimum wage of \$64 and the maximum hours set are no doubt below the standards prevailing in the United States and in a number of the other relatively advanced maritime countries, but the Conference decided to establish standards that would make possible ratification of the convention by the less advanced countries and which would at the same time establish a floor under the wages and hours of the world's seamen.

International Industrial Committees have been set up for seven major industries. The Inland Transport and Coal Mining Committees met in London in December 1945. The Iron and Steel Production Committee met in Cleveland in April 1946. The Metal Trades Committee met in Toledo, in May 1946. The Textile Industry Committee and the Committee for Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works will meet in Brussels in November 1946 and the Petroleum Production and Refining Committee in Lima, Peru, in February 1947. It is not possible to deal with the work of these Industrial Committees fully in this report, but they are of real importance to the workers in providing an opportunity for government, labor and management delegates representing many countries to get together, make contacts and exchange their ideas and experiences in a concerted effort to work out internationally applicable solutions for their problems.

The Conference Delegation on Constitutional Questions, which was appointed by the International Labor Conference in Paris met in London in January-February 1946 to consider nearly 100 suggestions for possible improvements which might be made in the machinery of the I.L.O. Their report was sent to Governments with a view to final decisions being taken

at the 29th Session of the International Labor Conference at Montreal in September 1946.

The Governing Body of the I.L.O. met for its 98th Session in Montreal from May 23 to 27, 1946. It decided the 30th Session of the International Labor Conference would take place in Geneva, Switzerland, in June 1947; authorized the calling of a Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference at New Delhi, India, in January 1947, to be followed in 1948 by the first Regional Asiatic Conference in China; re-established the Committee on Automatic Coupling of Railway Vehicles; established a Cooperative Committee; convened a meeting of the Permanent Migration Committee for August 1946 at Montreal; and authorized the Office to call the attention of the American Member States to the desirability of organizing national labor conferences on the tripartite model of the International Labor Organization,

### FREE TRADE UNIONS IN EUROPE

Long before World War II was ended the American Federation of Labor took the position that the revival of free trade unions should be a basic provision in the democratization of Nazi Germany. At the earliest opportunity a representative of the American Federation of Labor visited Italy. During the past months a representative of the American Federation of Labor has been maintained in Europe and has visited practically all the countries of Central and Western Europe. Our representative has kept us advised on union and labor developments in various countries and has represented us in their conventions and thus enabled the American Federation of Labor to be of greater service to them.

The American Federation of Labor representative who represented us in war production has been attached to the staff of Lieutenant General Lucius B. Clay of the Office of Military Government in Germany. From its various sources of information the American Federation of Labor prepared a list of the needs of German trade unions in carrying on union work and submitted the information to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, as well as to General Clay as the policies of our Government and surplus war supplies were concerned. We asked that the former properties of trade unions and their funds be returned to reorganized unions and their trade union officials have the use of automobiles for union business as well as typewriters, mimeograph machines, printing presses, and such equipment as is necessary for maintaining an office. The following is the list of supplies:

**Automobiles**—This is not a demand for new cars. Some arrangements must be made for making automobile facilities available to trade unions for business purposes. This can be done by making official cars available for legitimate business, by renting cars to unions, or selling surplus military cars.

**Printing Equipment**—This means sufficient equipment in terms of presses, linotype machines, etc. A number of these in union hands are badly in need of repair and with assistance can be made workable. However, additional equipment, either surplus or new, would still be urgently required.

**Duplicating Equipment**—This demand can be met by any one of the various types of machines, mimeograph, ditto, etc., although mimeograph is preferred. With the machine itself must go a sufficient supply of ink, special fluid, paper, so that the machines can be kept running.

**Office Equipment**—This means any type of the standard office equipment including typewriters, chairs, desks, filing cabinets, punchers, staplers, etc.

**Office Supplies**—This includes the standard items, particularly paper. In this connection the trade unions need to receive the proper priority so that they can be assured their share of the paper supply.

The State Department expressed approval of our proposals and stated that General Clay was providing for trade union publications. General Clay replied as follows:

**OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR GERMANY**

Office of the Deputy Military Governor

APD 742

3 June 1946

**MR. WILLIAM GREEN**

President, American Federation of Labor

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Green:

Recently it has come to my attention that you and other leaders of the American Federation of Labor are concerned in restoring property and rights to German trade union members. I therefore would like to review some of the more pertinent recent developments affecting labor organization in our zone as I believe that the information which you have received may not be fully up to date and, in any event, does not reveal our plans in this field.

The staff members who are in constant contact with the German trade union situation have informed me that the leaders have expressed sincere gratitude for the encouragement and cooperation which they are receiving in pursuing their daily activities of rebuilding the German labor organizations. These German trade union leaders feel that they have had all the liberty of expression and action required to pursue their legitimate activities. Indeed, some of them have stated that in view of their experiences under the Nazi regime they have more liberty of thought and action than they know what to do with. If there is any contrary information, it has not been brought to our attention.

I am sure you will also be interested in knowing that Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.) has definitely decided and is now implementing its decision to turn over to the regularly constituted trade unions all DAF, "Labor Front," properties formerly belonging to German Labor Organizations. There have been some practical problems involved in returning buildings formerly the property of German trade unions. In some cases where buildings remained in usable condition, the Army found it necessary to occupy them because of the serious building shortage. However, damaged buildings which are repairable will be made available for the use of German trade unions. Arrangements are now being completed to provide necessary materials so that these buildings can be readily repaired. Similarly orders have been issued to make it possible for trade union leaders to obtain automobiles, tires, and gasoline and other services needed in operating these cars.

Realizing that a trade union movement, like any other mass movement, needs a medium of communication in order to maintain effective contact with followers and sympathizers, Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.) has licensed a weekly trade union publication. We would gladly have given permission for the issuance of a daily paper but were informed by the responsible trade union leaders that a weekly publication would best serve their purposes and would be more within their present range of activities.

We are also arranging to give German labor organizations access to the use of the radio so as to fulfill those requirements which they may need in order to communicate their thoughts and other information to their followers and the public at large.

Attached hereto is a press release of 2 April 1946 on "Labor Organization in the U.S. Zone" which summarizes developments as of that date. Progress in this field has been continuing since then as you will observe in copies of reports sent to you regularly on my instructions and entitled "Manpower Trade Unions and Working Conditions," Monthly Report of the Military Governor, U.S. Zone.

I am sure that you understand that this office greatly appreciates the interest which the American Federation of Labor is manifesting in the work of building democratic movements in the American Zone of Germany. I solicit your cooperation and advice and want to assure you that we wish to keep you informed of developments.

I trust you will feel free to communicate your thoughts and to call upon me for information at any time.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) LUCIUS D. CLAY,  
*Lieutenant General, U. S. Army,  
Deputy Military Governor.*

PRESS RELEASE OF

Lieut. Gen. Lucius D. Clay  
Deputy Military Governor

2 April 1946

Office of Military Government For Germany (U.S.)

Labor Organization Developments in U. S. Zone.

Union Organization in the U.S. Zone has made reasonable progress. As is inevitable in the beginning stages, considerable latitude had to be given to the diverse and scattered local detachments and higher echelons. In addition thereto, there was some confusion by frequent change in personnel and reliance on personal views. While our Directives and Orders permitting labor organization were clear cut and specific, there was lack of uniformity in their effective implementation. Consequently the more rapid growth of labor organization in some areas of the Zone was retarded.

Considering the present level of industrial activity, the figures are gratifying. However, there is great room for improvement, and since unions are a basic pillar in the construction of future democratic Germany, every effort must be made to expedite that improvement.

For the present, unions are primarily organized on a local basis, usually

Stadt (District) or Land (state) level. The unions consist of functional, that is trade and industry, groups, which are affiliated into a general or over-all organization (central labor union). It is evident that local labor organization is not the best form to serve the interests of its members, since economic activity extends far beyond local areas.

Extension of the area of union activity should be encouraged. As soon as local unions are established on a democratic basis, by having adopted constitutions, elected union officials, and otherwise given evidence of their permanency, military government *should* encourage the functional unions to organize themselves as rapidly as possible, on a Land (state) basis. Steps are being taken to give union representatives the necessary facilities and accommodations in order that they may freely carry on their activities.

Our Directives and Orders permit organization on a Land (state) level and the German labor organizations should take advantage of these provisions.

Of prime consideration is a clear-cut determination of the jurisdiction of functional unions. At present, there are differences, which if not properly adjusted, may lead to unnecessary confusion and probably friction. This jurisdictional overlapping is chiefly illustrated by the different number of functional unions. The number varies by localities.

These discrepancies in jurisdiction must be reconciled before Land (state) wide functional unions can be formed. Attaining this objective should be the first order of business in Land meetings of the respective functional union representatives.

When the functional groups have been formed on a Land or state basis and have clarified their specific jurisdictions, they will be permitted to establish Land organizations which will act on their behalf in coordinating their activities and performing those functions which the functional unions have in common, and which transcend their particular trade or industry interests.

As soon as functional Land or state organizations are completed on a democratic basis, a representative delegate convention for the creation of a zone or regional organization should be in order.

#### OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR FREE TRADE UNIONS

From many countries and from many sources have come appeals to the American Federation of Labor from trade unionists who felt the need of some central organization to which they might appeal for counsel and aid. With the liquidation of the International Federation of Trade Unions and its replacement by an organization dominated by the USSR, European free unions have no rallying center. In those countries occupied by armies and where the Soviet Secret Police and Intelligence System keep populations afraid to exercise their rights, workers are afraid to reorganize their trade unions or to resist communist controls. Where free and secret elections do not exist, communists have been able to benefit by paper majorities. But that tide has definitely turned in Western Europe. Where people have once

known freedom they do not willingly accept despotism. The people of the Soviet Republics have never known freedom and are far behind Western Europe industrially and technically and therefore in living standards. Soviet domination of Europe would be a return to the Dark Ages.

The American Federation of Labor has maintained that a basic agency for the restoration of countries once Axis controlled is the free trade unions. Free unions are essentially democratic organizations and their influence and operation strengthens democratic forces.

These are the considerations that convinced us we should maintain a representative in Europe to meet with trade union officials and keep our Washington office advised on developments. Such reports have guided our policies and enable us to help some of the national union centers to tide over current difficulties. We have sent them bulletins in quantities and printed in four languages to inform them of trade union progress in the United States.

In the United States zone much progress has been made in organizing local trade unions in accord with patterns which previously prevailed. Provisions for state-wide amalgamation have already been set up. A zonal central committee has been appointed so that amalgamation of zones will follow shortly. Economic coordination of the British and United States zones will make possible coordination of the trade unions in both zones which constitute Central Germany.

For the coming year we are planning to continue our aid to European free trade unions by maintaining a representative in Germany as well as a representative to keep in touch with the other European countries.

We have continued to publish and to distribute to Latin-American union our *Noticiario Obrero Norteamericano* (North American Labor News) a semi-monthly clip sheet in Spanish. This information has been widely used by the unions and the press of Latin-America and the results reported to our headquarters are most gratifying. Workers of Latin-American countries are also looking for free trade union leadership. Communist leaders have been spreading misunderstanding by attacks on the American Federation of Labor and the United States. To counteract such propaganda we have sent trade union representatives to visit representative Latin-American labor leaders and by word of mouth to convey fraternal greetings and our desire to establish fraternal relationships with all the workers of the Western Hemisphere.

An economic organization of Inter-American trade unions would constitute a sure guarantee of democracy and human welfare in the New World.

#### PEACE TREATIES

Although more than a year has elapsed since V-J Day no treaties of peace have yet been negotiated. Representatives of the foreign offices began meetings soon after the Potsdam Conference to work out treaty drafts with the five nations which made war with Germany against the



United Nations. The United States thought that a treaty with Austria should also be drafted but our proposal was opposed by the USSR. So far the nations have proceeded on the principle that a treaty could not be made with Germany until that country had a responsible national government. The unfortunate aspect of delay in treaty negotiation is that conquering armies still remain in the former enemy countries, live on the land, and are in some countries a deterrent to national freedom to develop a representative government as well as to economic recovery. Return to peace is conditioned on agreement on treaties.

On July 29, 1946 representatives of twenty-one nations met in the Paris Peace Conference to consider draft treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary and Finland. The proceedings of the conference illustrate the difficulties that develop when representatives of countries experienced in the give-and-take of democratic methods attempt to do business with persons trained in authoritarian methods and directed in every detail by the supreme policy makers of their government. The proceedings illustrate the basic differences between democratic Western civilization and the despotism of the Old East.

The USSR and its subordinate "friendly" nations are not interested in making peace but in utilization of the peace forum as well as the occupation of conquered territory as opportunities to extend the control of the Communist Party and expand a despotism as cruel and bloody as any recorded in history. Since V-J Day the Communist Party has fastened its control over the Eastern half of Europe by means of the Red Army and their secret police. The Canadian Spy Report describes the sort of work by which the Communist Party achieves its purposes through its Embassies and Consulates, even in the territory of friendly nations. Through Communist Party members in other countries, the USSR has the benefit of fifth-column divisions in many lands who immediately support the party line as soon as announced by officials. One of the most interesting and significant aspects of the USSR foreign policy is the worldwide chain of activity which is supporting the position of the USSR in the United Nations and the Paris Peace Conference.

The difference between the authoritarian governments controlled by the new Russian despotism and the democracies of Western civilization are so basic in their implications as to make agreements on procedures and policies difficult, if not impossible. The citizens of democracy have very little liking for appeasement as a result of very thorough experimentations with appeasement in dealing with Nazi aggression. It is easy to see now that unflinching insistence on moral standards and the rights of small nations could have prevented World War II.

The delaying tactics and aggressive accusations used by the Soviet representatives in the Paris Conference make plain that the agents of the Communist Party are not seeking peace but new opportunities for aggression. Representatives of democratic countries have been forced to con-

centrate on resisting new aggression instead of deliberating on terms and conditions of peace. Treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary and Finland drafted by the "Big Five" are before the Conference. The smaller nations concerned have asked for modifications.

There are disagreements on economic and commercial provisions, reparations, free navigation on the Danube, the boundaries and government of Trieste, revision of boundaries. In addition the USSR has made demands on Turkey including conditions allowing Russia control of the Black Sea, and new demands on Iran involving control of oil reserves and the Persian Gulf. Russia has taken over German, Austrian, Manchurian and Korean industrial facilities.

In the conference debates Secretary Byrnes served notice of a new German policy, since Potsdam provisions have been completely ignored by the USSR. The United States is willing to cooperate with other Occupation Zones for the development of democratic institutions in Germany. Germany is the heart of Continental Europe geographically and economically. The Potsdam provisions restricting its economy to the agricultural level has retarded the economic recovery not only of Germany but of the surrounding countries. The USSR also wishes restoration of a central government for Germany provided it is Communist.

Our other great ally in the war which had fought Japanese aggression nine years before Pearl Harbor, is now in the midst of civil war invoked by the Communist General Mobilization Order. The Chinese Communists have acquired the military equipment which the Japanese surrendered to the Red Army. The United States helped to equip China under the lend-lease as it did all other war allies and is under obligations to carry out its commitments.

The peace aims of the Atlantic Charter have been obscured in diplomatic conferences but they still represent ideals for which individual citizens of many lands gave their lives. The American Federation of Labor suggests that the nations which value world peace with individual freedom should take steps to conserve the institutions they inherited from past generations and consider how best to further freedom in the years ahead.

#### SELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

The Sixty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which met at New Orleans, Louisiana, during November 1944, authorized the Executive Council to appoint representatives to serve as Fraternal Delegates to attend the conventions of the British Trades Union Congress, and of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The Executive Council authorized President Green to select two competent representatives to attend the British Trades Union Congress as Fraternal Delegates. Secretary-Treasurer Meany and Vice-President Doherty were assigned to attend the British Trades Union Congress which met at Black-

pool on September 10, 1945. The Executive Council confirmed this appointment.

Vice-President Matthew Woll was appointed to attend the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada which was scheduled to convene at Windsor, Ontario, on September 24, 1945. The arrangements which had been made for the holding of the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada were cancelled because of the government order prohibiting the holding of conventions which would be attended by more than fifty persons.

However, Vice President Matthew Woll was designated as Fraternal Delegate to represent the American Federation of Labor at the 1946 Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which met at Windsor, Ontario, beginning September 18th.

In response to an invitation received from Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, the Executive Council appointed Secretary Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers of America and President Ed. J. Brown of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as Fraternal Delegates to attend the meeting of the Trades Union Congress which will convene at Brighton, October 21-25, 1946.

#### GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES COUNCIL

A Government Employees Council composed of postal employees' international unions and other Government employees' organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor was formed on April 11, 1945.

This Council was formed under the most auspicious circumstances and is functioning in a helpful, constructive and satisfactory way. It serves as a clearing house for consideration and action upon problems which relate to the economic, social and industrial relationships of government employees.

The Executive Council expresses the hope that the Government Employees Council will continue to function in a constructive and satisfactory way and that it will serve as an administrative agency through which the economic, social and industrial interests of all government employees will be promoted.

#### REAFFILIATION OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

The Sixty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at New Orleans, Louisiana, November 20th to 30th, 1944, directed,

That the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to renew the invitation to the United Mine Workers to reaffiliate, for the practical reason that the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers should strengthen the American Federation of Labor while proving helpful to the United Mine Workers. In connection with such invitation to the United Mine Workers, full

consideration should be given to the directions and authorizations given to the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council by the Boston Convention, 1943.

These instructions were carried out. The Executive Council is happy to report that following an exchange of communications between the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the President of the United Mine Workers of America, and the holding of conferences between said representatives, an understanding was reached which provided for membership of the United Mine Workers of America within the American Federation of Labor. The charter of the United Mine Workers of America was restored, with the stipulation that said organization would be admitted to the American Federation of Labor with all the rights and privileges of affiliation enjoyed by all organizations, and such reaffiliation carries with it the assumption of the obligations ordinarily attached to affiliation.

This is an achievement which is deeply significant. It must be interpreted as evidence of the development of solidarity within the organized labor movement of the nation, and as a reflection of the desire of the workers of the nation to become united so that their economic strength can be fully mobilized in behalf of the membership of organized labor. The membership of the United Mine Workers of America numbers 600,000. This means added strength to the American Federation of Labor as well as strong co-operative support to the United Mine Workers of America.

#### ENGINEERS—FIREMEN AND OILERS

After giving careful consideration to the relationship of the membership of the International Union of Operating Engineers and of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, the technical changes which have taken place in the character of the work performed by the membership of each of these two international unions, and the best interests and welfare of the membership of both the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, the Executive Council reaffirms the recommendation it made to the 1936 Convention of the American Federation of Labor that a merger and consolidation take place between the membership of these two international organizations.

The record shows that in conformity with a recommendation made by the late James Wilson, a former Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, who conducted a thorough investigation of the nature and character of the jurisdictional disputes which arose between the two organizations, and the character of the work performed by the membership of both organizations, the 1936 Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Tampa, Florida, declared in favor of a merger of the two named international unions.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that technical and industrial developments which have taken place since the recommendation was made by the 1936 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, serve

to emphasize the need for a consolidation of the two international unions into one international organization.

The Executive Council fully appreciates the psychological question which is involved in any attempt which may be made to perfect a merger of the two international unions. Tradition, sentiment, and devotion to the principles as well as the character and standing of an international union enter into a consideration of the whole matter. The Executive Council is hopeful that all of this can be overcome and steps taken which will lead to a merger of the two international unions, based upon an agreement and an understanding which will serve to adequately and properly protect the individual and collective interests of the officers and members of each organization.

#### **CHANGES OF TITLES OF INTERNATIONAL UNIONS**

The International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union requested the Executive Council to extend approval to a change in the title of the organization, omitting the word "Ladies." The Executive Council approved the change in the title with the definite understanding that such change would not in any way be interpreted as meaning a change in the jurisdiction which had been previously granted this organization. The amended title is, "International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union."

The Retail Clerks' International Protective Association asked that the Executive Council concur in a change of the name of said organization. The Council was requested to approve the omission of the word "Protective" from the title of the organization, thus making the title read, "Retail Clerks International Association." The Executive Council granted the request and approved the change in the name of the Retail Clerks' organization, with the stipulation that the change in title would not carry with it any change in the jurisdiction of the organization.

#### **DISSOCIATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS FROM AFFILIATION WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR**

The officers of the American Federation of Labor were greatly surprised when they received an official communication from President Brown of the International Association of Machinists, officially advising that said International Union was withholding the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor until certain conditions were met by the Executive Council. This refusal on the part of the International Association of Machinists to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor as required by the laws of the Federation was interpreted by the Executive Council as discontinuation of the affiliation of the International Association of Machinists. The facts herewith set forth are made clear in an official communication addressed to the Executive Council by President

Harvey W. Brown of the International Association of Machinists, reading as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 29, 1945

TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR  
ATTENTION:

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, President,  
MR. GEORGE MEANY, Secretary-Treasurer.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

This will acknowledge your communication dated November 19, 1945, in which the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor serves notice that the International Association of Machinists "has discontinued its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor" "because of failure to comply with the provisions of Section 3, Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor."

The language of this notification erroneously implies that the International Association of Machinists is "refusing to pay per capita tax" for the purpose of discontinuing its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Since this *is not* the case, and for the purpose of a true and correct record, we direct your attention to the following plain facts concerning the deferment of our per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council of the International Association of Machinists deferred the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor at a time when the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in total disregard of our established jurisdiction and actions of A. F. of L. conventions, took action to parcel out to another organization work which is a part of our trade and which had always been performed by members of our organization. This was done notwithstanding the promise made at the Boston Convention, i.e., that the American Federation of Labor Executive Council would do everything possible to assist us to protect our trade rights. We believed that with such assistance we would regain work rightfully belonging to our trade and which was being performed by other A. F. of L. crafts in contravention of actions of A. F. of L. conventions and agreements made in good faith.

The actions of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council which precipitated our Council's action to defer per capita tax payments actually took away more of our work and thus increased and complicated the difficulties of our membership in following the work of their trade. Thus we were left no choice but to conclude that the Boston Convention promise either had not been made in good faith or had since been rescinded.

Thereupon our Executive Council decided to defer the payment of per capita tax until the entire matter could be submitted to our Convention for decision. This was done in our recent Convention held at New York City. The Convention overwhelmingly endorsed the prior action of our Executive Council, that is, to defer the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor until we are accorded the same treatment and consideration by the A. F. of L. Executive Council as this body accords to other A. F. of L. affiliated Unions.

Pursuant to the laws of the International Association of Machinists, this Convention action is now being submitted to a refer-

endum vote of our membership. We cannot escape the conclusion that the latest action of your Executive Council, as set forth in your communication of November 19, 1945, is timed and intended to influence our referendum vote. In this conclusion we are influenced by the language of the A. F. of L. Constitution which was used as a basis for the notification set forth in your November 19, 1945, communication, viz:

"Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month and assessment or assessments when due and payable shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article."

Since the International Association of Machinists has deferred all per capita tax due since November 1944, this notification according to the A. F. of L. constitutional proviso, quoted in your communication of November 19, should have been served immediately after February 15, 1945. The A. F. of L. Executive Council, however, saw fit to withhold such notice until the eve of our referendum vote.

We desire to have your records show clearly that the International Association of Machinists is neither dissatisfied with the announced principles nor the bona fide laws of the American Federation of Labor. We shall always adhere to these principles and abide by such laws. We do not believe, however, that our membership can long tolerate the discriminatory application of these principles and laws.

The International Association of Machinists stands ready now or at any time in the future to pay in full all American Federation of Labor per capita tax now held in abeyance and all subsequent per capita tax when due upon conclusive assurance that the discrimination against our organization will cease and that we will be accorded the same treatment and consideration as is being accorded other affiliated Unions.

With best wishes, I remain,

Faternally yours,

(Signed) H. W. BROWN,  
*International President.*

The following reply to this communication was sent by the President of the American Federation of Labor:

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 3, 1945.

MR. HARVEY W. BROWN, President,  
International Association of Machinists,  
Machinists Building, Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I transmitted a copy of your communication dated November 29th to the members of the Executive Council for their information and consideration. I am confident that the members of the Council will note, as I noted, your comment regarding the communication sent you by direction of the Executive Council regarding the result which inevitably followed your refusal to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor for the period intervening since November 1944.



The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide that if at the end of three months an affiliated organization has failed to pay its per capita tax, it becomes suspended from membership in the Federation. The records show that the International Association of Machinists failed to pay per capita tax as required by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, for a period of twelve months. The refusal of the International Association of Machinists to pay tax to the American Federation of Labor was voluntary on its part; it made its own decision to refrain from paying per capita tax as required by the laws of the Federation and with full knowledge that to do so meant a discontinuation of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

When an organization makes its own decision to refuse to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor and does so voluntarily, it is reasonable to conclude that it discontinues its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor of its own accord and of its own free will. Such action must be interpreted as a discontinuation on the part of the International Association of Machinists of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. I am sure the International Association of Machinists entertains this same point of view towards its chartered local unions when they refuse to pay per capita tax to the International Association of Machinists, as required by the laws of said organization.

You are wrong in your conclusion that the latest action of the Executive Council, as set forth in the communication sent you, was timed and intended to influence the referendum vote. The Executive Council was tolerant and highly considerate. It awaited the action of the special convention of the International Association of Machinists which convened in New York on October 29th. All members of the Council had hoped that the convention would direct you and your associates to comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor and to place the International Association of Machinists in good standing with the American Federation of Labor. When your convention failed to do this the Executive Council believed that the time had arrived when it should act and carry out the provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

There is no difference in the refusal of an international union to pay tax to the American Federation of Labor and deferring the payment of per capita tax. You make clear in your letter that both the Executive Board and the special convention of your international Union have refused to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor until certain conditions are met by the Executive Council or by a convention of the American Federation of Labor. I sincerely regret this action, and I regret more than words can express that the International Association of Machinists is no longer in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,  
*President,  
American Federation of Labor.*

On February 6, 1946 a communication was addressed to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, signed by the members of

the Executive Council of the International Association of Machinists, which reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 6, 1946.

**EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR  
ATTENTION:**

**MR. WILLIAM GREEN, President,  
MR. GEORGE MEANY, Secretary-Treasurer.**  
Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Accept this as formal notification that the membership of the International Association of Machinists has by referendum voted in excess of 4 to 1 to continue the deferment of our per capita payments to the American Federation of Labor until such a time that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor demonstrates by conclusive action that it will accord our Organization the same treatment and consideration as it accords other affiliated Organizations.

Specifically our membership has directed that we, their officers, continue the deferment of our American Federation of Labor per capita tax until we consummate a written understanding with your Council, which will, without reservation, accomplish the following results, all of which are consistent with the laws and Convention actions of the American Federation of Labor:

1. When called upon by interested parties the President of the A. F. of L., in his absence the Secretary-Treasurer, shall by written notice announce that the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists covers

(A) The erecting and repairing of machinery of all description (including trucks, tractors and all other automotive equipment) on construction projects, in buildings (during course of construction or when completed) or elsewhere.

(B) The maintenance and repairing of automobiles, trucks, busses, tractors and any other automotive equipment and machinery of all description operated by or for local interurban or distance transportation companies, individuals or business establishments of any kind.

2. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall notify (in writing) the Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L., and all subordinate Councils thereof, that they shall in no way interfere with the International Association of Machinists' right to negotiate with any employer an agreement covering the erecting and repairing of machinery of all description (including trucks, tractors and all other automotive equipment) on construction projects, in buildings (during course of construction or when completed) or elsewhere.

3. The letter be withdrawn which the President of the American Federation of Labor addressed April 23, 1943, to President William E. Maloney, International Union of Operating Engineers, and any other information he addressed to any party, wherein the President of the A. F. of L. attempted to turn over to the International Union of Operating Engineers the work involved on a ship while the ship is undergoing a trial test, prior to turning the ship over to the owner or purchasers and before commissioning for service to determine if the machinery meets specifications,

Pursuant to this direction from our membership the Officers of the International Association of Machinists stand ready to meet with authorized representatives of the American Federation of Labor to discuss and/or consider any matters that will, or may, lead to the results which will justify resumption of our per capita tax payments.

/s/ HARRY J. CARR,  
General Vice-President  
/s/ S. L. NEWMAN,  
General Vice-President  
/s/ A. J. HAYES,  
General Vice-President  
/s/ ELMER E. WALKER,  
General Vice-President  
/s/ D. S. LYONS,  
General Vice-President

Fraternally yours,  
/s/ H. W. BROWN,  
International President  
/s/ ERIC PETERSON,  
General Secretary-Treasurer

/s/ HARLEY F. NICKERSON,  
General Vice-President  
/s/ EARL MELTON,  
General Vice-President  
/s/ ROY M. BROWN,  
General Vice-President  
/s/ J. L. MCBREEN,  
General Vice-President

The Executive Council directed that the International Association of Machinists be advised that the Council could not respond to the suggestion made in the communication received from the International Association of Machinists, but that instead it become a part of the American Federation of Labor, and after it places itself in good standing with the American Federation of Labor the Council will take up the grievances enumerated and give them consideration, and sincerely and earnestly endeavor to work out a settlement which will be fair, just and satisfactory to all concerned. This decision of the Executive Council was transmitted to President Brown of the International Association of Machinists on June 19th. As an answer to the aforesaid communication, the following letter was received from President Brown, under date of July 1, 1946:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 1, 1946.

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
A. F. of L. Building,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 19 wherein you reply to the communication our Executive Council addressed February 6, 1946, to the American Federation of Labor Executive Council.

Recently, the writer appointed our General Secretary-Treasurer Eric Peterson, and General Vice-Presidents H. J. Carr, A. J. Hayes and H. F. Nickerson to represent our Association in any conferences that may be arranged with authorized representatives of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the disputes affecting our Association.

Therefore, I am referring your communication of June 19 to the above referred to Committee for further handling.

Sincerely and fraternally,  
/s/ H. W. BROWN,  
International President

Following the receipt of this letter arrangements were made to hold a conference between the committee representing the International Association of Machinists and the officers of the American Federation of Labor and members of the Executive Council residing in Washington. Said conference was held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on July 25, 1946. A free, open and frank discussion of the situation took place. It was the opinion of all who participated in the conference that some definite progress was made toward bringing about the reaffiliation of the International Association of Machinists with the American Federation of Labor. It was agreed that further conference between the committee representing the International Association of Machinists and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor would be held on some date which would be mutually convenient about the middle of September.

It is the earnest hope of the Executive Council that further progress will be made at the next meeting of the committees representing the International Association of Machinists and the American Federation of Labor.

#### **CANADIAN CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS**

The Executive Council decided after conferring with the representatives of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada at the meeting held beginning April 30, 1945, to recognize the authority of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to charter Central Labor Unions in the Dominion of Canada.

The records show that in conformity with policies originated many years ago by the American Federation of Labor a number of central bodies located in different cities in Canada were chartered by the American Federation of Labor. During the same period, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada issued charters to central bodies in a number of cities and towns in the Dominion of Canada.

In order to avoid duplication and to meet what seemed to be the urgent requirements of the situation, the Executive Council decided to recommend to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor that the limited number of charters issued to central bodies in Canada by the American Federation of Labor be canceled and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada be authorized to issue charters instead. At the same time the Council decided that the representatives of any central body or central bodies chartered by the American Federation of Labor would be accorded an opportunity to file objections to the acceptance of this recommendation made by the Executive Council.

#### **FORMATION OF THE MARITIME TRADES DEPARTMENT**

The convention which was held at Seattle, Washington, in October 1941, approved the purpose of two resolutions which were introduced in the convention calling for the creation within the American Federation of Labor of a maritime trades council or department and directed that the representatives of the national and international unions involved in the

formation of such a council or department hold conferences for the purposes of giving consideration to the subject.

Steps were taken following the adjournment of the Seattle convention to create a Maritime Trades Council or Department within the American Federation of Labor. Inquiry and investigation disclosed that some organizations whose affiliation with such a department would be essential to its success were not ready to participate in the formation of a Maritime Trades Department. Because of this situation, action on the resolutions approved by the Seattle Convention was deferred until it became reasonably clear that the unions whose membership in a Maritime Trades Department was essential to its success were ready and willing to accept membership in a Maritime Trades Department. These facts were reported to the Toronto, 1942, convention.

Recently it became clear that the time had arrived when a successful Maritime Trades Department could be formed. Conferences were held in Chicago, Illinois, August 15th and 16th, 1946, of representatives of unions eligible to membership in such a department. At these conferences, a Maritime Trades Department was formed in conformity with the unanimous vote of the representatives who participated in said conferences. A charter for the Maritime Trades Department was issued by the Executive Council. This department, therefore, has been organized, chartered, and is now functioning as the Maritime Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

#### NEW INTERNATIONAL UNIONS CHARTERED

Four new international unions were chartered during the interim since the Sixty-Fourth Annual Convention adjourned. The titles of these organizations are:

- Office Employees International Union.
- National Association of Postal Supervisors.
- National Farm Labor Union.
- Radio Directors Guild.

The jurisdiction of the four organizations was clearly defined and established. It was stipulated by the Executive Council, and agreed to by the representatives of the four organizations, that the jurisdiction of international unions already chartered by the American Federation of Labor would be protected, respected and observed. A stipulation further provided that in granting the charters to these four international unions there would be no transgression upon the jurisdiction of international unions previously chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

These new international unions will function in the field over which each has been granted jurisdiction. They are firmly established. Each of them is made up of a substantial membership and each of them is self-sustaining. They will add to the strength, standing and influence of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council will cooperate in full measure with the officers and members of its newly formed international unions

in the promotion and advancement of organizing activities in their respective fields.

### **OFFICIAL CHANGES**

#### **Death of Vice-President Flore.**

A vacancy was created within the Executive Council through the death of Edward Flore, Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, who passed away on September 27, 1945. All members of the Executive Council who had served with Vice-President Flore over a long period of time learned of his death with a feeling of sorrow. He had served as a member of the Executive Council over an extended period of time in a most devoted and valuable way. All members of the Executive Council, as well as the membership of the American Federation of Labor who knew him, were deeply conscious of the loss which our movement sustained as a result of his death.

#### **Election of Vice-President David Dubinsky.**

The Executive Council in conformity with authority conferred upon it by the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, selected David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union to fill the vacancy existing on the Executive Council. In accordance with the custom and rules followed by the Executive Council, members of the Council were moved forward in numerical consecutive order to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Vice-President Flore, and Brother Dubinsky became Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

#### **Vacancy in the office of Tenth Vice-President.**

When the International Association of Machinists dissociated itself from membership in the American Federation of Labor through its refusal to pay per capita tax as required by the laws of the Federation, the position of President Harvey W. Brown who was serving as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, became vacant. For obvious reasons, a representative of an international union unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor could not serve as a member of the Executive Council. The Council was forced to take cognizance of this fact and when it became clear that the International Association of Machinists has dissociated itself from membership in the American Federation of Labor and was no longer affiliated with it, the Executive Council declared the position of Tenth Vice-President, which had been filled by President Brown of the International Association of Machinists, as vacant.

#### **Election of Vice-President John L. Lewis.**

In conformity with the rule followed by the Executive Council the members were moved forward in numerical order to fill the vacancy in the position of Tenth Vice-President.

President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America was

selected by the Executive Council to fill the vacancy created in the office of the Thirteenth Vice-President.

It was the opinion of the Executive Council that because of training and experience, both Vice-President Dubinsky and Vice-President Lewis were qualified and equipped to render valuable service, as members of the Executive Council, to the American Federation of Labor.

#### A. F. of L. REVENUE

The Executive Council has made a thorough study of our financial experiences for the past five (5) years. This study shows that the General Fund income of the Federation increased progressively during 1941, 1942, 1943 and 1944 and then dropped substantially in 1945. The expenditures from the General Fund for this same period of time also followed this same general trend. In round numbers, the figures are as follows:

Income		General Fund Expenses	
1940 .....	\$1,609,000.00	1940 .....	\$1,596,000.00
1941 .....	1,967,000.00	1941 .....	1,898,000.00
1942 .....	1,993,000.00	1942 .....	1,933,000.00
1943 .....	2,264,000.00	1943 .....	2,107,000.00
1944 .....	2,378,000.00	1944 .....	2,441,000.00
1945 .....	2,009,000.00	1945 .....	2,139,000.00

It will be seen from these figures that the peak income to the General Fund came in 1944 in the amount of \$2,378,000.00—then it dropped to \$2,009,000.00 in 1945 representing a drop of \$369,000. Likewise the peak expense to the General Fund was in 1944 which was a figure of \$2,441,000. In 1945, this figure was \$2,139,000.00—a drop of \$302,000. While both expenses and income to the General Fund showed a reduction in 1945 as against 1944, it is significant that the drop in income was \$67,000.00 greater than the drop in expenses. It is also worthy of note that the drop in expenses in 1945 as against 1944 came solely as the result of a substantial decrease in the number of paid Organizers working for the American Federation of Labor.

In our study of the finances of the past five years, we gave particular attention to the organizing figures because organizing expenses constitute the major portion of our over-all outgo. In this connection, we find that it cost the American Federation of Labor an average of \$442.00 a month in 1940 to maintain a paid organizer in the field. In 1945, this average cost per organizer per month had risen to \$624. Under these circumstances, it seems reasonable for the Council to conclude that even if the General Fund income were to be maintained at the 1945 level for the next few years, we could not keep our finances in balance unless we reduced our expenditures for organizing purposes. In the final analysis, in the opinion of the Council, the present per capita tax rates established by the Seattle Convention in 1941 and which have been adequate to carry us through the past five years will not be sufficient in the future because of the increased cost of all our opera-



tions during this period of time. Salaries paid to organizers are higher; expenses for organizers are higher; salaries paid to office workers are higher; and our printing and miscellaneous expenses are also higher than they were in 1941.

The trend in the past two years is best indicated by the fact that despite a good income rate to the General Fund in the twenty-four (24) months since the start of our September 1, 1944, fiscal year, the General Fund expenditures have exceeded income in the amount of \$338,000. It is evident, therefore, that if the American Federation of Labor is to meet the demands made upon it for organizing purposes and for adequate service to our affiliates, that there must be some increase in income to the Federation. The Executive Council therefore recommends to the convention of the American Federation of Labor that the income of the Federation be increased by the following changes in our constitution:

Section 1 of Article X which now reads as follows:

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one and one-half ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) cents per member per month up to 300,000 members and one (1) cent per member per month for members in excess of 300,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five and one-half ( $35\frac{1}{2}$ ) cents per member per month, eight and one-half ( $8\frac{1}{2}$ ) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State Bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

shall be amended to read:

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two (2) cents per member per month up to 200,000 members, and one and one-half ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) cents per member per month for members in excess of 200,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-six (36) cents per member per month, eight and one-half ( $8\frac{1}{2}$ ) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local unions from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State Bodies \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

### A. F. OF L. EMPLOYES RETIREMENT PLAN

Pursuant to the instructions and authority given to it by the 1944 convention, the Executive Council has decided to put into effect in the very near future a retirement plan for American Federation of Labor employees.

For the time being the plan approved by the Council will cover all employes of the Headquarters in Washington and in addition the clerical and stenographic employes who are employed to assist A. F. of L. organizers in various cities throughout the country. Approximately 145 employes will be covered by the plan.

The officers of the American Federation of Labor are not included.

It is contemplated that the organizers of the American Federation of Labor will be brought into this retirement system at some future date.

A committee of the Executive Council comprised of Vice-Presidents Harrison, Birthright and Woll gave many months of intensive study to this problem before the Council finally approved a definite retirement plan.

The plan approved has been prepared by the committee with the assistance of a number of completely qualified experts in this field. The Council has instructed a committee consisting of President Green, Vice-President Harrison and Secretary-Treasurer Meany to put the plan into effect at the earliest possible date.

The plan can best be described as a contributory retirement annuity plan. The operation and administration of the plan will, under the decision of the Council, be the responsibility of the American Federation of Labor itself. The Council decided after giving the matter serious consideration not to have this annuity plan underwritten by a private insurance company.

While it is not possible at this time to report all features of this plan to the Convention we can report the essential details which have been definitely decided upon.

The American Federation of Labor will set aside into a special fund to be known as the "A. F. of L. Employes Retirement Annuity Fund," to be established for the purpose of guaranteeing retirement annuities for A. F. of L. employes, the total amount of money necessary to credit employes for prior service to the Federation. No employe will be required to make any contributions to the fund in order to receive credit under the plan for any service rendered before the plan actually takes effect. Employes will contribute beginning with the date the plan goes into effect 3 percent of their salary up to \$250 per month, plus an amount still to be decided on with respect to that portion of their salary which exceeds \$250 per month. The American Federation of Labor will contribute to the fund each month an amount equal to 3 percent of the first \$250 of monthly salary paid to each covered employe.

Employes who withdraw from the plan will receive from the fund an amount equal to all the money they have put into the fund plus interest at the going rate for this type of insurance annuity compounded annually. The beneficiaries of all employes who die prior to retiring will receive a

death benefit equal to all the money paid by the employe into the fund plus interest at the going rate for this type of insurance annuity compounded annually.

The normal retirement age under the plan will be 65 years. Under special circumstances, with the approval of the Executive Council, employes will be able to retire at 55 years of age and receive an annuity that will of course be a lesser amount, being the actuarial equivalent in value at age 55 to the amount payable had the employe waited until the age 65 to retire.

The plan proposed is estimated to provide an average monthly annuity of retirement of 37 percent of the employe's monthly salary varying of course for each individual on the basis of the employe's length of service.

The complete details of the plan will be given to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

### CONSUMER COOPERATIVES AND CREDIT UNIONS

During the year, significant progress has been made in strengthening the ties that already existed between the American Federation of Labor and the Cooperative League of U.S.A. In many cities throughout the East, the Central States, and on the West Coast, authorized representatives of the Cooperative League have assisted officers of local and central labor unions in educating their membership in the principles of consumers cooperation and in organizing cooperative stores, credit unions and other cooperative services. Federation representatives have attended "union and co-op" conferences and addressed meetings. Representatives of the Cooperative League have shown a desire to work with us and to welcome us into membership.

We commend the growing interest in consumers cooperation which is developing among our unions. Through well managed consumers cooperatives workers can give themselves a unique service by supplying themselves with food and other living necessities at cost; credit unions can furnish credit in emergencies; and group health cooperatives can provide medical care at immense saving in cost. As the cooperative movement grows in strength and as we participate in it, its service to union members will increase and bring us many benefits. Particularly in times of rising prices our members need a strong cooperative movement to check price profiteering through competition on the free market.

We urge all affiliated unions to take an active part in the consumer cooperatives in their communities, and where there are no well managed cooperatives, to organize them. To do this will require a thorough understanding of the Rochdale principles. In educating members in these principles and in organizing cooperatives, we urge all unions to work closely with authorized representatives of the Cooperative League of U.S.A. These representatives are experienced in handling the difficult problems of cooperative business management and can give the assistance and advice which is essential. This is a most important safeguard to assure the success of any cooperative enterprise.



# BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1944 AND 1945

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	737,898.00			1,016,160.00	11,200.00		1,765,228.00	786,279.00			1,586,030.00	9,800.00		2,382,109.00
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union of America													9,513.00	9,513.00
Chemical Workers Union, International	NO	INTERNATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID			NO	INTERNATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		
Cigar-makers' International Union of America				1,032.89			1,032.89				405.60		1,968.00	2,373.60
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of														
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	61,000.00	17,668.00					78,668.00	66,000.00	18,139.20					84,139.20
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	617,660.00	1,65,021.00	120,788.00				703,469.00	699,382.00	1,86,000.00	131,280.00			12,239.01	828,901.01
Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail	11,875.00						11,875.00	14,450.00						14,450.00
Coopers' International Union	6,675.00						6,675.00	8,191.80					1,485.00	9,649.80
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America	6,630.50						6,630.50	12,683.00						12,683.00
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union														
Draftsmen's Unions International Federation of Technicians and Engineers, Architects and Engineers														
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of	988,205.04			892,842.12			1,881,047.16	1,064,970.83			1,045,039.41			2,110,010.24
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	NO	INTERNATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID			NO	INTERNATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		
Engineers, International Union of	116,100.00						116,100.00	130,875.00						130,875.00
Engravers Union of North America, International Photo	178,049.50	61,909.79	41,695.85		4,000.00		285,655.14	219,847.86	64,938.51	33,990.25	102,504.25			421,301.17
Fire Fighters, International Association of	NO	INTERNATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID			NO	INTERNATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		
Fremen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	32,975.00						32,975.00	43,400.00						43,400.00

# BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1944 AND 1945—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total
Garment Workers of America, United	26,025.00						26,025.00	27,425.00						27,425.00
Garment Workers Union, In-	126,010.00	570,376.00					3,578,963.00	146,570.00	237,389.00				7,315,409.00	7,699,368.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Asso-	50,623.50						50,623.50	51,907.00						51,907.00
ciation of the United States and Canada														
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	17,994.18						17,994.18	16,299.41						16,299.41
Glass Workers' Union, Ameri-	29,400.00						29,400.00	32,100.00						32,100.00
Glass Workers' Union of America, International	650.00						650.00	600.00						600.00
Government Employees, American Federation of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS					NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS			PAID	
Granite Cutters' Interna-	35,019.00						35,019.00	33,456.00						33,456.00
tional Association of Ameri-														
ca, The Language Belt and	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS					NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS			PAID	
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International	2,200.00						2,200.00	2,000.00	89,314.00				2,789.00	94,103.00
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International	158,150.00						158,150.00	148,150.00						148,150.00
Hot Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union	600.00						600.00	800.00						800.00
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International	255,150.00						255,150.00	305,687.50					128,774.25	434,461.00
Hotel and Restaurant Em-														
ployees International Al-														
liance and Bartenders In-														
ternational League of														
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	56,201.62						56,201.62	36,460.10						36,460.10
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal														
Laundry Workers Interna-														
tional Union														
Leather Workers' Interna-														
Leather Workers' Union														
Letter Carriers, National Association of	172,237.89	173,508.34					345,746.23	197,992.80	188,015.40					386,008.00

**BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1944 AND 1945—(Continued)**

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural														
Luncheonmen's Association, Maintenance of Way Em-	315,192.00						315,192.00	324,645.73						324,645.73
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers, and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters, Helpers and Terrazzo Workers, International Union of	2,600.00						2,600.00	2,800.00						2,800.00
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization of														
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National														
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated Association, Sheet	64,000.00						66,100.00	62,000.00					2,902.64	64,902.64
Mine Workers, United Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, International	3,500,000.00 345,272.54	126,175.25	20,719.45				3,500,000.00 402,167.24	3,250,000.00 335,587.77						3,250,000.00 492,351.17
Musicians, American Federation of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	NO	PAID		NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	PAID		
Office Employees International Union														
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Paper Makers International Brotherhood of	335,569.02						308,099.02	365,731.60						378,781.60
Pattern Makers International Brotherhood of North America	42,452.45						45,927.45	53,010.40					4,192.65	57,203.05
Plasterers International As'n of the United States and Canada, Operative	12,600.00	18,019.60					36,618.60	20,025.00	20,389.60				17,827.30	58,241.90
	103,975.00						103,975.00	110,375.00						110,375.00



# BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1944 AND 1945—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada, United Association of	344,300.00	13,274.00					357,574.00	386,490.00	9,675.00				7,464.00	403,809.00
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal	5,200.00			4,680.00			9,880.00	2,800.00						7,480.00
Porters, Brotherhood of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID		NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	
Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, National Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID		NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	29,875.00	4,397.07					44,272.07	40,100.00	4,864.13					44,964.13
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers, Union of North America	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID		NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	
Printing Pressmen's and Assistant's Union of North America, International														
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the U. S. and Canada, Int'l Bro. of						19,346.22	19,346.22						22,381.96	22,381.96
Railway Employees of America, International Association of Street and Electric	11,296,310.13	125,480.60			3,200.00		1,334,990.73	1,139,003.92	140,709.60			2,900.00		1,282,613.52
Railway Mail Association	24,435.15				124,353.50		148,788.65	40,548.37				124,622.00		165,170.37
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	16,500.00						16,500.00	17,900.00						17,900.00
Sailors, International Union of Marine Stewards, Seamen, Longshoremen, International Association														
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID		NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	
Spinners Union, International	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID		NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID	
Stage Employees and Moving Men, International Alliance of U. S. and Canada, Theatrical														

**BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1944 AND 1945—(Continued)**

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of														
Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	115,700.00				1,164.95	200.00	117,064.95	132,112.00				2,026.00		134,138.00
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	9,400.00						9,400.00	8,500.00						8,500.00
Stove Mounters' International Union	17,000.00						17,000.00	17,747.30						17,747.30
Switchmen's Union of North America	246,450.00				13,175.00		259,625.00	242,425.00				10,200.00		252,625.00
Teachers' Association of American Federation of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID			NO	INTER NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID		
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of														
Telegraphers, The Order of	227,182.75				1,255.00	33,704.91	262,142.66	241,104.47				1,605.00	39,867.76	252,577.23
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial	8,646.00						8,646.00	13,135.80						13,135.80
Textile Workers of America, United														
Tobacco Workers International Union	4,950.00	82,135.00		1,720.00		4,857.00	93,685.00	6,000.00	54,192.00		1,270.00		3,612.00	65,074.00
Typographical Union, International	821,711.47	77,427.64	2,346.65	4,179,936.52		566,555.65	5,647,980.93	832,517.66	73,308.93	12,735.87	4,242,220.04		922,235.36	6,083,107.83
Upholsterers' International Union of North America					12,005.51		12,005.51	18,825.00				150,975.79		169,800.79
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United	24,000.00					13,853.22	37,853.22	22,500.00					1,246.00	23,746.00
Weavers Protective Association, American Wire	1,200.00	2,222.50					3,422.50	400.00	2,547.00					2,947.00
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers	1,623,356.75	158,472.04			34,665.00	114,707.60	1,931,201.42	1,629,879.33	194,383.00			20,500.00	111,141.92	1,952,904.25
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen	1,212,370.20	764,705.50			392,909.22	55,030.50	2,425,015.42	1,104,535.87	930,629.00			366,302.93	82,542.69	2,484,010.49

# **BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1944 AND 1945—(Continued)**

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	2,688,117.65	1,675,741.21	22,459.78	918,447.80	479,101.10	1,200.00	5,785,067.54	2,866,629.17	2,123,149.06	22,160.06	985,311.97	590,597.73	900.00	6,588,748.04
Order of Railway Conductors of America	631,665.89	.....	.....	.....	80,089.76	13,520.00	725,275.65	671,661.23	.....	.....	.....	87,465.47	52,666.19	811,792.89
<b>Total</b>	<b>19,083,567.50</b>	<b>4,332,085.72</b>	<b>109,720.89</b>	<b>7,652,061.07</b>	<b>1,180,419.04</b>	<b>3,941,250.32</b>	<b>36,299,105.44</b>	<b>19,402,288.22</b>	<b>4,781,496.44</b>	<b>131,611.69</b>	<b>8,563,775.09</b>	<b>1,392,944.92</b>	<b>8,836,018.19</b>	<b>43,108,137.55</b>

1. Dues waived.
2. Includes local union benefits.
3. Paid by local unions.
4. Includes health and vacation benefits.

	1944	1945
Recapitulation:		
Death Benefits.....	\$19,083,567.50	\$19,402,288.22
Sick Benefits.....	4,332,085.72	4,781,496.44
Old Age Benefits.....	131,611.69	131,496.49
Disability Benefits.....	7,652,061.07	8,563,775.09
Miscellaneous Benefits.....	1,180,419.04	1,392,944.92
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>\$36,299,105.44</b>	<b>\$43,108,137.55</b>

## AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The *American Federationist* is the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor and, as such, is responsible for bringing to the attention of its readers—both those inside and those outside the organized labor movement—informative and interpretative material relative to the principles, policies, programs and activities of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies.

The *Federationist* publishes this material as well as a variety of other articles of value and interest to intelligent trade unionists. Informal surveys indicate a very high degree of readership of each month's contents.

The official monthly magazine of the Federation has insisted upon modernity in every element entering into the production of a periodical. The *Federationist's* articles are usually not only important but also lively in treatment and most readable; its illustrations are appealing to the eye as well as pertinent to the accompanying reading matter; its editing is careful and in conformity with the highest standards of modern editorial practice.

The Executive Council is gratified that the policies followed in producing the *American Federationist*, which is now in its fifty-third year of publication, have given the American Federation of Labor an organ that is universally recognized as the foremost official publication issued by any of the world's labor movements.

The Executive Council is also pleased at the continuing enthusiasm of the *Federationist's* audience for a publication which is in key with the tempo of our times and at the assurance that the pages of our official magazine are read attentively.

It is our intention to have the *Federationist* go forward in the year ahead. As feasible improvements suggest themselves, they will be promptly adopted, so that in the postwar era the *Federationist* may become an even more effective instrument than in the past.

The *American Federationist* is one of the important ambassadors of our movement to the general public. Experience has shown that where the *Federationist* has reached individuals outside our movement, their understanding of organized labor has increased and their readiness to harken to anti-Labor propaganda has diminished. Efforts to expand the general circulation of the *Federationist*, when the supply of paper becomes adequate, would be most helpful in securing that favorable public opinion toward the institution of free trade unionism which is of vital importance to the well-being of the American wage earner.

Officers and organizers of the American Federation of Labor and of affiliated organizations as well as many other individuals have helped most substantially through their contributions of worthwhile articles. For the time and effort which these busy men and women have always been ready to expand so that the American Federation of Labor might be

represented by a publication which is at the top of the heap in its field, the Executive Council hereby records its most sincere appreciation.

### LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY

The Survey is a tool for trade unionists who want to understand national economic trends and problems with which unions must deal. Through this publication we have given union executives and organizers information on wartime labor controls and other war controls and explained how union policies could be constructively carried forward under these controls. We shall continue to report changes which will free the American economy of war controls, and follow our free enterprise as it produces for home and foreign trade while reporting on the organization of world trade under the United Nations.

We have discussed national legislation and its effect on the welfare of workers, and covered many problems of the transition from war to peace.

In the international field, the Survey keeps union members abreast of important developments in the United Nations, problems of postwar relief, the peace conferences, and other international agencies and developments. We have made available for workers facts on low living conditions and loss of freedom in Soviet Russia, and on the Soviet drive for world domination, so that our members will understand the significance of Communist activities in this country.

Clear and simple description of the constructive policies of the American Federation of Labor and the progress we have won for workers has made the survey useful for organizing purposes. Since interpretation of our policies is the basis of good public relations, the Survey has served an important function in this field. We continue to have a large demand for it from persons and organizations in all phases of our national life—colleges and universities, employers and business men, students, libraries, research organizations, as well as rank and file workers and union executives.

### NOTICIARIO OBRERO NORTEAMERICANO (North American Labor News)

The Executive Council has been indeed gratified with the achievements of the Spanish language clipsheet which the American Federation of Labor has been publishing for the past three years. Since its inception, the circulation of the paper has more than doubled and it has proved a very effective instrument for furthering the ties of friendship which bind the trade union movements of this hemisphere.

We are pleased to report that our State Department has found this paper a most valuable means for educational purposes and now maintains a complete file in our Latin-American Embassies for the use of students. It has proved to be not only of great educational value but has been of great assistance to those trade union leaders of Latin-America who are

sincerely endeavoring to build a trade union movement based on the same ideals and principles as the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council recommends that the publication be continued and sincerely hopes that further efforts may soon be realized to more fully acquaint the trade union movement of Latin-America with the work of the American Federation of Labor.

#### **PUBLICITY, RADIO, AND THE FREE LABOR PRESS**

Labor received universal and nationwide recognition of its vital contributions to victory immediately following the end of the war. Military leaders, high ranking government executives and even some portions of the hostile press joined in according to the nation's workers a significant measure of credit for their share in defeating the enemy.

But all too soon the hue and cry of anti-Labor propaganda was resumed in full force, this time aimed at crippling Labor's freedom in the post-war period and seeking to block Labor's program for post-war progress. Strikes for higher wage rates were magnified out of all proportion to their effect on the reconversion program and efforts were made to incite war veterans against Labor.

The Information and Publicity Service of the American Federation of Labor has been forced to combat this highly organized and well financed propaganda with inadequate resources and through such unfriendly channels as the daily press. Yet it has succeeded in debunking most of the attacks against Labor and in creating a more favorable state of public opinion toward the American Federation of Labor.

The most effective factor in this achievement has been the enlarged radio program of the American Federation of Labor. Its value in developing greater public good-will cannot be overestimated.

Beginning in January 1945 the American Federation of Labor inaugurated a regular and continuous series of weekly radio programs over nationwide networks. These broadcasts have been immensely popular among the Federation's own members and with the public generally, as is attested by the large volume of favorable mail and by independent checks taken by the networks.

The first series of radio programs, called "America United," received the highest listener rating of any non-commercial broadcast on the air, both in 1945 and 1946. It was sponsored by the American Federation of Labor during the first thirteen weeks of the year and was carried by more than 130 stations of the NBC network. NBC reported that this was the largest number of station acceptances for any of its non-commercial sustaining programs. "America United" is designed to promote, by forum discussion of important national problems, unity of thought and action by labor, business, agriculture, and the government. It has proven so successful that NBC has now increased the allotted time of fifteen minutes to one-half hour.

The second series of American Federation of Labor broadcasts was

carried by more than one hundred stations of the Columbia Broadcasting System. In 1945 this series of thirteen programs was devoted to the story of the Seabees and was called "Builders of Victory." In 1946 we presented "Cross Section—A. F. of L." Through personal interviews at the scene of the job, these programs gave the public an interesting picture of the important functions performed by the major unions constituting the American Federation of Labor and of their value to national and community life.

The third series of weekly broadcasts was carried by the American Broadcasting Company for twenty-six weeks in 1945 and is continuing for a similar period this year. This program is called "Labor-USA," with the sub-title "The American Federationist of the Air." It is a novel news magazine, containing news highlights and featured talks by labor representatives and invited guests on timely subjects of interest and importance to Labor.

In addition to the foregoing, the American Federation of Labor has obtained time for "spot programs" over the Mutual Broadcasting Company's network. Mutual has agreed to allot thirteen such programs during each year to the American Federation of Labor.

Finally, the Federation's Information and Publicity Service has arranged for the appearance of labor spokesmen on radio forums and discussions sponsored by non-labor organizations and has obtained time for special programs by affiliated unions. It has also arranged for radio talks by leaders of the American Federation of Labor at eventful periods.

The radio industry has recognized Labor's right to be heard on the air and it has cooperated fully with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. It should be pointed out that the networks have made time available for these programs free of charge as a public service.

Another vitally important information medium utilized by the American Federation of Labor this year, as in the past, is the loyal labor press. The services of the labor press in promulgating and promoting the cause of the nation's wage earners during the post-war period deserves the highest commendation. Fulfilling its promises, the American Federation of Labor put into effect this year plans for broadening the news service extended free of charge to the labor press. The American Federation of Labor's Weekly News Service is now issued twice a week, thus doubling its former service. This innovation has been deeply appreciated by the labor press as is evidenced by letters received from editors. The Executive Council pledges its support to every practical step to provide new opportunities for the growth and development of the bona fide labor press.

#### NATIONAL LABOR POLICY

Since workers began organizing in unions in order to have a voice in terms and conditions of pay, national policy with respect to unions has been in process of formulation. There is involved not only the attitude of workers and management but that of the public which is reflected in legislation and judicial opinions and rulings. A century ago the union



itself was held to be an illegal agency—then group action by workers to assure rights legally accorded them as individuals was held by the courts to be criminal conspiracy. The courts buttressed their contention by ruling that the English common law was equally law in the United States and then held specific group activities to be illegal. Judges issued injunctions to enforce their interpretations and government by judicial law sent many union leaders and members to jail or ruined them financially by fines.

Early in the Nineteenth Century it was held to be illegal for workers, as an organized group, to strike or to "conspire" to raise wages; to "conspire" to prevent other workers from following their trades; to impoverish an employer for employing unlawful means to gain lawful ends; to "conspire" to compel men to join a union or to work only for certain wages. To complete the picture the judiciary introduced the element of public interest in holding group action by workers as prejudicial "to the community"—thus isolating workers from the public. Basic in this common law interpretation of group rights of workers, was the master-servant principle governing relationships between employers and employees.

The idea that a union of workers and its essential activities to promote the welfare of workers was an illegal conspiracy, although completely at variance with our developing democratic institutions and our economic conditions was reversed only by increasing numbers of unions and larger numbers of persons in industries demanding protection against Sunday work, the long workday and low wages. The New York Hatters Union case of 1823 instituted a new and devastating attack as did the Hatters case of 1903. In the 1823 case the Hatters were found guilty of combining to deprive non-union workers of their livelihood. The courts then held a strike illegal in order to protect the interests of the third party. In 1903 the courts found that the Anti-Trust Act applied to the hatters' strike for the union shop and held that the union must pay triple damages. The courts penalized the American Federation of Labor for its aid to strikers by sentencing its officers to jail and to pay triple fines. The savings and homes of individual hatters were attached by the employer to guarantee payment.

In order to perform necessary services for workers, unions had to establish in law and in public policy the right of workers to act collectively to promote their interests, and to make sure such rights were incorporated into industrial and governmental theory and practice. Workers organized for both economic and political action—union activities in the economic field and nonpartisan political action in the other. The American Federation of Labor took positive and aggressive action in the Congressional elections beginning with 1906, the national election in 1908, and the presidential campaign of 1912.

Stages of progress were marked by riders to Appropriation Acts for the judiciary forbidding use of funds to prosecute Labor and farmers under the anti-trust acts; the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-trust Act excluding unions from its application; and the Norris-LaGuardia Act

defining and restricting the use of injunctions in labor cases and eliminating the major evils due to judicial legislation in this field.

The right of workers to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining and the promotion of their welfare was first stated affirmatively in the principles of the war labor administration which the Government enforced during the First World War.

The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever. Employers should not discharge men for membership in trade unions, nor for legitimate trade union activities.

The rights which railway unions were accorded during the war were written in the railway labor legislation of 1920, 1926 and 1934. The National Recovery Act of 1933 assured the right of organization to all industrial workers:

(1) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; (2) That no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing.

A century of contest over the legal and economic rights of Labor developed acceptance of the union as a necessary economic, social, and political agency of wage earners who must organize collective action to promote their own welfare and to keep pace with social gains. It clarified also the basic principles essential for workers' progress in step with national progress. These principles are guides to union policies in all fields of action to promote Labor's welfare:

1. The right of a worker to stop work is inherent in personal freedom. The right of workers to strike in promotion of their welfare is inseparable from a free economy.
2. Collective bargaining which makes effective labor contractual rights provides the method by which representatives of workers and management jointly agree upon the rules and procedures which constitute the government of productive work. Economic government is mainly vested in private groups which operate within the laws of the land.
3. Workers shall be guaranteed the right to choose their union to represent them in economic matters.
4. Unions shall be assured protection against employers domination.
5. The right to organize shall be assured all workers without discrimination due to race, sex, creed or industrial occupation.
6. The right of government workers to organize shall be inviolate but shall not assure workers carrying on government processes the right to strike. In compensation for this modification of collective bargaining strength, the Government shall assure its em-

ployees who aid in putting government authority into effect not less than the highest standards negotiated for comparable work in private employment.

Congress established these rights as public policy and has consistently refused to approve compulsion. In doing so it has safeguarded the principle of "consent"—the only safe foundation for government in a free society. The chief digressions which Congress has made were in wartime legislation such as the Lever and the Smith Acts. Compulsion solves no problems—it only undermines morale necessary for production. Efficient and profitable production needs cooperation to solve its problems.

During World War II Labor promised no strikes and Management promised no interruptions of production due to their actions. Upon these promises the Government built price and production controls to which were added wage and employment controls. V-J Day, which ended the shooting war, brought the hope of freedom from Administration economic controls. Reconversion of industry was a difficult task which we hoped to accomplish without further inflation. Our objectives were to get full supplies moving to consumers as rapidly as possible and tighten up on the financial causes of inflation.

The President's Executive Orders following V-J Day freed collective bargaining within price ceilings and restricted the National War Labor Board. Things went well so long as employers and workers centered on return to normal production at maximum levels. Normal supplies would have ended many price and production controls. Our disciplined A. F. of L. unions knew the value and services to be expected from collective bargaining so they made their plans on this basis and went as far as was possible in adjusting rates upward to compensate for increased productivity and shorter hours. Our practice is to make such gains as we could at the time and then make ready for the next opportunity. This, we believe, is, in general, the way to sustained progress.

As a result of a suggestion of Senator Vandenberg to Secretary Schwelmbach that the groundwork for peace with justice on the home front should be laid simultaneously with the groundwork for peace in international relations, a Labor-Management Conference was planned to chart the way to production with peace. The National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce were asked to designate employers' delegates and alternates and the American Federation of Labor, the United Mine Workers, the Railroad Labor Executives and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, were also asked to designate delegates and alternates.

The conference convened November 5, 1945, and appointed committees to deal with the following subjects: (1) collective bargaining (2) Management's right to manage (3) representation and jurisdiction (4) Conciliation services (5) Initial collective agreements (6) Existing collective

agreements. To each of these committees was assigned sections from the following agenda:

### I. Proposed Agenda

Your preparatory and agenda committee believes that the national labor-management conference will accomplish more constructive results if it confines itself primarily to some of the major causes of industrial strife and the methods of reducing them. This suggested agenda is offered with this principle in mind.

Your committee therefore recommends that the following topics be considered:

1. The extent to which industrial disputes can be minimized by full and genuine acceptance by management of collective bargaining in every instance where workers choose to organize to bargain collectively on questions of wages, hours and working conditions.

2. The extent to which industrial disputes can be minimized by full and genuine acceptance by organized labor of the inherent right and responsibilities of management to direct the operation of an enterprise.

3. The extent to which industrial disputes can be minimized by the willingness of management and workers to utilize the machinery of the National Labor Relations Act and any existing State Labor Relations Acts for prompt determination of the collective bargaining agencies.

4. The extent to which industrial disputes can be minimized by recognized and orderly procedure to negotiate first contracts between a union and an employer, and the extent to which provision should be made for the use of conciliation, if negotiations seem to be breaking down.

5. The extent to which industrial disputes can be minimized by provisions incorporated in collective bargaining agreements, such as:

- (a) The procedure to be followed in (1) the adjustment of disputes and grievances during the life of a contract, and (2) the negotiation of a succeeding contract.

- (b) The policy that once an agreement has been signed, no strikes or lock-outs shall take place while it is in force, but that disputes shall be settled between the parties by other means provided in the contract.

- (c) When negotiations between the parties concerning the terms of renewal of a contract have failed, provision should be made for the early use of conciliation, mediation, and, where necessary, voluntary arbitration.

- (d) Provision by Management and Labor of facilities and personnel to enable grievances to be settled quickly at the level where they occur.

- (e) Adherence by both parties to a policy of responsibility for living up to the letter and spirit of all collective agreements and effective measures to carry it out.

- (f) Consideration of action needed by unions to control their members for conduct in violation of an agreement, and action needed by management to control their officials and supervisory force who engage in violation of an agreement.

6. To prevent industrial disputes from taking place, should provision be made for improving and strengthening the Conciliation Service of the U. S. Department of Labor, and should there be additional support for the operation of this Service?

7. What provision should be made for lessening or preventing strikes which come from jurisdictional or other inter-union disputes?

The last three committees made joint reports. There was a substantial field of agreement in the other three committees but disagreement upon matters involved in current issues. These were issues upon which some members of the conference had to act in collective bargaining and upon which participation in conference reports might prejudice final decision. Employers introduced proposals to make unions "responsible" and unions wanted employers to bargain in good faith. These things are matters of character and responsibility for which "guarantees" are ineffectual.

Disagreement existed on phases of these issues: organization of foremen; wage increases; specific application of the generalization that industrial disputes can be minimized by full and genuine acceptance by organized labor of the functions and responsibilities of management to direct the operation of an enterprise.

Management representatives insisted upon emphasizing the public's interest in collective bargaining, stipulating that joint agreements be not contrary to the public interest but failing to accompany such recognition of rights by proportionate responsibility on the part of the public. The two groups agreed upon many basic principles.

The Committee on Management's Right to Manage failed to make a joint report. The Management representatives undertook to define in legal fashion certain fields in which they described Management's responsibility as exclusive and its rights absolute. They stated that Management should have absolute right to determine safety, health, and property protection measures because Management has a legal responsibility. The economic and factual side of this issue made plain that the workers' stake in these determinations involves life and limb. Wise determination requires consideration of work experience and workers' cooperation. Even if Management were all-wise it cannot make work safe from accident and health injuries without the cooperation of the work force.

Likewise the functions of foremen in various plants differ widely—some are part of the work force while others exercise solely management functions. Surely all foremen may have the right to organize for their economic betterment but whether they affiliate with Management or Labor depends upon the facts and conditions obtaining in their personal employment. The Labor members maintained that while some of the functions and responsibilities can be clearly defined there are other areas where Management must make initial decision in order to insure effective operation but that the consequences of such decisions must be open to review and adjustment under grievance machinery while still other matters can be determined only by collective bargaining. Industries are living organizations which develop their habits and procedures out of changing factors and forces. Arbitrary rulings would result in injustice and inefficiency contributing to labor unrest. There is hardly a decision by management that

does not affect Labor's interests. The reverse is equally true. Better labor relations depend upon acceptance of mutual responsibility and consultation and agreement upon policies and procedures. Production is inherently a cooperative enterprise and management policies should facilitate cooperation. To insist upon absolute authority is to reverse the tide of development.

Upon jurisdictional disputes there was sharp disagreement between Labor and Management representatives. The Labor members recommended the machinery of the N.L.R.B. and similar state boards in determining representation for collective bargaining. They specifically opposed Management's proposal that upon the termination of a contract, Management could question the status of the union which had the contract as unwise and disruptive of present procedures. They also opposed limitation of the bargaining unit to one factory or place of business.

As to disputes between unions within the union framework, the labor members recommended union machinery.

All of the deliberations of the Management-Labor Conference were concerned with long-time policies. Short-time policies for the reconversion period would have required the participation of government representatives who only could have spoken with authority on government plans and policies. Government controls dominated reconversion so that Management and workers have not been free to make independent plans. The value of long-time suggestions was overshadowed by short-time policies initiated by the Administration. The Administration's decision in the steel strike shifted our whole economy to an inflationary basis. The steel price and wage increases necessitated a network of price and wage increases.

Equally important was the decision on the role of the Administration in wage determination. So long as the President is willing to intervene in labor disputes, established agencies feel they no longer have responsibility or authority. Political intervention results in the substitution of political pressures for dependence on economic facts and economic power. Decisions rest on political expediency instead of economic conditions. Political stability and economic stability are not necessarily synonymous. The government of a free economy must not be entangled with political decisions or party politics.

The Administration's steel policy resulted in a series of industry strikes in which the government took over those affecting public safety. The imperative danger of a railroad strike brought the President to appeal to Congress for power to deal with strikes. Congress instead of following the President's suggestion, passed the Case bill which was pending in Congress. The President vetoed the measure as impractical and unwise and again asked for the legislation requested earlier.

The American Federation of Labor believes that what is needed now to promote better industrial relations is honest effort by management and unions to bargain collectively for their mutual benefit supplemented by

genuine efforts to work together for better and greater production so that there may be more for all. Cooperation, which is the spirit of partnership, constitutes grounds for increasing the proportional share going to workers, but if increased share is earned, justice requires compensation.

Cooperation between unions and management to develop the rules and procedures of fair dealing which must undergird industrial peace, must be supplemented by objective and wise administration of the National Labor Relations Act to assure workers their basic rights. Neither administrators nor employers should interfere with such basic economic rights as choice of union the workers want to represent them. Balance has not yet been struck as between the economic power of employers and unions. Meanwhile unions must press home upon members and officials responsibility which must accompany rights. Union officials can best develop a sense of responsibility when all relationships with management are conducted in a spirit of consideration and fairness that compels reciprocal honesty and forthrightness. Union responsibility best develops when all functioning groups have grasped the importance of dependability in human relationships and are striving to maintain standards.

Rights of workers must be respected by management and accepted in good faith. With the development of relations guaranteeing rights should go responsibility for wise use of such rights as reflects appreciation of their value.

Acceptance of the rights of workers follows in recognition of their freedom and those inherent qualities which give them dignity and worth. Rights of any one group have permanence only when these or similar rights are enjoyed by all other groups. Society gains in stability as each group defines and establishes the rights that assure justice and opportunity.

The process of production requires coordination and cooperation. The same is true of human relationships between those who carry on these processes. The principle of representation and mutual agreement as developed in collective bargaining and union-management cooperation gives promise of industrial stability with progress for all. It would assure also a free economy within controls vested in groups with experience that justifies confidence. A free economy operates within a framework of law in the public interests and looks to Government for those services that aid management and unions in adopting wise procedures and reaching wise decisions on policy. As has been wisely said industrial peace must be founded on agreement between those concerned.

#### **A proposal:**

Collective bargaining for the purpose of negotiating an agreement between management and workers covering wages, hours and working conditions and providing means and procedures for its enforcement is the major responsibility of all unions. Each union develops techniques and procedures out of its own special work conditions and industry. Workers



elected to office where they must perform these responsible duties, learn from the past experience of others and add to their own ingenuity. International offices maintain central files of agreements to aid in administrative work and to service their locals. The American Federation of Labor maintains a file of agreements of federal unions. The Bureau of Labor Statistics maintains a national file available for office reference and for staff analysis. Occasionally, the Bureau publishes information of new trends and comparative extracts from agreements showing how unions have handled the source of similar conditions.

Collective bargaining and union agreements are foundations upon which union services develop. They are our main dependence for economic progress, for good labor conditions, for cooperation in improving production, and prevention of stoppages due to strikes and lockouts. It is important that not only should Labor realize the services collective bargaining has rendered, but that the public should be kept informed and the facts made available as a guide to members of Congress.

We believe a disservice has been done Labor and the public by allowing strikes and grievances to occupy so disproportionate an amount of the publicity that goes to the public and by not focusing discussion upon the objectives of collective bargaining, the relative effectiveness of different principles underlying provisions, and various administrative machinery. We believe all unions can help in developing public relations policies emphasizing and evaluating the constructive achievements of the trade union movement.

In addition we believe special steps should be taken to collect and make available information on progress in collective bargaining and other cooperative relations between management and workers. This should be directed by a special committee of experienced union executives. This committee should consider the advisability of developing a system of awards for constructive progress in the field of collective bargaining especially for developing new provisions, for making notable betterments or gains, for introducing new techniques, for the longest period of uninterrupted service with sustained gains, et cetera.

Collective bargaining lays the basis for sustained cooperation between management and workers for elimination of wastes in production and for greater efficiencies in providing work material, in preparing for the mechanics of production and in carrying on the process of production. Such cooperation is facilitated by a type of organization and the best procedures to make it effective. Some of the most successful cooperative plans have developed a special constitution for this purpose. Many of the newer techniques of management which are generally in use are developing fields not covered by collective bargaining such as job specifications and job evaluation. Unless the union participates in the basic decisions in these matters, the field of collective bargaining will be narrowed.

The committee, we suggest, should consider all such extension of the scope of collective bargaining together with progress in established fields.

### NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD

The National War Labor Board established by Executive Order 9017 on January 12, 1942, terminated its activities on December 3, 1945. The wage stabilization functions of the Board were transferred to the National Wage Stabilization Board by Executive Order 9672 on December 31, 1945.

Since our last report to the 1944 convention in New Orleans, Louisiana, and extending to December 31, 1945, the National War Labor Board was confronted with many complex problems. The records will reveal that most of the Board's decisions were made with a practical and realistic understanding of the problems involved. During this period the American Federation of Labor Members directed their attention to two major problems:

- (1) The loosening of wage controls to compete with the rising living costs;
- (2) The restoration of collective bargaining between Labor and employers.

#### Maladjustment Formula

In their efforts to relax wage controls, the American Federation of Labor Members continued their attack on the Little Steel Formula. Under Executive Order 9382, control over the Little Steel Formula was in the hands of the President. The Board could only recommend that the formula be changed. Finally, as the result of our persistent efforts, the Board adopted a resolution, which directed the Board to submit a report to the President on the relationship of wages to the cost of living, and the changes which had occurred under the economic stabilization policy.

On January 16, 1945, the Board was unable to agree on a tripartite report and modified its resolution to provide that the Public Members of the Board submit a report to which independent statements by Labor and Industry Members would be added.

#### The Report to the President on the Little Steel Formula

On February 20, 1945, the Public Members submitted their report to the President through the Economic Stabilization Director. In their comments to the President, the A. F. of L. Members took issue with certain aspects of the Public Members' report. One of the strongest objections was directed to the analysis of the increases of wages allegedly received by the workers of this nation.

In their report, the Public Members substituted "adjusted straight time hourly earnings" for wage rates as the criteria for wage stabilization. Prior to the issuance of their report, the Public Members had refused to measure wages on the terms of "take-home" pay or gross earnings. Instead wages were regulated in the past by adjusting wage rates.

Under this specially devised formula, all types of wage increases were defined as cost of living adjustment. Despite the fact that the

Board historically limited increases to offset the rise in the living cost to the Little Steel Formula or maladjustment principle, substandard wage increases as well as adjustments to correct interplant and intraplant inequities were all lumped together as cost-of-living increases. The wage analysis made in the report indicated clearly that the Public Members had altered radically their method of measuring wage increases.

This shift of standards at that time was certainly no mere academic change of thinking. This change was the sole ground upon which the Public Members were able to rationalize their recommendations to the President that the Little Steel Formula should not be modified.

In the summary of their comments to the President, the A. F. of L. Members stated:

That the Public Members have adopted a new measure of wage stabilization; that this change was unannounced to their colleagues on the Board; and that the Public Members are not obliged to explain the bases of their recommendations against changing the Formula are all admissible facts. But the American Federation of Labor Members cannot explain to the workers of America the wage increases which they have only mathematically received. Nor can they explain that an increase to some individual workers fattens the pay envelopes of all workers. Furthermore, they cannot find a convincing answer to the question of why the measuring rod of wage increases was changed at all.

Last, but not least, there remains still another question which cannot be answered frankly. Why must the workers of the Nation be made to bear the brunt of supporting the entire anti-inflation program?

The seven-point program—as a whole—has not been successfully administered. Nevertheless, its deficiencies have been hidden from public view by the success attained in regulating wages. Whenever the program skids more than usual, the customary reaction of Director of Economic Stabilization has been to turn the thumb-screws more vigorously upon wage earners.

Indeed, this behavior has occurred so regularly that a pattern has been established. Executive Order No. 9250 was drastically modified by Executive Order 9328. This hysterical outburst had to be toned down by the May 12, 1943, Directive. Now with no more rigid wage control possible, an attempt is being made to whittle down the benefits of vacations, night-shift differentials and other fringe adjustments.

The workers of this Nation call upon the Government to look elsewhere in its seven-point anti-inflation program for improvements. What has happened to the proposals to roll back prices of food and clothes? What plans are being drawn to lessen the load of taxation borne by workers forced to live at a substandard level?

The American workers can find no convincing reply to the Public Members' Report to the President as to why our proposal for a realistic modification of the Little Steel Formula cannot be made at once. To the contrary, the very fact that they have had to devise a new formula to deny our appeal indicates the justice of our position.

Although the A. F. of L. Members of the Board were not entirely successful in breaking the Little Steel Formula until after V-J

Day, their persistence along this line brought about additional elements of flexibility in the Board's wage stabilization policies, together with other "precedent making" policy decisions. Such benefits were later extended to industries generally throughout the country.

**Substandard wages.** On February 21, 1945, the Board directed a minimum rate of 55 cents per hour to correct substandards of living in settlement of disputes in the textile industry. Later the Board issued a general order authorizing employers to increase wage rates to 55 cents per hour without prior approval of the Board. Prior to this the standard rate was 50 cents per hour.

**Non-Basic Wage Adjustments.** On March 8, 1945, the Economic Stabilization Director issued a directive authorizing the Board to approve or direct certain classes of wage adjustments irrespective of the requirements of Executive Order 9328. These adjustments were later liberalized by the Director of Economic Stabilization on April 24, 1945.

(a) Vacation provisions up to one week after one year's service, and two weeks after five years' service.

(b) Shift differentials in non-continuous operations of 4 cents per hour for the second shift, and 8 cents per hour for the third shift. Shift differentials in continuous operations of 4 cents per hour for the second shift and 6 cents per hour for the third shift.

(c) Reclassifications and job evaluations to the extent of an average increase for all employees in the plant or plants of 1 cent per hour or 1%.

In addition, the Board was authorized to approve or direct more liberal adjustments in accordance with industry or area practice.

In view of this new policy, it was clear, however, that the attack made by the A. F. of L. Members to relax wage controls was gaining momentum. These benefits were extended to hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the country, either by approval of a Form 10 application or by an Order of the Board.

**Post V-E Day Wage Controls.** On May 8, 1945, immediately after the President designated that day as V-E Day, the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion immediately issued a statement that:

Price, wage and rationing controls must be continued after V-E Day. They will be needed to protect war production, to safeguard the wage earner against rising living costs, and to maintain the best war market for goods and services.

As a result, the present wage controls continued until after V-J Day.

**Relaxation of Wage Controls.** On August 14, President Truman released a surrender acceptance message of the Imperial Japanese Government. Four days later, on August 18, 1945, Executive Order Number 9599 was issued. This order authorized the National War Labor Board to make whatever modifications and controls over wages were necessary for an orderly transition from war to a peacetime economy; and to remove as rapidly as possible without endangering the stability of

our economy toward the removal of wage controls and toward the restoration of free collective bargaining.

The Board issued General Order 40, which removed immediately all controls of wage increases which could not affect O.P.A. price ceilings; thereby, making a first move to open the field of collective bargaining on wage issues. Employers were no longer required to certify anything to the War Labor Board for approval unless price relief was involved. However, this new freedom did not apply to wage decreases. Such adjustments still required advance approval of the Board.

**Building and Construction Industry.** By the unanimous recommendation of the Wage Adjustment Board, the National War Labor Board on August 22, 1945, issued General Order Number 41, requiring Wage Adjustment Board approval on all wage adjustments made in the building and construction industry. Under this Order the building and construction industry continued pre-V-J wage controls.

**Dispute Cases.** On V-J Day there were pending before the Board 3,042 dispute cases. The great majority of these cases were appeals by companies of Regional Boards' and Commissions' decisions to the National Board. In view of the new Executive Order, and the effect it had in enlarging the scope of collective bargaining, it was quite possible for many of the pending cases or some of the issues to be resolved by agreement of the parties.

As a result of this procedure, most of the dispute cases pending before the Board were settled by the parties through collective bargaining. This was the first step towards the restoration of collective bargaining to the parties which was the major objective of the A. F. of L. Members.

#### **Transfer of the National War Labor Board to the Department of Labor**

Following an announcement by the President to abolish the National War Labor Board at the earliest possible time, the President issued an Executive Order transferring the Board and its functions to the Department of Labor. Previous to this, the National War Labor Board was an independent agency.

**Termination Program.** Following this Order the Board immediately began an orderly termination of its work, and adopted a new policy on all pending dispute cases before the Board. The Board would not process any case unless the parties jointly would stipulate to be bound by directive order of the Board.

The stipulation had to provide, however, that the decision of the Board or its agent was final and that the review by the National Board was waived. Where the parties did not stipulate, the Board agents would issue recommendation to the parties as the appropriate terms of settlement in lieu of Directive orders; no appeals from such recommendations were permitted. Under this new policy the activities of the National War Labor Board greatly decreased.

During this period the National War Labor Board did not establish

a new wage policy under Executive Order 9599. Obviously, the uncertainties of a new wage policy caused serious industrial unrest. Employers were refusing to negotiate wage increases until they were assured of adjustments in their price ceilings. As a result, on October 30, 1945, the President issued Executive Order 9651, amending Executive Order 9599. This Order defined certain classes of wage increases which could be used after approval by the National War Labor Board, or other designated agencies as a basis for seeking immediate increases in price ceilings. In addition, the O.P.A. was directed to take into full account all unapproved wage increases after a six months' test period and to give any price relief which the test showed was not far under established pricing standards. Wage adjustments not affecting price ceilings or cost to the Government remained free of Government control.

Following this Order the Board recommended to the President that its activities be terminated as of December 31, 1945, and that the President establish by Executive Order a Wage Stabilization Board consisting of six members to carry out the functions and responsibilities of the National War Labor Board relating to the stabilization of wages and salaries for the purpose of carrying out the objective authorized and directed by the Second War Powers Act of 1942, as amended, and the Stabilization Act of 1942, as amended, and also all the powers, functions, and responsibilities of the National War Labor Board relating to the disposition of applications under Section Five of the War Labor Disputes Act, and receipt of notices under Section Eight of the Act.

This recommendation was later confirmed by the President, and immediately the Board established a Wage Stabilization Division for the purpose of establishing criteria for applying a new wage policy under Executive Order 9599. No new criteria or standards were applied until January 2, 1946.

**Termination.** On December 31, 1945, the President issued Executive Order 9672, terminating the activities of the National War Labor Board, and also establishing a National Wage Stabilization Board to carry out its remaining functions. Thus, nearly four years' activities of the National War Labor Board were completed without a single case left incomplete. Moreover during this period the Board disposed of 415,000 voluntary wage applications, and 20,000 dispute cases involving more than 40,000,000 workers.

The outstanding characteristic of the Board was its tripartite structure which represented a new development in American industry. While the Board's full time staff consisted of only 2,613 employees at its peak, it enlisted on a per diem basis over 5,000 part-time labor, industry, and public representatives on its regional boards, dispute panels, and commissions. The main contribution of these part-time labor, industry and public representatives was that every part of the country became acquainted with the tripartite system of settling labor and industry problems. This has been a worthwhile experiment both for Labor and Manage-

ment, especially for the contribution it gave to the successful prosecution of the war.

### NATIONAL WAGE STABILIZATION BOARD

On January 2, 1946, the National Wage Stabilization Board, established by the President under Executive Order No. 9672, was given the responsibility of administering the wage stabilization program. The Board was composed of six members appointed by the President (two of whom, including the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, shall be representative of the Public, two representatives of employees, and two representative of employers) and such additional members as may in view of the necessities of the business of the Board, be appointed from time to time by unanimous action of a quorum of the Board to serve as alternates representing, respectively, the public, employees, and employers. Six members, equally representative of the three groups comprising the Board, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

**Functions of the Board.** The Board was given all the powers, functions, and responsibilities of the National War Labor Board (established by Executive Order No. 9017 of January 12, 1942, and transferred to the Department of Labor by Executive Order No. 9617 on September 19, 1945) relating to the stabilization of wages and salaries for the purpose of carrying out the objectives authorized and directed by the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended, and the Stabilization Act of 1942, as amended, in accordance with the policies and procedures provided by executive orders and regulations issued pursuant to these Acts. Other functions of the Board provided for the handling of enforcement violations, dispute cases under Section Five of the War Labor Disputes Act, and the receipt of notices under Section Eight of the Act.

The functions of the National Wage Stabilization Board relating to the stabilization of wages are limited to administering a wage policy under the direction of the Office of Economic Stabilization. The rules governing the procedures which must be followed have been set out in executive orders, general orders, and the rules and regulations of the Director of Economic Stabilization.

**Regional Boards.** In order to provide for speedy determination of cases by individuals thoroughly informed concerning local problems, the National Wage Stabilization Board has continued the twelve regional offices established by the National War Labor Board with, however, greatly reduced personnel. The Territorial Board for Hawaii was abolished and the National Board's jurisdiction with respect to the Territory of Hawaii is exercised by the Tenth Regional Board in San Francisco, California.

In each regional office there is a regional stabilization board modeled after the National War Labor Board. These regional boards were given authority to rule finally on applications for wage adjustments within the



limits of their jurisdiction. The National Board not only processes cases within its jurisdiction but also functions as the appeals body to which decisions of the regional boards may be brought for review.

#### **New Wage Stabilization Policy**

As set forth in Executive Orders Nos. 9599 and 9651 with respect to increases in wages, the general rule is established that wage or salary increases may be made lawfully in any amount and at any time after August 18, 1945, without government review or approval, except in the building construction industry and in agriculture which remain under previous wartime controls.

**Wage Increases Free of Government Control.** The stabilization program does not limit the amount of wage increases which may be agreed upon jointly by an employer and a union. The consequences of approval or nonapproval by the National Wage Stabilization Board of an increase (not coming within the above-noted exceptions) have to do only with the extent to which the increase may be used in determining price adjustments or in increasing costs to the government.

**Wage Increases Requiring Approval of Board.** Under the rules and regulations issued pursuant to Executive Orders Numbers 9599 and 9651, an employer who wanted price relief could seek approval of his wage adjustment at any time after he put it into effect. Price relief would be considered only for so much of the wage adjustment as was approved by the Board. However, an employer who had not received approval could nevertheless apply to O.P.A. for a price adjustment after six months. On the other hand, two new bases were added to the standards applied by the National War Labor Board for the approval of voluntary increases: (1) increases necessary to bring rates of the applicant up to prevailing rates in the industry or the area, and (2) increases necessary to bring rates up to a point where the average earnings of the employees in an appropriate unit would be 33% above the average earnings of January 1941.

**Application of New Wage Policy.** Before the National Wage Stabilization Board began administering the new wage stabilization program, the American Federation of Labor members attempted to formulate certain changes in the application of the new wage policy.

The first attack was against the wage bracket system with respect to the correction of inter-plant inequities. The A. F. of L. members took the position that the wage brackets established by the National War Labor Board in most instances were ten or fifteen percent below the prevailing rates and pointed out that a major source of difficulty with wage brackets was the process by which the Bureau of Labor Statistics collected the information. It was related that union wage rates were frequently overlooked or played down when the Bureau of Labor Statistics information presented by employers was accepted without question—despite the fact that by reporting low wage rates employers were guaran-

teeing a wage freeze. Moreover, it was pointed out that the parties to an application before this Board have reached an agreement and are in a better position to determine the equities of their case than any outside source. It was with this understanding that the Labor Members succeeded in having the wage bracket concept abandoned. Exclusive emphasis was no longer placed upon the local labor market area as circumscribing the geographical area within which the existence of inter-plant inequities were to be tested.

**Appropriate Unit.** The question of the proper unit in the application of the Little Steel Formula had been a fruitful source of controversy all during the life of the National War Labor Board. The Board in most instances applied the maladjustment formula on a company-wide or plant-wide basis regardless of the number of bargaining units involved. This method of computation deprived many A. F. of L. unions of the full fifteen percent maladjustment allowance. The A. F. of L. members vigorously opposed the continuation of this policy and took the position that the application of the maladjustment principle by the National Wage Stabilization Board should be guided by the certified bargaining agent or the recognized bargaining agent. After weeks of discussion and mainly through the persistence of the A. F. of L. members, the Board adopted the bargaining agent concept in determining the appropriate unit for applying the maladjustment principle.

**Maladjustment Formula.** A somewhat more difficult problem was presented in the application of the 33% maladjustment allowance. Under the rules and regulations of the Office of Economic Stabilization, the first step was the same as in the Little Steel Formula; namely, to calculate 33% of the January, 1941, average straight-time hourly earnings of the employees in the appropriate unit. From this gross maladjustment allowance would be offset the difference in cents per hour between the straight-time hourly earnings in January, 1941, and at the current date. The remainder would be allowable as a general increase and would raise the average straight-time hourly earnings at the current date no more than 33% above such earnings in the base date. This method of computation not only took into account general wage increases, but included all types of adjustment, together with increased earnings, caused by a change in the composition of employment. The A. F. of L. members strongly opposed the application of the formula under this rule and went on record with a memorandum to the Board stating their objections. It was pointed out that the Stabilization Administrator had misapplied the intent of Executive Order No. 9651, and that the application of this rule was impractical and unsound and could not by any stretch of the imagination carry out the maladjustment principle.

**Wage Policy Revised by the President.** On February 14, 1946, the President issued Executive Order No. 9697, which provided new sets of standards and automatically approved without reference to any set of

regulations—all wage increases made in accordance with a governmental recommendation in a wage controversy announced prior to the effective date of the Order. Wage adjustments not affecting price ceilings or increased costs to the government still remained free of government control. In addition a shift back to more controls was incorporated in the Order. Under the Order, any employer who desired to use a wage increase as a basis for a price increase was required to seek approval of the increase before he put it into effect. If he failed to receive this approval he was deemed to have waived for the duration of the wage stabilization program any claim for price relief based on such adjustments. Prior to Executive Order No. 9651, the approval of a wage increase had no relation to whether or not the employer intended to seek relief. The theory at that time was that inflation was caused by the excess of income, primarily wages over available consumers goods. The aim was to limit the amount of wages paid regardless of the ability of the employers to absorb higher wages. Despite the stringent wage control under the War Labor Board, wage stabilization and price stabilization were substantially independent of each other throughout the war.

The "general pattern" standard, appearing for the first time, in Executive Order No. 9697, is another new theory in the wage stabilization program. The facts reveal that on January 19, 1946, the President of the United States announced a wage standard of 18½ cents per hour increase above the rates in effect August 18, 1945. Under Executive Order No. 9697 this wage standard was established as a general pattern. With the establishment of this pattern, the Stabilization Administrator on February 21, 1946, issued General Order No. 1, giving preapproval of 18½ cents per hour to any plant engaged in the basic steel industry, iron ore mining industry, and steel processing or fabricating industry, where such increase was put into effect in settlement of a strike existing on February 14, 1946. Similar plants not on strike were exempt from this Order. Steel prices were adjusted to absorb the wage increases.

Where no "general pattern" is available as a guide, the Order provides for the approval of wage increases which are necessary to correct wage or salary "inequities," "sub-standards" wage or salary conditions, or disparities between cost of living or wage and salary increases.

**Changes in Standards.** The new Order and regulations made no substantive change in the intra-industry, intra-locality or intra-plant gross inequities criterion or in the substandards criterion previously employed. However, (1) a new standard was added, namely, "general pattern" standard, (2) the gross inequities standard was extended to include another situation, namely, gross inequities between related industries, and (3) the method of calculation under the cost of living standard was altered.

The substantial respect in which the application of the cost of living criterion was altered was in emphasizing the correction of disparities between the cost of living increases and the increases in wage rates

rather than in straight-time average hourly *earnings* as in Executive Order No. 9651. Thus, general increases would be permitted in the rates of the employees in the appropriate unit in order to bring the general wage rate increases since January 1941 to such employees to 33 percent of their straight-time average hourly earnings in the same base period. In effect then, except for the higher percentage increase allowable, the cost of living formula was to be applied as in wartime.

**General Pattern Standard.** The A. F. of L. members vigorously opposed the new "general pattern" standard defined by the Stabilization Director. It was pointed out that the Government's so-called wage policy reflected a general wage pattern only for those workers that were on strike and closed the door on the millions of workers who would rather follow the orderly procedure of collective bargaining. They took the position that the wage policy should provide for equality of treatment for all workers, and that 18½ cents should be the general pattern to be applied to all industries.

**Resolutions.** Following the meeting with the Stabilization Director, the A. F. of L. members presented to the Board four resolutions:

- (1) Resolution establishing a general wage pattern for all workers of American industries.
- (2) Resolution providing for pre-approval of wage or salary increases up to 65 cents per hour to correct sub-standards of living.
- (3) Resolution requesting that the Director of Economic Stabilization revise Section Three (3), Paragraph C of Executive Order 9697, by deleting the requirements pertaining to prior approval of all wage increases.
- (4) Resolution giving approval to all wage agreements denied or modified by the Board prior to February 14, 1946.

**Non-Basic Wage Adjustments Given Pre-Approval by the Board.**

In the meantime, a determined effort was made by the A. F. of L. members to secure a more liberal application of the new wage policy. This drive succeeded to the extent of obtaining pre-approval of certain fringe increases in wages or salaries. Any wage or salary increase made on or after February 14, 1946, resulting from the institution of a plan which provides for (a) not more than six paid holidays per year, or (b) extra payments for night work to the extent that such extra payments do not exceed five cents per hour for work on a second shift or ten cents per hour for work on a third shift, or (c) paid vacations to employees to the extent that such paid vacations do not exceed one week for any employee having completed one year or more of employment with the employer and two weeks for any employee having completed five or more years of employment with the employer shall be deemed approved within the meaning of Executive Order 9697.

**Sub-Standards.** On March 22, the Board announced that wage increases to bring the minimum hourly rates up to 65 cents an hour to correct sub-standards are given advanced approval and may be used as a basis for

seeking price relief without specific application to the Board. Prior to this, the sub-standard rate was 55 cents per hour.

**Prior Approval Not Required.** A new regulation was issued on March 8, 1946, which provided that an employer may, without prior approval, make a wage or salary increase without waiving his right to seek price relief increase thereafter if he submits a statement to the Board that he has no present intention of using the wage increase as a basis for an increase in prices. The Board issued a Form Nine (9) application for the employers to file under this new principle.

Despite the discriminatory nature of the "general pattern" standard, the National Wage Stabilization Board has administered its policy under a much broader view and very few difficulties have arisen. Thousands of wage agreements have been approved by the Board ranging from 5 cents to 28 cents an hour, together with general wage patterns from 15 cents to 19 cents per hour. In addition, the Board has issued thousands of rulings under general approval orders established by the Board for particular industries.

**Wage Decrease Cases.** All decreases in wages or salaries within the Board's jurisdiction required the prior approval of the Board. Decreases that do not result in a rate lower than the highest rate paid by the employer for that type of work between January 1 and September 1942, may be approved if such a decrease is found necessary either to correct a gross inequity or aiding in the effective transition of a peacetime economy.

The Board gave careful consideration to all the aspects of these situations and less than 1% of all the cases disposed of by the Board were approved.

#### **Dispute Cases Under Section 5 of the War Labor Disputes Act**

When possession of any plant, mine or facility has been or shall be hereafter taken under authority of Section 9 of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, the Government agency operating such plant, mine, or facility, or a majority of the employees of such plant, mine, or facility or their representatives, may apply to the National War Labor Board for a change in wages or other terms or conditions of employment in such plant, mine, or facility. Upon receipt of any such application, and after such hearings and investigations as it deems necessary, such Board may order any changes in such wages, or other terms and conditions, which it deems to be fair and reasonable and not in conflict with any Act of Congress or any Executive Order issued thereunder. Any such order of the Board shall, upon approval by the President, be complied with by the government agency operating such plant, mine or facility.

**Enforcement Violations.** The enforcement cases are handled under the same procedure followed by the National War Labor Board. Since August 18, 1945, these violations only apply to the Building and Construction Industry, because this industry is the only one that is under direct

wage control. The Board also disposed of 8,000 pending cases transferred over from the National War Labor Board.

### Summary

During the period from January 2, 1946, and extending to the expiration of the Stabilization Act on June 30, 1946, the Board disposed of over 17,000 voluntary wage increase cases, 656 decrease cases, 13,341 enforcement cases, and eleven dispute cases under Section Five of the War Labor Disputes Act.

## WAR AND RECONVERSION CONTROLS STILL IN EFFECT

The wartime controls of our economy are listed below as a check list in determining our return to self-government as a free economy.

### I. Price Control

#### Office of Price Administration

The new O.P.A. Bill as signed by the President July 25, 1946 provides for the extension of O.P.A. until June 30, 1947.

All rent and price ceilings and other orders of the O.P.A. which were in effect June 30 were automatically restored except:

1. Ceilings on meat, poultry, eggs, dairy products, grain and feed, soybeans, cottonseed, petroleum and its products, and tobacco and its products; and

2. The maximum average price order which required clothing manufacturers to turn out a certain proportion of cheap wear.

The measure lays down a formula under which ceiling prices on many manufactured goods must increase, and establishes a decontrol board with authority in some respects superior to that of O.P.A.

The new law requires O.P.A. to fix ceilings which would reflect 1940 average industry-wide prices on each product, plus cost increases which have occurred since that time.

The decontrol board will have power to order price controls removed from any commodity and to restore ceilings on exempted items after August 20, 1946.

The bill requires that ceilings be lifted from any item whose current supply equals demand. All non-essential commodities must be decontrolled by December 31, 1946.

O.P.A. power has been limited not only by the creation of the three-man Decontrol Board but also by transferring O.P.A. authority over farm prices to the Secretary of Agriculture.

The administration of sugar rationing remains under the jurisdiction of O.P.A.

### II. Wage Controls

#### National Wage Stabilization Board

With the reenactment of price control legislation, control over wages by the N.W.S.B. has been reasserted. Wage increases are to be approved

on the same basis as before, namely, increases to adjust for a 33% rise in the cost of living, reduction in weekly hours actually worked, gross inequities, and substandard wages.

There are two important changes in policy:

1. Prior approval before wage increases are put into effect are no longer required. Employers may make petition for approval for the purpose of price relief any time after the wage increase is put into effect.

2. In the case of decontrolled items it has been the practice for employers to seek approval of wage increases for the purpose of price relief so that they would be protected in case their product should be brought back under control at a later date. Under the changed policy concerning prior approval this would no longer be necessary.

However, in both cases employers would be restrained by self-interest from agreeing to increases in excess of what they can reasonably expect N.W.S.B. to approve if petition is later made.

The N.W.S.B. has retained direct enforcement and penalty controls only over construction industry wages and over wage decrease cases in all industries. The Wage Adjustment Board, as part of N.W.S.B., has jurisdiction over construction industry wages.

### III. Production Controls

#### War Powers Acts

The First War Powers Act, 1941, as amended by Act of March 8, 1946, will remain in force until 6 months after the official end of the war. From this Act stem the extraordinary powers of the President in regard to coordination of Executive Bureaus, making contracts, and trading with the enemy.

The Second War Powers *Extension* Act, approved by the President, June 29, 1946, carries on that basic war law's main controls until March 31, 1947. Title by title examination of the Second War Powers Act under this latest amendment shows 7 Titles still in effect, namely:

#### *Transportation (Title I)*

Emergency powers under which War Shipping Administration operates private shipping lines are extended until March 31, 1947, primarily to afford W.S.A. full time for completing settlements with ship owners.

#### *Property Seizure (Title II)*

This war-prompted amendment of the War Purposes Act of 1917 also is continued to next March 31 to speed disposal by permitting government agencies to lease properties without requiring immediate repossession.

#### *Priority-Allocations (Title III)*

The basis for Civilian Production Administration and similar controls over production and distribution—is continued to the March 31 date. Authority to allocate building materials is extended even further—to June 30, 1947 (and then merges into the broad powers of the Housing



Expediter, under provisions of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act.)

*Government Securities (Title IV)*

Off-the-market direct purchases of government securities by Federal Reserve banks is authorized for another nine months.

*Navigation (Title V)*

Continues permission for operation of ships under less restrictive manning and equipment rules until March 31, 1947.

*Political Activity (Title VII)*

Hatch Act exemptions are also continued for nine months, primarily to ensure adequate volunteer staffing of wartime local boards.

*Statistical Data (Title XIV)*

Authorization of inter-governmental collection and dissemination of statistical data is extended to March 31, 1947, as an integral part of the reconversion program.

**Agencies**

Virtually all agencies of the government effect the reconversion process either through specifically legislated authorization or through the incidental application of their normal functions. The most important agencies and their most crucial functions in regard to reconversion have been listed below:

**Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion**

The War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 created the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion to supersede the Office of War Mobilization. This office is the master reconversion planning organization of the Executive Department. Subject to the direction of the President this Office is charged with the responsibility to:

1. Formulate such plans as are necessary to meet the problems arising out of the transition from war to peace.
2. Issue orders and regulations to executive agencies as may be necessary to assure that the exercise of their powers is consistent with the plans formulated.
3. Recommend appropriate reconversion legislation to Congress.
4. Promote and assist the development of demobilization and reconversion plans by executive agencies, and develop proper coordination, liaison, and information between executive agencies.
5. Cause studies to be made to determine the need for consolidation, simplification, or elimination of emergency executive agencies and controls.

On July 25, 1946 the President returned the functions of the Office of Economic Stabilization to the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. The Director of O.E.S., with the approval of the President, formulates policy and issues implementing orders to Federal Depart-

ments and agencies relating to the control of civilian purchasing power, prices, rents, wages, salaries, profits, rationing, subsidies, etc.

The Office of Contract Settlement created by the Contract Settlement Act of 1944 has been placed back under the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. This office is gradually terminating its activities and has already made request for abolition. The function of the Office has been to determine policy and to issue directives to other governmental agencies in regard to termination of war contracts.

#### **Civilian Production Administration**

Civilian Production Administration was set up as the successor to War Production Board by Executive Order 9638 October 6, 1945, effective November 3, 1945. Through the power of allocation and priority stemming from the Second War Powers Extension Act, C.P.A. is charged with the responsibility to expand production of materials in short supply and break bottlenecks, limit production of certain items for which materials and facilities are scarce, control inventories to prevent speculative withholding, set limits on exports, and allocate scarce materials and facilities necessary to production of low-priced items essential to the success of the stabilization program.

However, much of the above allocation and priority power has been delegated to other agencies as indicated under their separate headings. For example—food under Department of Agriculture, residential construction materials under Housing Expediter, transportation under O.D.T. and War Shipping Administration, and solid fuels under the Solid Fuels Administration.

C.P.A. will terminate on the expiration of the Second War Powers Extension Act, March 31, 1947.

#### **Office of the Housing Expediter**

The Office of Housing Expediter was authorized by the Veteran's Emergency Housing Act of 1946. The provisions of this Act, and all regulations and orders issued thereunder, shall terminate on December 31, 1947. The Housing Expediter has extraordinary powers to set policy and to issue orders to other agencies to speed and implement the housing construction program with priority emphasis on housing for veterans of World War II.

The Expediter has power to set prices on all new residential construction. He may prohibit the export of critical building materials, may allocate or establish priorities for materials and facilities in short supply. No housing assisted by allocation or priority may be sold within 60 days or rented within 30 days to other than veterans (and certain hardship cases). The expediter may authorize loans to speed production, and may authorize R.F.C. subsidies to increase the production of materials in short supply. He may also authorize R.F.C. to underwrite or guarantee markets for new type construction materials.

The Act continues War-Time Title 6 of the National Housing Act,

increases its authorization for mortgage insurance and raises the maximum price for dwellings eligible for this insurance.

#### **Department of Agriculture**

Under Public Law 147, 77th Congress, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to encourage increased production of farm products through a form of subsidy known as price supports. Production of basic agricultural products is encouraged through commodity loans, and production of scarce non-basic commodities through direct purchase as a guaranteed price. This law will remain in effect until two years after January 1 following the official end of the war.

Under the priority powers of the Second War Powers Extension Act, the Secretary of Agriculture may issue set-aside orders on agricultural products.

Under the above powers the Secretary of Agriculture is responsible for policy decisions and administration of the allocation and rationing of agricultural products except direct consumption of sugar. Sugar is the only food still rationed to ultimate consumers. Sugar rationing is based on Department of Agriculture policy and O.P.A. administration.

As stated previously, all price controls over food products are now placed under the Department of Agriculture.

#### **War Assets Administration**

The W.A.A. formed March 25, 1946 under authority granted by the Surplus Property Act of 1944 is charged with the responsibility of policy and administration of the disposal of 90% of the surplus war property owned by the government. Of 14½ billion dollars worth of property so far declared surplus 4½ billion dollars worth has been disposed of for approximately 40% of its original value. Under the terms of the original Act W.A.A. may be continued until three years after the official cessation of hostilities.

#### **War Shipping Administration**

All functions of War Shipping Administration are to be terminated by December 31, 1946. Any W.S.A. functions remaining September 1, 1946, will be transferred to the Maritime Commission until the termination date, December 31. W.S.A. still mans and operates a great portion of the American Merchant Marine. W.S.A. is at present in the process of releasing ships to private owners and completing settlements with private shipping firms.

#### **Maritime Commission**

In addition to its normal peace-time functions the United States Maritime Commission is still carrying on its wartime responsibility for ship construction—on a very limited scale. At present most construction activities are confined to reconversion of existing vessels.

**Office of Defense Transportation**

O.D.T. has been extended past its original termination date of June 30, 1946, to March 31, 1947, because of the necessity of continued coordination and allocation of domestic transportation facilities during the reconversion period.

**Solid Fuels Administration for War, Department of Interior**

The Solid Fuels Administration has been extended until March 31, 1947, because of the continuing necessity for proper coordination and distribution of solid fuel supplies in the critical stages of reconversion.

**Reconstruction Finance Corporation**

R.F.C.'s special wartime powers to purchase, build and make loans on plants and materials stem from the National Defense Act of 1940. Thus the powers remain until the National Emergency is declared over. However, R.F.C. has ceased virtually all expansion activities. At present only the Office of Metal Reserves is engaged in purchasing stock piles of tin ore, copper, lead, and zinc, all of which are critical to reconversion. Guaranteeing loans in conjunction with contract settlement has virtually ceased. R.F.C. built approximately 1,000 plants during the war and tooled another 1,200. Declaration of these plants and equipment as surplus, and disposal through the War Assets Administration is being carried on as rapidly as possible.

**Office of International Trade Operations, (Department of Commerce)**

Foreign sales of nearly all commodities are permitted only after an export license is obtained from this Office. C.P.A. sets limits on exports of a great many articles.

**Federal Reserve Board**

Under Executive Order No. 8843, August 9, 1941, the Federal Reserve Board still enforces regulations limiting charge accounts and installment buying.

**Treasury Department**

Under Executive Order No. 8389, April 10, 1940, the Secretary of the Treasury strictly regulates transactions in Foreign Exchange and foreign-owned property.

**Retraining and Reemployment Administration**

Originally set up under the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, the Administration was later placed under the Department of Labor. It is not an operating agency but formulates policy and issues directives to coordinate and avoid duplication among some forty-two government agencies affecting retraining and reemployment.

**Selective Service Act**

With the extension of the Selective Service Act it is expected that

about 150,000 men between the ages of 19 and 29 will be drafted into service before the draft machinery is abolished in March 1947.

### War Labor Disputes Act

This Act, under which the President is empowered to order seizure and operation of private industrial plants and facilities will not be terminated until six months after the official end of the war.

### PRINCIPLES OF REPRESSIVE LABOR LEGISLATION

This is not a report on the parliamentary history or voting record on labor legislation (that will be found elsewhere in this report), but rather a report on the principles and other significant aspects of the legislation herein discussed. In the Executive Council's report to the last convention on the subject of labor legislation, it endeavored to emphasize the situation with respect to state legislation and its effect on the labor movement of the country. The situation has not changed much since that last report as to state legislation, but there has been considerable activity with respect to federal legislation, and the purpose of this report is to dwell briefly on some of the federal enactments. In order better to understand the nature of the present legislative proposals pending in the Congress of the United States, it may be well to make a comparison between conditions confronting labor during and immediately after World War I and the conditions confronting us during and immediately following World War II.

During the first World War employers of the country undertook the task of wrecking trade unions. They used various means; outstanding was the fostering of the company-dominated union, as well as the use of the yellow-dog contract; court injunctions restraining employees from striking, boycotting, and picketing, and from entering upon peaceful means to obtain the objectives of organization. The use of injunctions became so unjust that Congress was prevailed upon to pass the Norris-LaGuardia Act to curb the judiciary in their wanton efforts to help employers destroy trade unionism.

During World War II employers changed their method of attack. First they induced the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice to indict unions under the anti-trust laws. All such cases were won by labor. Then came the introduction of adverse labor legislation in the various states of the Union. Twenty-two such bills were introduced and twelve of them were passed. There are four basic principles used in these measures to destroy unions. One makes it mandatory to incorporate unions, or to register unions and to license business agents. Another establishes government control over the minutest details of union operations. A third is that no strikes can be called unless a majority of all employees of an employer vote for the strike. The last is the outlawing of the closed-shop. By constitutional amendment the closed-shop has been made illegal in Florida, Arkansas and South Dakota. The closed-

shop issue is now before the U. S. Supreme Court. We cannot believe that that Court will outlaw the right to make closed-shop contracts voluntarily agreed to by unions and employers. Only one of the anti-Labor basic provisions referred to has been sustained by the courts. It is the requirement that unions file with state officials, usually the State Secretary, financial information similar to that now filed by unions with the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Employers having been defeated in their efforts to enforce these state laws, resorted to a campaign to pass national legislation. We desire to report on a few of these bills out of the 160 introduced in Congress, which, if passed, would do much to destroy the effectiveness of trade unions.

One bill which was pending when Congress adjourned sought to repeal the Smith-Connally Act and to replace it with a substitute which would, in the event of a breach of contract by a union, result in payment of damages not only to the employer with whom the contract was made, but to any and all persons who were affected as a result of the alleged breach. It would also prohibit a union from functioning as a representative of employees who are its members in case of contract violation; the proposal sought to prohibit political contributions. This same will, if passed, could be construed to prohibit unions from spending money to defeat anti-Labor legislation. For instance, if a referendum proposal to prohibit employees from organizing is being promoted, this bill might be construed to make it a crime for a union to hire a hall for the purpose of speaking against such a proposition. The Executive Council desires to warn all affiliates to be on the alert because from time to time you can expect this legislation to crop up in your state legislatures.

Another bad proposal was the Hatch-Ball-Burton Bill, which was pending in Congress when it adjourned. This law vigorously fostered the so-called "cooling off" period before striking. It also provided for compulsory arbitration. It was so bad in its original form that even the employers went to the sponsors of the bill and demanded a complete revision. Now there is a new Hatch-Ball Bill omitting compulsory arbitration and other ridiculous provisions. The revised bill, however, was for all practical purposes as bad as the original bill.

One of the most serious anti-Labor bills introduced in Congress last fall was the so-called Norton "fact-finding" bill, intended to conform to suggestions made by President Truman. This measure prohibited striking for thirty days while a fact-finding board investigated the dispute. But any bill that prohibits workers from striking for 30 days, 30 hours, 30 minutes, or 30 seconds, to that degree imposes restraints on the workers' personal freedom and liberty; to that extent it takes away from workers their constitutional rights to be free from involuntary servitude.

The Norton Bill would in effect have repealed the Norris-LaGuardia Act and reinvested the courts and broad powers to issue injunctions against unions involved in peaceful labor disputes. The Norris-LaGuardia

Act is the finest of all Labor Acts. Labor tried for 700 years, since the first injunction was issued in England, to take away from the courts the power to issue injunctions in labor disputes which shackled their basic freedoms and denied them the right to organize. Yet this bill would even prohibit discussion during the 30-day cooling off period as to the advisability of striking. That was one of the most vicious provisions in the bill.

The Norton Bill prohibited the payment of strike benefits by a union. The bill made it unlawful for the officers of unions to pay strike benefits to workers who have peacefully quit work in furtherance of demands for higher wages or for the improvement of working conditions. The officers were prohibited from paying strike benefits, and if they did, they were to be sent to prison. It is inconceivable that so wicked a provision would find its way in a "labor" bill in this age.

Three important bills gave the American Federation of Labor, as well as all organized labor, considerable concern. They are the "Case" Bill, the President's "Draft" Bill, and the "Hobbs" Bill.

The Case Bill was a comprehensive anti-Labor code containing the most vicious of all labor bills that had been introduced in Congress in the last five years. It contained, among other things, a compulsory "cooling-off" period of sixty days before striking; it included all of the provisions of the Hobbs Bill; it took away from Labor the protection accorded it under the anti-trust laws; it circumscribed the right to freely bargain for welfare funds, and prohibited the making of agreements even after collective bargaining except as specified in the bill; it deprived supervisory employees of the protection of the National Labor Relations Act; it repealed the Norris-LaGuardia Act and invested federal courts with the right to issue injunctions in labor disputes, thus bringing back "government by injunction"; it granted employers the right to bring suit for civil damages against unions, and provided, in some instances, for jail sentences of twenty years and fines as high as \$10,000 for violation of the law. Although this bill passed both houses of Congress, the Executive Council is happy to report that the President of the United States vetoed it and accompanied his veto with a strong message condemning the various provisions of this outrageous bill.

Respecting the President's "Draft" Bill, it was vigorously opposed by the American Federation of Labor. It was unfortunate that the President should have submitted this bill to Congress. As is well known, the bill was promptly passed by the House of Representatives, but met with considerable opposition in the Senate. It is hoped that the bill will be defeated or die at this session of Congress. It is inconceivable that organized labor should be subjected to a military draft which would mean nothing more than imposing involuntary servitude upon the workers of this nation.

It is regrettable that we must report the passage of the Hobbs Bill which amends the so-called "anti-racketeering act of 1934." For four



years Representative Hobbs of Alabama endeavored to pass this obnoxious bill. As originally introduced it was most drastic indeed and would have subjected many unions, their officers and members to penalties of twenty years imprisonment and a ten thousand dollar fine for engaging in innocent trade union activities in connection with labor disputes. Although the bill was changed from time to time so as to make it less drastic, it still remains a bad bill. For instance, it still retains the outrageous penalties of twenty years imprisonment and a ten thousand dollar fine for violations of the law. The President and the Attorney General issued a statement at the time the bill was signed declaring that Labor is not deprived of the right to engage in legitimate trade union practices, but Labor is aware that courts are not bound by such statements, and in similar instances they have been frequently ignored by the courts. The proponents of the bill asserted that they seek only to prohibit persons from engaging in robbery and extortion in interstate commerce. The American Federation of Labor has never condoned robbery or extortion, and for that purpose the bill is entirely unnecessary because every state in the Union has laws against robbery and extortion. Labor is most apprehensive lest certain sections in the bill be construed to prohibit striking, peaceful picketing, etc., in furtherance of legitimate union demands. The American Federation of Labor vigorously opposed the passage of this bill and is still opposed to the law because it is highly discriminatory, unnecessary and was fostered and promoted by the enemies of organized labor for the purpose of curtailing the rights of workers to organize into trade unions.

The American Federation of labor will be alert to defend against any use of this bill to deprive unions and their members of their legitimate rights and it will exert every effort to procure the repeal of this most unjust law.

Perhaps the foregoing report does not present a very encouraging review with respect to labor legislation. We must acknowledge that in the past several months organized labor has been on the defensive, but the Executive Council is confident that the pendulum will soon swing the other way, and that Labor will be able to maintain its just rights against the vicious attack by anti-Labor forces upon the trade union movement of the country. The American Federation of Labor has exerted every effort to defeat these adverse bills, and it will continue these efforts to the end that the pending anti-Labor legislation in Congress may be defeated.

#### NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Since the last Executive Council report was made to the convention two years ago, important changes have taken place in both the administration of the National Labor Relations Act and in the personnel of the National Labor Relations Board. During this period, the administration of the Act has improved somewhat under the new personnel, but some basic policies, which have heretofore been criticized by the American Fed-

eration of Labor, remain in effect, and many of the employees of the Board, particularly in its regional offices, continue to perform their duties in such a way as to promote the interests of rival unions.

### Personnel

The most important personnel change which has taken place on the Board during the past two years was the resignation of former Board Chairman Harry A. Millis on July 4, 1945, and the appointment of Paul M. Herzog, formerly of the New York State Labor Relations Board, as his successor. Another important change of personnel of great importance was the resignation of Alvin J. Rockwell as General Counsel in September of 1945. He was succeeded by David A. Morse, who served approximately a year before resigning to become assistant Secretary of Labor. Gerhard P. Van Arkel recently has been appointed as General Counsel to succeed Mr. Morse.

The office of General Counsel is the most important post, excluding Board Members themselves, in the administration of the National Labor Relations Act.

These changes in the personnel of the Board have brought about a somewhat fairer administration of the Act.

A further change in personnel has recently taken place. Board Member Gerard Reilly resigned in the month of August. His successor is Mr. James R. Reynolds, formerly Assistant in charge of labor relations to the President of the United States Pipe Company.

### Rules

One improvement in the administration of the Act which has occurred under the chairmanship of Mr. Herzog is the Board's policy in making and amending its rules and regulations. Where formerly the Board would merely announce material amendments to its rules, last year representatives of Management and Labor were called into consultation on proposed amendments. This procedure, permitting Labor and Management to be heard on how amendments to rules will affect them, promotes better administration of the Act and tends to prevent the adoption of prejudicial rules and regulations. The practice should be continued.

### Status of Foremen Under the Act

The question of the rights of foremen and other supervisory employees under the Act, a question which has long been a matter of serious concern, has recently moved rapidly towards a definite and, it is to be hoped, final decision. In three recent landmark cases, the Board has established a pattern for extending the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act to foremen. The first of these decisions was in the Packard case (*In the Matter of Packard Motor Co.*, 64 N.L.R.B. 4), in which the Board reversed its policy adopted in the *Maryland Dry Dock Company* case, pursuant to which the Board would not extend collective bargaining rights, under the provisions of the Act, to foremen. In the Packard case the Board held that supervisory employees could

constitute separate and distinct bargaining units under the Act and that supervisory employees had the right, under the Act, to form their own unions for the purpose of collective bargaining. However, those organizations had to be independent and unaffiliated and composed of only supervisory employees.

The second decision bearing on the issue of the rights of foremen to bargain under the Act was the Jones-Laughlin case (*In the Matter of Jones Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 66 N.L.R.B. 51). In that case the Board's new policy adopted in the Packard case was extended to permit foremen to be represented in collective bargaining under the Act by a labor union of their choice even though such union is affiliated with a parent union, such as a national or international union, having affiliates of production workers. However, in its decision in the Jones-Laughlin case, the Board required the local union representing the supervisory employees to exist, function and bargain separate and apart from local unions of production employees.

The third decision on this issue and the key and most important of the three decisions is that of the *International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers v. Virginia Electric Power Co.* (Case No. 5-R-2000). In that case the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers sought a further extension of the doctrine so that foremen could be represented in collective bargaining by the same local union representing rank and file employees. The Board accepted the contentions of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in that it not only permitted the foremen or supervisory employees to be represented by a local union composed of only supervisory employees that might be affiliated with an international union having affiliated local unions of production workers, but permitted the foremen to be represented by the same local union that represented the production workers. The Board, however, did hold that the supervisory employees would be required to bargain in a separate unit from the production employees, although they could be represented in collective bargaining by the same local unions.

There are some limitations the Board has indicated it will impose on the right of supervisory employees to remain within the class of employees to which the Board will extend the privileges of the National Labor Relations Act. It has indicated that the provisions of the Act will not extend to those employees who occupy positions wherein they might determine managerial policies of the employer.

But in the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers case the Board has now determined that the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act should be fully extended to supervisory employees, a clearly proper, though long-sought interpretation of the Act.

#### **The American Can Doctrine**

The unjust policy of the Board concerning the segregation of a craft unit from an industrial unit is still unfairly resorted to by the Board in a number of cases. It is a most biased and odious policy. Pursuant

to this policy established in the *American Can* case (13 N.L.R.B. 1252), it is almost impossible for employees who are once encompassed within an industrial unit to obtain bargaining rights on a craft basis. Only by a show of overwhelming and continued repudiation of the merged status over an extended number of years can such employees ever hope to free themselves from the merged units. Even in most cases where employees would be able to show a complete repudiation of the merged status and an overwhelming desire to be represented in collective bargaining by their craft organizations, the craft workers are denied the opportunity to establish the fact without so much as a hearing being accorded, on the sole grounds that the Board has merged the workers into one unit and has frozen such unit for all time.

This policy of the Board is most prejudicial in that it constitutes a one-way street from which there is no turning back. While a Board-created single unit of several mixed and unrelated groups can petition to bargain for an additional craft group of craft workers, and in succeeding periods, absorb one craft unit after another, it does not work in reverse. Craft unions cannot thereafter sever themselves from the single unit to which they have been ordered attached and merged. Thus once the larger unit is established, it is for all practical purposes frozen for all time. However, the craft unions once established can readily be absorbed in a mixed and larger unit over a period of time under the raiding tactics or rival unions.

The Board generally excuses its refusal to segregate a craft unit from a mixed larger unit on the theory of a past history of bargaining on the merged unit basis. However, it requires a history of but a year of merged union status for the Board's *American Can* doctrine to apply and for the craft to be denied the right to represent employees coming within its jurisdiction on a craft unit basis. The Board's policy might justifiably be applied where there is a real history of organization and successful collective bargaining on an industrial unit basis before the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, such as in the coal mining industry. But a history of bargaining which can be traced no further back than the creation of the National Labor Relations Act itself cannot justifiably constitute a history of bargaining that can equitably deny to craftsmen the right to be bargained for by their craft unions whenever they freely choose to do so. At least the sponsors of the Act, particularly Senator Wagner himself so stated to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor when the bill was being considered by it eleven years ago. Bargaining or organizing since the enactment of the Act is no test, for often because of expediency, mass production plants have been organized on an industrial unit basis, particularly when being organized for the first time. Yet this alone constitutes a "history" of group bargaining (for the Board's purposes). The Board fails to realize that there is a definite distinction between "organizing" and "bargaining," and while under the Act it may be feasible to organize

on a single merged-group basis at the time of organizing, it does not necessarily follow that the more beneficial way to bargain is on a single unit basis for all time in the future.

Without the Act, employees in a craft would have a right to be bargained for by their craft union. Surely Congress never intended to deny this substantive right to employees by the National Labor Relations Act, and a history of bargaining which extends no further back than the adoption of the Act itself should not be a sufficient basis for denying employees their right of freedom of choice guaranteed to them by the Act. When the National Board took this arbitrary position, the workers became apprehensive. They made sure that in enacting State Labor Relations Acts craft integrity would be maintained. Thus the *New York Act* provides:

The board shall decide in each case whether, in order to insure to employees the full benefit of their right to self-organization, to collective bargaining and otherwise to effectuate the policies of this article, the unit appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining shall be the employer unit, multiple employer unit, craft unit, plant unit, or any other unit; provided, however, that in any case where the majority of employees of a particular craft shall so decide the board shall designate such craft as a unit appropriate for the purpose of collective bargaining.

The *New York Act* has functioned infinitely better than the National Act.

To illustrate how vicious is this policy of the Board, the Board very recently dismissed a petition filed by the Boilermakers' Union in the *Lima Locomotive Company* Case, asking that a unit of boilermakers be segregated from a mixed merged unit. The Board did not even grant so much as a hearing on the petition, although the employees in the craft unit have for years maintained membership in the Boilermakers' Union. Under the Board's policy of dismissing such petitions without so much as a hearing, it is not possible to show to the Board just what has occurred in the plant that makes mandatory the segregation of the craft unit, if stable labor relations are to be maintained.

Another petition for certification of vital importance involving this fundamental principle in the administration of the Act is one which has been filed by the Blacksmiths and Drop Forgers Union at the General Motors Chevrolet Gear and Axle Company in Detroit, Michigan. In that case the forge workers of the Chevrolet Gear and Axle Company desire representation on a craft unit basis, and they might be free from the large industrial unit in to which they were merged. The only history of bargaining at the plant is a history commencing but a relatively few years ago when the automobile industry was organized. Here again no hearing was accorded the Blacksmiths, but both the Blacksmiths and Boilermakers are pressing the Board for reconsideration of its decision. This arbitrary position of the Board must be and is severely condemned

as being violative of the basic principles of the National Labor Relations Act.

#### **Prejudice in the Administration of the Act**

In past Executive Council reports it has been pointed out how the National Labor Relations Act has been administered to foster the interest of rival unions to the prejudice of the A. F. of L. Much of this favoritism for rival unions continues in the administration of the Act, particularly in the regional offices of the Board. But the Board itself is not without responsibility. It has in several important instances sustained the recommendation of its regional offices, thereby upholding and giving aid and comfort to the vicious raiding policies of rival unions. A recent example of how efforts are made by the employees in the regional offices of the Board to advance the interests of rival unions at the expense of the A. F. of L. and how the Board itself came to the support of its Regional Office employees, is the recent so-called Cannery Companies case. For a long number of years A. F. of L. federal labor unions have been the bargaining representatives of the employees of the canneries on the West Coast and the A. F. of L. has enjoyed closed-shop contracts with these canneries. In harmony with A. F. of L. policy these unions were placed under the management of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. On the basis of this transfer to the Teamsters the rival union conducted a raiding campaign on the membership of the A. F. of L. in these canneries. During the off season of the year when the great majority of the employees were laid off, the rival union pounced down upon the small number of workers then employed and filed a petition for certification. There was a lack of a proper showing on the part of the rival union for the institution of a representative case, yet the Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board hastily procured a hearing and an election for the rival union so as to time the election to suit the interests of the rival union, even though to hold an election at that time was an unlawful denial to the great majority of regular cannery employees of a voice in the choice of bargaining representatives. A protest against this conduct was filed by the A. F. of L. The irregularities in conducting this election were so flagrant that the election was set aside. However, the National Labor Relations Board, in setting aside the election, arbitrarily and unfairly attempted to terminate the perfectly lawful closed-shop provision of the contract between the A. F. of L. unions and the canners. When the A. F. of L. union, the Teamsters' union, refused to permit the closed-shop contract to be set aside without a finding by the Board of illegality or even so much as a hearing that the closed-shop provision of the contract was unlawful under the Act, the National Labor Relations Board proceeded to bring contempt proceedings against a number of canneries on an old disconnected order of six years ago. These contempt proceedings were dismissed by the United States Circuit

Court of Appeals. Nevertheless, the Board is continuing to harass the A. F. of L. and the Teamsters in pending proceedings before it. This practice of the National Labor Relations Board to encourage rival unions to raid established A. F. of L. unions and to aid and abet the rivals in their attempts to destroy established A. F. of L. unions, causes disruption in this industry and thwarts the processes of collective bargaining, all of which is contrary to the basic purposes of the National Labor Relations Act. The practice is most unfair and ought to stop.

### Conclusion

Although the A. F. of L. has received somewhat more fair treatment under the new Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board than it has experienced in the past, there remains much room for improvement. There are a number of hold-overs among the staff of the National Labor Relations Board who are definitely and clearly anti-A. F. of L. Also, some of the policies in the administration of the National Labor Relations Act, adopted in years gone by which are very prejudicial to the interest of the A. F. of L., remain in effect.

The A. F. of L. is aware that it will take time for the new Chairman of the Board to weed out anti-A. F. of L. employees of the Board and to bring about their replacement with unbiased persons. It is to be hoped that this will be accomplished in the near future.

Those policies of the Board which are so glaringly biased and detrimental to the interests of the A. F. of L. must be abandoned under the new Board in order that there can be a fair and equitable administration of the Act which will carry out its purposes as they were originally intended by Congress.

### LABOR AND THE COURTS

Since the Executive Council reported on this subject two years ago, the American Federation of Labor has been engaged in considerable court litigation, principally in connection with law suits brought to invalidate various anti-Labor measures and state constitutional amendments passed by a number of state legislatures in the past three or four years.

More than at any other time in its history the American Federation of Labor has been required to resort to the courts for the protection of Labor's basic rights—rights won after many years of sacrifice and strife. War hysteria coupled with the fulminations of an anti-labor press have encouraged certain heavily financed interests whose unrelenting aim has been to harass and destroy organized labor to bring about the passage of various anti-Labor measures in a number of states. It is significant that most of the states in which such measures were introduced and were passed were agricultural or non-industrial states. This appeal to those unfamiliar with the problems of labor and management was resorted to as a prelude to securing the passage of such legislation in industrial states.



These various measures, although some of them differ in detail and scope, followed a basically similar pattern containing one or all of the following features:

1. Registration or compulsory incorporation of labor unions as a condition of their operation within the state;
2. The licensing of union representatives by the states;
3. The requirement of full and detailed financial disclosures;
4. Various restrictions on peaceful striking and picketing, including restrictions on so-called "secondary" or "hot-cargo" boycotting and the requirement of a majority vote of all the workers of an employer before a strike may be lawfully called.
5. Prohibiting of political contributions, financial or otherwise, by unions;
6. The outlawing of "closed-shop" or other union security agreements.

Laws containing one or more of the foregoing provisions were passed in Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, South Dakota and Texas. Thus, in those states rights as basic and fundamental as the right of working people to form and join labor unions, to solicit others to join, to assemble together for the purpose of mutual aid and protection, to disseminate facts of a labor dispute to the public, to support or oppose political candidates, and to achieve union security through the process of collective bargaining have either been proscribed by the State or their effective exercise severely restricted.

These rights are not only fundamental to the existence of the trade union movement, but they are constitutionally protected under the Federal Bill of Rights. Organized labor's only recourse against deprivation of these rights was to that branch of government whose function and duty is to preserve such rights inviolate—namely, the courts. Accordingly, the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with State Federations and interested International Unions, instituted suits in various states to have these laws invalidated. These suits had to be tried and argued in the lower courts and from there appealed to the State Supreme Courts, and in some instances to the United States Supreme Court.

The Executive Council is pleased to report a very high degree of success in the prosecution of such suits.

The Supreme Court of Alabama held the worst features of the Alabama law to be invalid—namely, those prohibiting workers from refusing to work on non-union goods, requiring a majority vote before a strike can be called, prohibiting political contributions. The court refused to pass upon some sections of the law because they were not being enforced. If and when these remaining provisions are sought to be enforced, it is planned to challenge their validity.

The Arkansas law, making any acts of violence in a labor dispute criminal felonies, was, unfortunately, tested in the trial court by local unions without bringing the same to the attention of the American Federation of Labor. After trial and on appeal, the State Supreme Court

upheld the law. Should another case arise, the law will be tested in the Federal courts or brought before the United States Supreme Court. However, it should be noted that an Arkansas constitutional amendment outlawing closed-shop agreements, (passed several years ago) is presently a dead letter because its enforcement requires a special legislative enabling act which the last session of the legislature refused to pass. If and when an enabling act is passed, it will be necessary to attack the amendment in the Federal Courts.

In Colorado the Supreme Court of the State nullified the following provisions of its anti-Labor law: (1) the provisions requiring compulsory incorporation of unions; (2) the provisions requiring full and detailed disclosure of all union financial transactions and granting the State supervisory powers over the internal affairs of unions; and (3) various provisions prohibiting peaceful striking, picketing and boycotting under various circumstances.

In respect to the Florida anti-Labor laws, the American Federation of Labor was required to carry its case all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States to nullify the provisions requiring the registration of unions and the licensing of business agents. The Florida Supreme Court had upheld these provisions, but the United States Supreme Court reversed the Florida court. The decision of the United States Supreme Court was most gratifying, for it has had the effect of discouraging other states from proposing similar legislation.

The Florida constitutional amendment outlawing "closed-shop" or union-security agreements was challenged by the American Federation of Labor in conjunction with the State Federation in the Federal Courts and reached the Supreme Court of the United States last year after the lower Federal Court had upheld the amendment. The Supreme Court set aside the decision of the lower court and held that before any Federal Court could pass upon the constitutionality of the measure, the scope and effect of the amendment must first be passed upon by the Supreme Court of the State. Accordingly, the American and State Federations of Labor have prepared and filed a second suit in the state courts challenging all possible applications of the Florida constitutional amendment. This case will be tried in the local state court at Tampa early this fall, after which, regardless of which side wins, it will be appealed to the State Supreme Court and thence to the United States Supreme Court. The litigation will be prolonged and costly, but the case is of the utmost importance to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates, involving as it does the entire question of union security and the rights of the State to outlaw even collective bargaining on so fundamental an issue. Anti-labor forces in numerous other states are awaiting the outcome of the Florida case to see whether it will be possible to introduce similar restrictive measures in those states.

The Supreme Court of Idaho invalidated the entire Idaho anti-Labor

law which contained practically all of the restrictions heretofore mentioned except the restrictions on union-security agreements.

A law of South Dakota, identical with the Idaho law, was held invalid by the State Court as to all its provisions except for the one requiring financial accounting by unions.

In 1945 the South Dakota Legislature passed another law outlawing closed-shop agreements. Since there has been no enforcement up to the present time, the Federation has refrained from instituting suit and will await the outcome of the Florida suit. If at any time the State authorities seek enforcement, a suit will have to be filed attacking the constitutionality of the Act.

In Kansas, a special three-judge Federal Court held the major anti-labor provisions of the Act to be unconstitutional. These provisions imposed severe restrictions on picketing, striking and boycotting. Thus, the decision is of great consequence and establishes an excellent precedent. The Court did, however, hold the provisions requiring the licensing of business agents and the filing of financial statements by unions to be valid. In view of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Florida case as to licensing and registration, there is no active enforcement of these provisions of the law.

In Texas the state courts have set aside almost all the provisions of a most comprehensive anti-labor code containing almost all of the foregoing restrictions. The Texas decision is exceptionally gratifying because the Federation's contentions were sustained by the state courts, thereby establishing precedent for other state courts to follow.

Thus, it can be seen that the American Federation of Labor has been extremely successful in removing the various state anti-Labor laws from the statutes on the grounds of their conflict with the Federal Constitution.

In the national field, the United States Congress has passed the Lea Bill outlawing traditional peaceful practices in connection with labor disputes in the radio industry; likewise Congress recently passed the Hobbs Bill, presumably directed against racketeering practices in interstate commerce; but in the hands of reactionary judges it has the potentiality of making petty acts of violence occurring in a labor dispute affecting interstate commerce a felony, punishable by twenty years imprisonment or fines of ten thousand dollars. The suit to test the constitutionality of the Lea Bill, which directly affects all labor organizations having any membership in the radio or broadcasting industry, has already been instituted by the government in Chicago. The validity of the Hobbs Bill will be challenged if and when it is utilized to interfere with traditional union practices and activities.

An attempt by anti-Labor forces to use the Selective Service Act as a means of a collateral attack upon established principles of seniority has been defeated through court action. Those hostile to organized labor attempted to assert that Section 8 of the Selective Service Act conferred

upon returning veterans a superseniority entitling them to preference to job rights even as against employees with greater overall seniority after giving seniority credit to the veterans for all time spent in the armed services. This contention, if upheld by the courts, would have wrecked all existing seniority systems built up over the years and as contained in collective bargaining agreements in most industries throughout the country. A test suit instituted by the American Federation of Labor in Illinois resulted in the first court determination denying this contention and in holding that the Selective Service Act conferred equal but not greater seniority rights upon returning veterans. In another case arising in New York, in which the American Federation of Labor intervened for the purpose of presenting its views, the United States Supreme Court upheld the contentions of organized labor, and it is now established that the Selective Service Act does not confer any superseniority rights.

Many state legislatures throughout the country will meet in 1947 and many of these states will have before them similar proposals designed to weaken and hamstring organized labor and to deprive workers of rights gained over the years. The fight against such measures must in the first instance be before the state legislatures. If and when any state passes any measure which deprives workingmen and women of any of their basic rights, the contest inevitably must shift to the courts.

In all of the foregoing litigation the American Federation of Labor has directly participated. Its General Counsel, Judge Joseph A. Padway, has been instructed to continue to prosecute pending and future suits most vigorously and to render full legal aid and assistance to State Federations subjected to these destructive laws. The suits have involved great effort and considerable cost, and several of them are still in suit or on appeal, but the Federation will continue to contest these and similar reprehensible laws until they are completely wiped off the statute books of the States and the Nation.

#### STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

State Legislatures in 1945-46 failed again to live up to their responsibilities to the workers. Anti-labor forces directed one maneuver after another in state capitols aimed at destroying labor's fundamental rights and weakening the legal protections due wage-earners within a state.

Laws to bring certain trade union activities under government regulation were enacted in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, New Jersey, South Dakota, Texas and Virginia. Attacking labor's basic rights to strike and picket, Louisiana and Virginia passed laws restricting legitimate union activities to the point of absurdity. Picketing in Virginia, except under the most limited conditions, is now a misdemeanor. Louisiana courts can issue injunctions to enforce the law regulating when a union can strike and what pickets cannot do.

The so-called "right to work" law passed in South Dakota bans every type of union security clause under the phoney guise of individual freedom.

The South Dakota legislature also approved a constitutional amendment similar to the one in Florida in 1944 which states, "The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union, or labor organization." The amendment will be voted upon at the next general election in November. Labor must guard itself and the nation from this type of hypocrisy in the name of freedom.

Nine states refused to pass constructive bills similar to the Wagner Industrial Relations Act which were introduced, and only in Connecticut did Labor succeed in getting the legislation passed.

A deliberate campaign is under way to sabotage health and safety protection for workers by transferring these functions from labor departments, where they belong, to health departments where the pro-employer bias works to Labor's detriment. Five states, New Hampshire, Oregon, Tennessee, Texas and Wyoming, undermined the safety and health authority of their labor departments. On the positive side, only two states strengthened the safety and health work of the labor departments, and nine states improved their coal mining laws.

Division of responsibility for improving working conditions can only lead to friction and inaction. Every effort must be made in the coming year to give to state labor departments full responsibility for the administration of all labor laws, including industrial health, sanitation, and hygiene.

Twenty-seven states allow employers to choose whether or not they want to have their employees covered by workmen's compensation laws. All states permit so many exemptions that workmen's compensation coverage is denied to millions of workers. Private casualty insurance companies still write all workmen's compensation insurance in 29 states and the District of Columbia. Court administration of workmen's compensation laws still persists in six states, and Mississippi still has no workmen's compensation law of any kind or even a labor department to call attention to the tragic effects of work accidents.

Fourteen states, largely because of the interest in war veterans, did make provision this year for second-injury funds or similar arrangements for protecting the employment rights and opportunities of disabled workers. This leaves 15 states in which it will be unnecessarily difficult for injured workers to get jobs:

Alabama	Louisiana	Nevada	Texas
Florida	Mississippi	New Hampshire	Vermont
Georgia	Montana	New Mexico	Virginia
Indiana	Nebraska	South Dakota	

Florida was the only new state to adopt general coverage for occupational disease, leaving 31 states continuing to ignore or circumvent the fact that a worker who contracts any kind of a disease due to his job is just as much an industrial casualty as the worker who has a disabling accident on the job.

### A 16-year minimum age for employment

Now is the time to make every effort to retrieve the losses in education for youth that occurred during the war, when thousands cut short their schooling for work. We should guarantee for today's boys and girls at least a 16-year minimum age for employment in any occupation during school hours and in manufacturing and mechanical establishments at any time.

Only 16 states have adopted child-labor laws that meet or approximate this recommended minimum. Thirty-two states still fail to meet that standard, which has long been recognized as a desirable and practical goal in child-labor legislation. Only one state has placed a 16-year minimum age in effect since the Federation last met in convention.

This is the time not only to achieve a 16-year minimum in every state throughout the Union, but also to tighten up on the hours, the night work, and the hazardous-occupation provisions of state laws. This will require active state legislative campaigns in which the American Federation of Labor should be in the forefront.

For fulfillment of the objectives of the American Federation of Labor for protection of the Nation's young workers, we must look not only to state child-labor laws but also to the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Since we last came together in convention in 1944 the U. S. Supreme Court has decided that telegraph messengers are not protected by these provisions. This decision has pointed up other serious gaps in the coverage of the Federal child-labor provisions. The Federation will actively promote amendment of child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act to cover employment in establishments engaging in interstate commerce as well as those producing goods for commerce, and to strengthen the child-labor controls in industrialized agriculture, which apply now only during periods when children are legally required by state law to attend school.

No new minimum wage laws were passed although they were introduced in a number of states. Massachusetts and Rhode Island amended their laws to include men as well as women, leaving 44 states either without minimum wage laws or laws applying only to women and minors.

State Federations of Labor must redouble their efforts to curb the anti-labor forces in the states. Labor must see to it that legislators who continue to talk of states' rights and refuse to assume states' responsibilities shall be removed from office by the people for failure to discharge their duties.

In Kentucky an Employment Service Commission was established in the Department of Industrial Relations. This Commission is composed of a director of employment service, and one member of represent management. The Act authorizes a state advisory committee and local advisory committees composed of representatives of management, labor, and the public. The Employment Service Commission is directed to establish and maintain free public employment offices.

A new Department of Labor and Industrial Relations was established in Missouri. This Department is to be administered by the Industrial Commission composed of three members, one to represent employers, one to represent employees, and the third to represent the public. There is established within this Department a Division of Workmen's Compensation, a Division of Employment Security, a Division of Industrial Inspection, and a Division of Mine Inspection. The governor is authorized to appoint a director for each of these divisions. The Act assigns to the commission all powers, duties and responsibilities previously conferred upon the Workmen's Compensation Commission and the Unemployment Compensation Commission and authorizes the Industrial Commission to approve or disapprove all rules and regulations promulgated by any division of the Department.

#### **A. Migratory Labor**

New Jersey and New York passed comprehensive laws for the protection of agricultural migrant workers. The New Jersey Act creates a Division of Migrant Labor in the Department of Labor and establishes a Migrant Labor Board consisting of the Commissioners of Labor, Institutions and Agencies, and Economic Development, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Superintendent of State Police, and the Director of Health, and five additional members, two of whom will represent farmers and one, organized labor. The Division of Migrant Labor is authorized to enforce the minimum standards established by the statute and by regulations. It issued certificates to camps which met the established standards.

The New York Act requires every person who employs, recruits, transports, or brings into the state ten or more out-of-state migrant farm or food processing workers who are residents of the United States to register with the Industrial Commissioner and submit facts on wages, housing, working conditions and such other information as the Commissioner may prescribe. Another New York law provides that when a district state health officer determines that a violation of the public health law or sanitary code exists in any labor camp within his jurisdiction and any such violation continues after notice and demand for its discontinuance, the health officer may with the approval of the Commissioner of Health institute proceedings to enjoin the operations of the camp.

#### **B. Safety and Health**

Most of the action taken by the states with respect to safety and health was of a negative character. Instead of strengthening labor departments, as frequently recommended by labor officials, labor unions, and the National Conferences on Labor Legislation, several states took away industrial health functions and transferred them to public health agencies. As a result in these states responsibility for the safety of workers with respect to health exposures, one of the fundamental duties of labor departments, was placed in boards of health and similar agencies.



Greater efforts should be made in the future to give to state labor departments full responsibility for the administration of all laws relating to labor, including industrial safety, industrial health, and industrial hygiene.

### C. Federal Grant for State Health and Safety Programs

Congress again has failed to act on the bill (HR 525—S. 1271) sponsored by the A. F. of L. to provide federal aid to state labor departments for the improvement of health and safety conditions in industry. A favorable report was filed by the labor committees in both House and Senate but opposition by health officers in the states prevented action on these reports. Meanwhile, the accident rate, which was already shockingly high, continues to mount. Last year over 2,000,000 workers were injured on the job. The money cost of these accidents to industry and Labor runs into the billions. The costs of human suffering and broken homes is beyond measure.

The states now have full responsibility for the prevention of industrial accidents. Most of the state labor departments have little or no equipment for dealing with the problem. Some states have no labor departments at all and no inspection staffs. It is because of the failure of the state legislatures to properly equip labor departments that the United States Public Health Service has been able to use federal funds to set up industrial hygiene units in the state labor departments, and to do work which is the legal responsibility of state labor departments. These units are now challenging the rights of the state labor departments to promote safety and health of workers and have successfully lobbied against federal funds being made available to the states for this purpose.

The A. F. of L. has long advocated the consolidation of all labor functions in labor departments—federal and state. We deplore the present trend to take away the necessary powers of state labor departments and turn them over to health authorities in the guise of protecting public health. To prevent further action along this line, the labor department must be strengthened with federal funds as are all other branches of state government—health, education, welfare, agriculture.

### THE LABOR DEPARTMENT

The Department of Labor was established in 1913 as the result of years of political activity on the part of the American Federation of Labor. Our union card Members of Congress consulted and cooperated with us in order that the workers of the United States should have representation for their interests in the President's Cabinet and an agency from which to expect the services needed to promote their welfare. So long as the Department was headed by a representative of Labor, these purposes remained the basic guide of the Department.

The administrative responsibilities of the Federal Departments have greatly expanded during recent years so that twice they have been reorgan-

ized in the interests of economy and efficiency. Unfortunately both plans for reorganization proposed to weaken the Department of Labor. Instead of developing and integrating the services for workers and industries, vital labor functions were taken out of the Department of Labor and placed outside the framework of work and income earning. Immigration and naturalization were taken from Labor and placed in the Department of Justice although it was as workers that the mass of immigrants were fitted into the life of the nation. Our unions have been the most effective melting pot for naturalizing foreigners. In the first reorganization the United States Employment Service was handed over to the Social Security Board to integrate its work with Unemployment Compensation. Yet the more important and basic functions of the U. S. Employment Service were helping workers to find suitable jobs and employers to get suitable workers, in helping workers to promote their welfare by giving them access to better jobs, in helping workers in declining communities to find work in other localities, in advising vocational educators on occupational trends. These are the very heart of the responsible functions which the Department of Labor should perform.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly urged that the U. S. Employment Service, and social insurance be placed in the Department of Labor, in order that they might be administered as part of the advancement of workers' welfare. We do not want the U. S. Employment Service to decline into an agency to administer unemployment benefits nor do we want old age and unemployment benefits administered as welfare matters. On the contrary they constitute deferred payment of wages out of earnings which workers help to produce. They are earned rights and not public assistance benefits. Instead of developing the Department of Labor into an agency worthy of the millions it should serve, the Department was further dismembered by the second reorganization and the Children's Bureau, the Employment Service, the Workmen's Compensation Board—all were transferred to the Federal Security Agency to make ready a new federal department devoted to welfare. The American Federation of Labor was primarily responsible for securing legislation authorizing all these agencies and it seems a gratuitous injury that they should be taken out of our Department and administered with less sympathetic understanding.

This reorganization plan has gone into effect, however, leaving the Industrial Division of the Bureau in the Department of Labor, and transferring the health and welfare function of the Bureau to the Federal Security Agency. The Executive Council deplors this separation of important functions of the Children's Bureau from the Labor Department. The child-labor and youth-employment program were kept intact by making the Industrial Division the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch of the Division of Labor Standards. This Division will carry on the administration of the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and a full program of research and pro-

motion of better working conditions for minors, including responsibility for development and promotion of standards for employment protection of children and young persons and for promotion of measures for advancing their opportunities or suitable employment.

The Executive Council believes we should explore the possibilities of statutory legislation to make the Industrial Division an independent bureau responsible for a broad program to protect children.

The split in the labor movement has been the excuse for selecting a Secretary outside the ranks of labor, but it cannot be invoked to condone the dismemberment of the Department instead of its expansion.

The Executive Council expresses keen disappointment over developments in the administration of labor matters by the Department of Labor.

#### **SOCIAL INSURANCE ACTIVITIES 1944-1946**

The social insurance program of the American Federation of Labor during the past two years has been built around the clear direction given by the 64th convention in New Orleans. This statement of policy established two main areas of activity: (1) the development and introduction of legislation to establish a unified, comprehensive, national system of social insurance, and (2) the continued interim efforts to improve the state unemployment compensation programs. This report will summarize the activities conducted within these areas in relation to the specific objectives cited in the resolution adopted by the Convention.

##### **I. National Social Insurance System**

In accordance with the instruction of the convention the development of legislation to establish a comprehensive social insurance system was undertaken immediately on the convening of the 79th Congress. On May 24, 1945 there was introduced concurrently in the Senate by Senator Robert F. Wagner, and Senator James E. Murray and in the House of Representatives by Congressman John D. Dingell the "Social Security Amendments of 1945" (S. 1050—H.R. 3293). This bill incorporated the social security program of the American Federation of Labor.

Due to the system of congressional committee assignments which requires any bill containing revenue features to be sent to the Finance Committee of the Senate and the Ways and Means Committee of the House, this measure appeared to be destined for the oblivion to which earlier social security measures had been consigned. Consequently, the Social Security Committee agreed to the introduction of separate bills incorporating various features of the overall program.

The most direct attack on the inequities and inadequacies of the state unemployment compensation programs was made through the demand for enactment of amendments to the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act (The Kilgore bill—S. 1274). Vigorous support was given this measure by many of our affiliated bodies, but after passing the Senate it was shelved in the House Ways and Means Committee.

The Ways and Means Committee of the House in the summer of 1945 undertook a comprehensive study of the social security program. In January, 1946, its technical staff issued a voluminous report, and hearings were held on its three parts: old age and survivors insurance, public assistance, and unemployment compensation, extending from February through May.

At the first of these hearings, again with splendid support from many State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies, evidence was presented to show the need for sound financing, for broadening of coverage, for protection of veterans' rights, for liberalizing of benefits and for providing benefits for extended disability.

During the hearings on unemployment compensation again the program of the American Federation of Labor was vigorously pushed with the continued able support of affiliated organizations. A plea was made for the removal from the federal law of the incentive to maintain "experience rating" and, if Congress did not agree to a federalization of the entire unemployment compensation program, at least to amend the law to encourage liberal action on the part of the states.

During this entire period a vigorous campaign was carried on to continue the federal operation of the United States Employment Service. This was waged both as a legislative and an educational campaign. The issue in this struggle was not a question simply whether a federal bureau or state bureaus would run the employment offices. The issue was whether there should be maintained within the Labor Department the policy-making authority of a nation-wide system of free public employment offices or whether the offices should be turned over to the control of the state unemployment compensation bureaus which are almost without exception dominated by employer interests. Under "experience rating" provisions now existing in all but five states, the employment offices would, if under the domination of the states, be impelled to refer skilled craftsmen to jobs outside their trade and frequently to jobs which jeopardize their good standing in their trade unions.

The American Federation of Labor took the position throughout that this important decision with respect to the Employment Service should be made by substantive legislation. However, the issue was finally determined by a rider attached to the Labor—Federal Security Appropriation Bill, but not without substantial gains in support of the Federation's position. These gains include provision for the setting of operation standards by the Secretary of Labor and the protection of the employment rights of workers hired during the period of federal operation.

Another portion of the overall social insurance program called for the construction of hospitals, health centers and other facilities vitally necessary to the operation of any national health program. The Hill—Burton Bill (S. 191) carried many of the provisions of the overall program and therefore had our support. Though deficient in a number of points this measure provides \$75,000,000 per year for construction during the next

four years. The Federation was successful in introducing an amendment providing for the payment of prevailing wages to laborers and mechanics employed on construction carried out under this program.

When it was obvious that the overall social security legislation would not even be given a hearing by either the Senate Finance Committee or the House Ways and Means Committee, separate legislation embodying the health insurance provisions of the bill was prepared and introduced. This bill (S. 1606—H.R. 4730) was introduced by the same sponsors as the overall measure—Senators Wagner and Murray, and Congressman Dingell and provided a national health program including grants to states for public health services, maternal and child health services and medical care for needy persons in addition to a nation-wide system of prepaid personal health benefits to be made available to all workers on the contributory insurance principle. Since this bill did not contain any provision for financing it was assigned to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Extensive hearings were held on this measure and though there appears little prospect of its immediate enactment the hearings have been most fruitful. The State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies and numerous other affiliates including the women's auxiliaries rallied to the support of this measure which was recognized as the most important piece of social legislation before the 79th Congress.

Not the least contribution of these hearings was the exposure of the nature of the opposition—powerful financial and political forces hiding behind the cloak of the reactionary segments of the organized medical profession. No less revealing was the disclosure of the unexpected strength of the support coming not only from organized labor but from liberal groups of doctors standing high in their profession, liberal farm and business organizations as well as religious groups and representatives of consumers.

During the entire period of the hearings, though efforts were made to rally support for this measure from all groups having a bona fide interest in health conditions, the American Federation of Labor commanded a position of leadership appropriate to an organization that had been since the introduction of the first Workmen's Compensation Act nearly 40 years ago, most concerned with the health and safety of wage earners and their families. This position of leadership on the part of the Federation relates to every part of its broader program—especially the unrelenting drive to organize the unorganized as today workers are drawn toward an organization that is identified with progressive action in the field of social attainment. This leadership need not be lost and the drive for the enactment of all-inclusive, contributory health insurance should not be relaxed.

Points 3 and 4 of the social security program adopted in New Orleans (the protection of veterans' rights and improvement of public

assistance programs) have been partially incorporated in the bill developed by the House Ways and Means Committee and now awaiting final action.

## **II. Improvement of State Unemployment Compensation Laws**

Immediately following the New Orleans Convention a letter was sent to each State Federation of Labor calling attention to the four improvements in state unemployment compensation laws called for in the Convention declaration. Most State Federations introduced legislation in line with these standards in their respective state legislatures most of which met in 1945. Following is a summary of the progress made along the four lines established by the Convention.

### **(1) Removing coverage limitation based on size of firm**

Three states removed the coverage limitation based on size of employing unit. This brings to 16 the total number of states where wage earners in covered employment are protected regardless of the number employed. However, 22 states—some of them the more industrialized states—still afford protection only to workers employed by an employer of 8 or more persons.

### **(2) Lifting maximum weekly benefits to \$25.00**

While only 5 states moved to lift the limitation on benefits to \$25.00 or more per week (two of these geared to a system of dependent's allowances) actually 26 states lifted the ceilings on benefits—usually by \$2, \$3, or \$5 amounts. However, in some instances the lifting of the ceilings was accompanied by making more difficult the qualifying standards.

### **(3) Lifting the maximum on weeks of benefit payments**

Five states increased to 26 the maximum number of weeks for which an eligible worker could receive benefits, the standard set by the convention declaration. In all, 28 states extended the period of maximum duration of benefits for total unemployment. However, two states still maintain the maximum at 14 weeks, 12 more at 16 weeks. Also in many instances the increases in maximum duration involved statutory increases in qualifying wages.

### **(4) Removal of restrictive disqualification provisions**

The record of achievement was least impressive at this point although the trend toward increasing stringency was apparently halted if not reversed. Little actual progress can be expected along this line so long as "experience rating" provides a definite financial incentive for employers to disqualify workers they have laid off.

Only 13 states amended their disqualification provisions, seven of which liberalized them in one or more respects while four made their laws more restrictive and in the other two the results are mixed. Many of the states with the most drastic provisions failed to amend them.

In summary it can be said that for the first time in six years the

net effect of changes made in the state unemployment compensation programs has been in favor of some liberalization. This is due in no small degree to the aroused and active interest in these programs taken by the state organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

To some this mild achievement is an argument for relaxation in the efforts to establish a unified national system of unemployment insurance. However those close to the struggle both in Washington and the state capitols are convinced that it would not have been possible to achieve even such limited success as was obtained had it not been for the insistent pressure in support of the overall program.

### **The Spearhead of the Opposition**

In all the efforts to improve the social security program there has been bitter opposition. There are still employers who feel that their welfare depends on there being a ready supply of hungry applicants in their employment offices. The spearhead of the opposition, however, has not been so much with this small group of reactionary employers and their paid propagandists, but in the organized political and lobbying activities of the Inter-State Conference of Employment Security Agencies. This organization which purports to be a professional organization of public administrators in the field of unemployment compensation is actually the front for every reactionary interest opposed to improvement of the social security program. These state administrators have every right to press their point of view, but it is an outrage that they are permitted to carry on their lobbying and organization activities on grants of funds from the Federal treasury as is now the case.

Throughout the two-year period constant informational and educational activities on the subject of social insurance have been carried on in cooperation with the other offices and departments of the American Federation of Labor.

Agencies of the government have been for the most part most cooperative—particularly the Social Security Board (now the Social Security Administration), the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, and the United States Public Health Service. In cooperation with this last named agency a series of Health Workshop Conferences has been undertaken which should prove invaluable in stimulating education on important health matters through the organized labor movement.

In every phase of the program the cooperation and support of National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, and City Central Bodies has been most heartening. No request for assistance has been denied. The standing Committee on Social Security has provided most capable direction in policy determination and interpretation to meet changing situations and new developments. There is a ground-swell of support existing among the membership of the unions in the American Federation of Labor for the broadening, expanding, and improvement of our system of social security that will not be denied.



### FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

Under the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the statutory minimum wage of 40 cents per hour was to become effective in all covered employment on October 24, 1945. However, through the system of industry committees and wage orders, this statutory minimum was reached fifteen months previously, in July, 1944. Consequently, the past two years have witnessed no changes in the general level of minimum wages established under the FLSA for continental United States. Through special provisions of the Act, however, the minimum wage standards have been substantially improved in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Since July, 1944, wage orders have been issued for nearly all industries in these two possessions, either increasing the rates where previous wage orders existed or establishing wage orders for additional industries. New piece rates for the Puerto Rican needlework industry have been established in order that these rates would be commensurate with the industry's new minimum hourly rates.

Enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act during the past two years has been handicapped by the reduced wartime budget for the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions. Approximately 44,000 establishments were inspected each year, compared to 54,000 in 1944 and 75,000 in 1942. Over the two-year period these 88,893 inspections uncovered a total of 68,748 establishments or 78 percent in violation of one or more provisions of the Act.

The nature of these violations has changed substantially since the passage of the Act. In the early years of the Act's administration when the emphasis was placed on raising minimum wage standards, the majority of violators were employers trying to evade payment of the minimum wage. Since the statutory wage requirement has been reached, a larger proportion of violations are now concerned with the overtime and record-keeping provisions of the Act. However, even for the fiscal year 1946, as large a proportion as 20 percent of the violations were attempts to pay sub-minimum wages.

As a result of the inspections during the past two years, 36,146 establishments agreed or were ordered to pay restitution totaling \$29,185,203 to 713,994 employees of \$41 per employee. For the fiscal year 1946, the average payment was \$49 per underpaid employee, higher than for any preceding year. These figures cover payments made under both the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act.

The enforcement figures covering the record since the inception of the two acts reveal that over 2,600,000 workers have received nearly \$100,000,000 in restitution. This represents an average restitution of \$37 per underpaid employee.

During the past two years, special attention has been given to the problem of industrial homework. As a result of extensive hearings conducted in earlier years, the wage orders for seven industries—jewelry manufac-

turing, gloves and mittens, knitted outerwear, button and buckle manufacturing, women's apparel, handkerchief manufacturing and embroideries—had been amended to prohibit industrial homework except under certain specified conditions and only after issuance of special certificates. This action was taken in order to protect the minimum wage standards of the factory workers and only after enforcement experience had proved that allowing homework would open the door to flagrant violations of the minimum wage standards. Enforcement of these orders was delayed pending decisions of the courts on their validity. On March 30, 1945, in the case *Gemsco v. Walling*, the Supreme Court confirmed the Administrator's power standards. Immediately following this decision the Division carried out an extensive inspection of these seven industries in order to enforce compliance to prohibit homework in order to maintain compliance with minimum wage with these orders.

The Division has kept close check over the applications for learners' certificates. As the general level of wages has increased, the number of learners paid sub-minimum rates has constantly decreased. In 1944, a special inspection was made of 1,883 plants holding learner certificates. This inspection revealed substantial compliance with the requirements of the Act, with a small percentage of the firms found in violation of any monetary provision of the certificates.

With the constitutionality and legality of the Act no longer questioned, employers have sought to find new ways of circumventing its application. The American Pulpwood Association has recently attempted to force a change in the record-keeping regulations under the Act. They requested that the wage and hour regulations be so amended that the responsibility for keeping proper employment records for certain unsupervised employees working in the pulpwood operations in the woods be shifted from the employer to the individual employee. If the proposal of the Association had prevailed, it would become possible for employers to circumvent the Act by forcing employees, under penalty of discharge, to falsify their employment records. Because of the precedent-making nature of this request, the American Federation of Labor joined with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the United Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers in vigorously opposing this move by presenting oral and written testimony at a public hearing on July 10, 1946. It is expected that a decision of this case will be made shortly.

Enforcement of the child labor provisions of the Act rest with the Division of Labor Standards. During the past two years, 6,300 establishments were found to be in violation of the child labor provisions of either or both Acts. A total of 1,100 establishments were assessed liquidated damages amounting to \$1,352,406 for illegal employment of 7,550 minors.

In reviewing the history of the Fair Labor Standards Act during the past two years, one fact stands out above all others: the minimum wage standards provided by the Act are now obsolete. The existing 40-cent mini-

mum has the buying power equivalent to 28 cents at the time the Act became effective in October, 1938. The real minimum wage in industry has thus been declining instead of advancing, defeating the express purpose of the Act.

The sharp and continuing rise in the cost of living, advances in productivity and the requirements of improved postwar standards of living, make imperative a prompt and substantial revision of the present low minimum standards of the Act. It is equally important to strengthen the Act by eliminating a number of unwarranted exemptions the Act now embodies and by extending the scope of the Act's coverage.

### LABOR STANDARDS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

The volume of contracts falling under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act continued to increase during the war until a high was reached in the fiscal year 1945, when 131,733 contracts with a value of \$36,000,000,000 were awarded under this Act.

The enforcement program under the Act involved a total of 15,545 inspections for the fiscal years 1945 and 1946. Of this total, 8,750 or 56 percent were found to be in violation, with 5,013 or 32 percent in violation of the minimum wage or overtime provisions. In 94 percent of the cases in which violations had been found, the firms agreed or were ordered to pay restitution.

It is to be regretted that no new minimum wage determinations were made during the war years. The only action taken in this connection was to amend five previous determinations to bring them into closer conformity with similar determinations under the Fair Labor Standards Act. We again urge that prevailing minimum wage standards required by the Act be newly determined and fully applied to all government contracts and that such minimum wage determinations be periodically reviewed in order to bring them into conformity with the prevailing level of wages for the industry concerned.

### HOUSING LEGISLATION

Housing shortages which persisted through the war became critically acute as the country entered the decisive stage of the war effort, in the summer of 1944. Construction of public war housing to shelter war workers and their families depended upon the Congressional appropriation under the Lanham Act. In this final phase of the war production drive, Congress continued to be extremely niggardly in authorizing funds for public war housing, whose construction was essential to meet the mounting need. They were confined to a \$15 million appropriation in December, 1944, and \$66 million in April, 1945. This meant that the Federal Public Housing Authority, responsible for public war housing under the Lanham Act, was forced to cut down its program until it could do little more than complete the projects it had started. In June, 1945, a new Title V was added to the Lanham Act, authorizing construction of public war housing for distressed

families of servicemen and veterans, who were affected by evictions or other unusual hardships. However, despite the President's recommendation, Congress failed to provide for additional appropriation for homes under this title until the war was over. Since then \$447,627,000 has been appropriated, but these funds have been used to transport demountable housing and erect it to meet special needs such as the housing for student veterans in colleges.

In contrast, Congress proved extremely liberal in increasing the authorization for FHA insurance of privately-financed housing, built ostensibly for war workers. It repeatedly raised the limit of FHA mortgage insurance under the war-time Title VI of the National Housing Act, until the total wartime authorization for private housing reached \$1,800,000,000. This was done despite the record of performance of private builders under Title VI, which, as frequently pointed out by the American Federation of Labor, resulted in substandard shoddily built houses which war workers' families were compelled to buy at excessive prices because no other shelter was available to them.

Exorbitant profits made during the war at the expense of war workers' families whetted the appetites of speculative builders for more profits in the transition to peace to be made at the expense of the returning war veterans. Under the pressure of their concerted drive to extend the Wartime Emergency Title VI, and with the backing of the Federal Housing Expediter, peacetime extension of Title VI was written by Congress into the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946, raising the authorization for FHA mortgage insurance on this emergency housing to \$2,800,000,000, and permitting the President to further increase it to \$3,800,000,000. Thus the largest housing authorization made by Congress during the war and reconversion was to guarantee the risk of mortgage lenders and builders for the construction of substandard homes with no safeguards whatsoever to protect the interests of the home-buyers.

This questionable legislation enabling the FHA to underwrite high interest rate mortgages on shoddy homes for sale at high prices was used as a flank attack on the A. F. of L.-initiated large-scale program for the construction of soundly built homes, a program backed by veterans' organizations, civic leaders and all progressives. It was also a part of an attack to destroy the program of slum clearance and low-rent housing for low-income families, launched in 1937 under the A. F. of L.-supported U. S. Housing Act. During the war all new construction of USHA housing was suspended. Many low-rent housing projects built for low-income families before the war were made available to families of war workers, servicemen and veterans who could afford to pay full economic rent. The law required that at the end of the war the low rent character of these projects be reestablished. To make the low rents possible, it was necessary for the federal government to pay annual contributions which make up the difference between the low rents charged on public housing projects and the prevailing economic rent. The opponents of public housing succeeded in

getting House approval of a provision in the Government Corporation Appropriation Bill of 1946, prohibiting the use of federal funds for annual contributions. This was objected to by the Senate. The House then introduced new restrictions, the most crippling of which would require that only families with incomes in the lowest fourth of all family incomes would be eligible for public low-rent housing. The A. F. of L. succeeded in eliminating this eligibility restriction, which would have dealt a death blow to the program labor has championed through the past decade.

Although it early recognized the special needs for housing on the part of returning servicemen, Congress took little effective action to bring decent housing within the reach of the veterans' families on reasonable terms. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act, known as the "G. I. Bill of Rights," enacted in June, 1944, contained in Title III special provisions for loans to veterans, guaranteed by the Veterans Administration, to buy, build or repair homes. While this legislation was pending Congressional consideration, the A. F. of L. strongly insisted on the provisions essential to safeguard the veterans against excessive interest charges, speculative prices and substandard construction of homes for which the veteran would eventually have to pay. Neither the original "G. I. Bill of Rights" nor the subsequent amendments met these sound requirements. No adequate standards of construction and inspection have been provided and the private lenders were authorized to charge a four percent interest rate on housing loans to veterans, made riskless by a complete federal guarantee. However, the provision which required the veteran to apply for such loans within two years after the enactment of the law was extended to ten years.

As the housing shortage was rapidly intensified following V-J Day, the Congress became increasingly inclined to substitute stop-gap emergency measures for a comprehensive long-range solution of the nation's Number One domestic problem. In November, 1945, Representative Patman introduced a bill establishing authorization of maximum prices on newly built housing and a maximum on the resale of existing homes. The bill also provided for an allocation of scarce materials, a preference to veterans in the rental or purchase of homes, and a subsidy for the construction of low-cost housing. The Patman Bill, later named the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act, became law in a drastically changed form in May, 1946. As enacted, this law contained no maximum sale or rental provisions, and was largely limited to three main features: (1) peacetime extension of the emergency wartime Title VI with a large increased authorization for FHA insurance and an increase in the maximum sale price on a single family house to \$9,000; (2) an authorization of \$400,000,000 for premium payments or subsidies to building material manufacturers to stimulate production; and (3) authority to the RFC to guarantee markets for new-type building materials and prefabricated houses up to 200,000 units.

In the original premium payment and guaranteed market proposals, there was no provision for minimum standards or specifications for mate-

rials or houses to be produced at public expense. At the insistence of the A. F. of L. a provision was written into the law requiring that new type materials be tested for sound quality, and prefabricated houses be tested for durability, livability and safety.

During the past two years, the American Federation of Labor led in insistence on early introduction of a far-reaching postwar housing program designed to meet the objectives laid down by our 1944 convention. The American Federation of Labor's program of recommendations was placed before Congress on January 15, 1945, by Chairman Harry C. Bates of our Housing Committee, at the hearings held by the Senate Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Redevelopment.

In February, 1945, legislative proposals, designed to carry out this program, were presented by the A. F. of L. Housing Committee to Chairman Robert F. Wagner of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, with the request that a comprehensive postwar housing bill be introduced at the earliest possible date to assure the provision of a large-scale volume of home construction available to families of all incomes. These proposals were also submitted to Senator Robert A. Taft.

On November 14, 1945, the General Housing Bill, embodying the major proposals of the A. F. of L. postwar housing program, was introduced under the bi-partisan sponsorship of Senators Wagner, Ellender and Taft. This bill, S. 1592, provided for the efficient and economical coordination of all housing activities of the federal government under the supervision of a permanent National Housing Agency with local communities having the major responsibility for carrying out the programs. The bill authorized the N. H. A. to aid localities in making surveys of their housing needs and plans for meeting these needs, provided these communities meet half the cost of such studies. The goals set by S. 1592 called for a decent home for every American family and a volume of construction large enough to enable the construction industry to make its necessary contribution to an economy of full production and full employment.

S. 1592 encouraged and aided private enterprise in doing the major part of the job of rehousing America. The bill sought throughout to improve old methods and to devise new ones by which privately built housing can be brought within the reach of the great mass market of middle income families. The FHA system of mortgage insurance would be geared to serve the great mass market of middle income families. Costs of home purchase would be reduced through lower interest rates and a longer period of amortization. Liberal terms would be given to non-profit corporations to build mutual cooperative housing developments. A title was added to the National Housing Act to encourage private investors to put their money in rental housing. Under the "yield insurance" formula, investors in much needed, moderately priced rental housing would be guaranteed an annual profit of 2.75 percent.

These programs should enable private enterprise to build 90 percent of the

new homes. In order to reach the goal of "a decent home for every American family," the bill improved the public low-rent housing program for cities and towns and extended it to rural areas. Each year for four years it provided for a maximum of 125,000 public housing units in urban areas and authorized annual contributions of \$22,000,000 to maintain low rents. It also authorized funds for a publicly-aided rural and farm housing program. These provisions will accomplish much of the task of rebuilding America. The rest of the task can be achieved by the provision of the bill for tearing down slum areas and rebuilding them with decent housing and needed community facilities. The primary responsibility for doing this job is left to local communities, who must present a detailed plan and provide a large share of the funds before becoming eligible for federal loans or grants. Private enterprise would share fully in this task of slum clearance and urban redevelopment.

On April 15, 1946, the Senate not only passed S. 1592 with its major provisions intact, but also adopted by a vote of 51 to 20 the vital A. F. of L.-sponsored amendment requiring that not less than prevailing wages be paid on all FHA insured construction.

Strongest possible support was given S. 1592 by the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor. Despite these efforts, a small but strong lobby of the speculative elements in the real estate and mortgage lending field succeeded in blocking the Bill in the House Banking and Currency Committee.

The A. F. of L.'s fight for the enactment of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft General Housing Bill received widest support from our membership throughout the nation. It is our purpose to redouble our efforts for the enactment of the A. F. of L.'s postwar housing program in the coming year. We urge that it be given top consideration and be made the first order of business of the next Congress.

After more than a year of study of the slum clearance and redevelopment needs of the nation's capital, legislation for the redevelopment of the District of Columbia was introduced early in 1945. In its national campaign against public housing, the special interest lobby chose Washington as a testing ground. It succeeded in injecting into the bills, which were not dealing with housing as such, definitions of public housing designed to make it unworkable. The Housing Committee of the A. F. of L. cooperated with the Washington Central Labor Union in the long-drawn-out legislative fight that ensued. On October 18, 1945, the McCarran District of Columbia Redevelopment Bill, S. 1426, was modified by its author to include the A. F. of L.-suggested amendments and was passed by the Senate. However, the unworkable definitions of public housing were reinstated in the bill by the House and in the preadjournment rush the Senate repudiated its own previous stand, accepting the House version of the Bill. While he accepted the House revision, Senator McCarran gave Labor his commitment to lead in the fight



in the next session of Congress for workable public housing provisions previously adopted by the Senate.

The Housing and Legislative Committees of the A. F. of L. have cooperated closely in their work on all phases of housing legislation, have received the fullest support from the officers of the A. F. of L. Building and Construction Trades Department and from A. F. of L. affiliates throughout the nation. The nation's housing need is urgent. The A. F. of L. housing program should be kept high on Labor's legislative "must" list for enactment in the coming year.

#### FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION

The duty of any democratic government to provide educational opportunities for its people is manifest in the very nature of government. This duty has never been questioned in the United States. The method by which this duty is to be implemented was also not questioned in the United States until comparatively recently. It was an accepted idea that inasmuch as the administration of education was solely a state function that the financial maintenance of the schools was therefore, solely a state responsibility. This concept led to the development of unequal opportunities for education in the nation; the richer states could afford to spend more money on education than the low-income states. Some states have rich taxable resources within the state; others but limited resources. Some states were eager to raise the educational level of each person residing in the state; others were not so devoutly committed to the democratic ideal. Gradually, there developed marked differences in the educational opportunities and the consequent educational levels between the several states.

The effects of these differences were observed by the nation, but their profound significance was not widely appreciated until the first World War.

When, however, the first World War revealed a high rate of illiteracy in this country and with a sharp increase in localities characterized by a low schooling-level, it became apparent that the problem involved required national attention. An analysis of the figures obtained in the first World War showed that the communities affording restricted educational opportunities were the communities in which a high percentage of illiterate and poorly educated persons prevailed.

At the same time the first World War showed the great need for a national program which would recognize non-academic training as an integral part of the nation's educational system. It soon became apparent that while the problem was national in scope, the funds with which to approach this problem were at that time available only through state and local sources. The recognition of this fact led to the beginning of a campaign to secure federal aid for education through which to help more generally to equalize educational opportunities for all persons and

another campaign to secure funds through which to help to develop a nation-wide program in industrial and agricultural training.

Confronted with these facts, the American Federation of Labor in 1916 appointed a committee to prepare the necessary legislation through which to obtain the necessary federal funds. In 1917, at the request of the American Federation of Labor, there was introduced into Congress a bill seeking federal aid for vocational education, and another seeking federal aid for a general educational program. The immediate pressing need for technically trained personnel to help win the war served as a pressure to cause the early enactment of the bill setting up a program of federal aid to the states for vocational education.

The bill for general federal aid for education, however, found the educators themselves as well as interested lay groups widely divided both as to the desirability of federal aid and the method by which such a program should be administered if it were enacted.

For twenty years after the first federal aid bill was introduced, lay groups of all sorts showed an interest in a program for federal aid; little thought was given to the technicalities involved in the administration of the program. We find, therefore, that from 1917 to 1937 a large number of bills seeking to give federal aid for education were introduced into Congress and that the administrative principles embodied in these bills varied all the way from rigid fixed controls to the complete absence of all standards. But the administrative differences received little attention; the interest was focused on getting aid; and not on how to administer it.

In the meantime, the development of the program for vocational education in the United States, aided by federal funds, had manifested itself in a movement which tended to separate vocational education as distinct from general education; had permitted anti-social practices to be established in many communities under the name of vocational education. The abuses under this system became so notorious that in 1934 the American Federation of Labor called upon the President of the United States to take proper steps to wipe out the widely prevalent abuses. It was, therefore, in 1935 that President Roosevelt appointed the Advisory Committee on Vocational Education to study this question. The Committee soon recognized that it would not be wise to study vocational education as distinct from general education, and therefore, the President was urged to expand the field of inquiry for the Committee he had named. The President did so, and appointed the President's Advisory Committee on Education and named Dr. Floyd Reeves as Chairman of the Committee. This Committee made an exhaustive study of the entire question and reported thereon to the nation, through the President of the United States in 1937.

The Federation played a significant role in helping shape these proposals for the improvement of the American free public school, and for the development of a program through which every American child of every

race and creed shall be assured the best services the nation can give him to develop him into a good, sound, healthy American citizen.

The proposals made by the President's Advisory Committee in 1937 were a great step toward the goal for which the Federation has been working.

However, as these proposals were later expressed in bills before the Congress, the Federation began to focus attention not only on the need for federal aid for education, but also on the methods by which the program was to be administered. Here again the American Federation of Labor led the nation in focusing attention on specific issues. These issues may well be restated here now.

**1. The Rights of Minority Groups Must Be Protected.** It is important to observe that the American Federation of Labor was the first nation-wide organization to demand that an assurance be written into the law to provide that minority races in states maintaining separate schools should receive their per capita share of any federal funds appropriated to aid education.

**II. Education Implies Vastly More Than Formal Schooling:** The Federation also led the fight to recognize the fact in granting federal funds for education be recognized as not limited to formal schooling, but that consideration be given to all the factors and forces which help develop a person in our complex society; that training on the farm, on the job, in the home, in the factory, or wherever it is done, is a vitally essential form of education; that adult education is essential in a functional democracy.

**III. The Well-Being of the Individual Child is the Concern of the Federal Government:** The Federation led the fight in urging that while the federal government must help the states maintain good free public schools it must also afford every child those services through which his health, welfare and social well-being as well as his mental capacities are best developed. In addition, the Federation recognized the urgency of meeting the needs of the individual child and youth and proposed a program through which every boy and girl, every youth may be assured an opportunity to remain in school.

**IV. Sound Administrative Safeguards Are Essential in Any Truly Social Program:** The Federation knowing full well the need of sound administrative safeguards in relation to such proposals, urged that such safeguards be written into the law itself. These safeguards included:

a. An absolute guarantee against any form of federal control over the processes of education: curricula content, teaching personnel, textbooks, methods of teaching, etc.

b. A provision (already referred to) protecting the rights of minority races.

c. A provision that the state and its political subdivisions be required to maintain, at least their present appropriations as a condition for getting

further appropriations so that federal funds should supplement and not supplant state and local funds for education.

d. A provision requiring the states and their subdivisions to meet at least a bare minimum appropriation from state and local funds to which to add the federal funds.

e. A requirement that 75 percent of the total federal appropriation be set aside for teachers' salaries.

f. A requirement that the funds should be allocated among the several states on a basis of relative need.

g. A requirement that federal funds be made available for every part of the state in need thereof.

h. A requirement that the state receiving federal funds be required to publish its plans for the use of such funds before the funds are expended, and later publish a report on how these funds have been expended.

i. A provision for a federal audit of federal funds.

We have fought for these principles. We have been attacked for the fight we have made. But it is significant to note that the majority of these principles for which we have fought have already been taken over by the very groups that fought us for proposing them.

In 1944 the American Federation of Labor adopted a program for federal aid which embodied the principles above set forth, and recommended that legislation be sought to implement them.

Accordingly legislation was prepared, embodying these principles and at the request of the American Federation of Labor S. 717 was introduced into Congress by Senator James Mead and Senator George Aiken.

Immediately after this bill had been introduced in Congress, the anti-Labor forces joined with the extreme left wing groups, and other groups and individuals and launched an intensive campaign against this bill because the bill would make aid available for children in the sectarian schools as well as those in the nation's public schools. The nature of the attack was so vicious that it cannot be ignored. The hearings revealed that some of the opponents in their bitterness even stated that a Christian church was instituted to promote crime and produce criminals. Other opponents claimed that this bill was a sinister move on the part of the American Federation of Labor to unite the church and state; still others pointed out that this was a move to destroy the public schools of the United States. The bigotry of that campaign was alarming.

It is well, because of the nature of the attack and the numerous mis-statements of fact made on this phase of the bill, that the major contentions be restated and reanswered categorically.

It was stated that the granting of federal funds to aid children in the non-public schools would break down the established American tradition of complete separation of church and state.

This is a tradition which we all revere and the breach of which no good American would tolerate. The question is not, therefore, whether we wish

to violate this tradition (for emphatically we do not), but whether the granting of federal funds for education in the non-public schools does violate this tradition.

The facts are:

The practice of having our federal government give aid to schools, hospitals and other non-profit institutions which are under the control of churches of every denomination is as old as the country itself. It is a practice which has been operating since 1785, when the Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory was adopted by the Continental Congress, which provided that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and happiness of mankind, schools, and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." Then, in granting powers for distribution to the land, it was stipulated that Lot 16 in each township be given perpetually for the use of schools and Lot 29 "for purposes of religion." Since then, many Acts have been adopted by the Federal Congress expressly giving federal funds to sectarian schools.

Among the forms most familiar to us—forms which we have repeatedly endorsed—are the N. Y. A., W. P. A., Nursery Schools, etc.

One of the most recent examples and the most far-reaching example is the G. I. Bill. Federal funds are made available for tuition and for upkeep in sectarian as well as non-sectarian schools in the G. I. Act which was unanimously adopted by the United States Congress. The G. I. Act (Public Law 346, Chapter III, Sec. 301, Par. 4) authorizes the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to name any institution at any educational level (sectarian or non-sectarian) which has approved educational standards, as eligible to receive federal funds for tuition and upkeep of the veteran, as well as those institutions which are named by the educational authority in each state.

(2) It was stated that the granting of federal funds for education through sectarian schools is unconstitutional. The fact is that every decision of the United States Supreme Court on this subject has upheld this procedure as constitutional. The first legal test of this issue came about a hundred years ago when the State of Indiana questioned the legal propriety of such federal grants to sectarian institutions. The United States Supreme Court sustained the right of the federal government to make such grants, and denied the State the right to interfere (*Board of Trustees of Vincennes University v. State Board of Education of Indiana* 14 Howard 268).

Since then many other similar decisions have been rendered, one of the more recent ones being the ruling in the *Louisiana Text Book Case* (*Cochran v. La. St. Bd. of Ed.* 281 U. S. 370), in which Mr. Justice Hughes in rendering the Court's decision pointed out that the use of public funds for the purchase of text books for use in non-public sectarian schools as well as in the public schools is constitutional and is in the public interest.

Perhaps the best statement of the philosophy involved in the legal

aspects of this question is contained in a decision rendered by the Supreme Court of Mississippi in 1941. In this case, in upholding the legal propriety of the State of Mississippi to grant funds for text books and supplies for children in the sectarian schools, the Court stated:

Freedom of conscience was one of the blessings of liberty sought to be secured by constitutional separation of church and state. These principles are historical and fundamental. Yet it is quite true that while liberty is to be maintained at the price of eternal vigilance, such vigilance should include within its scope the common welfare of those who have the right to view educational opportunity as one of the "blessings of liberty."

It is the control of one over the other that our Constitution forbids—that is, the church over state. The recognition of each of the isolation and influence of the other remains as one of the duties and liberties, respectively, of the individual citizen. The constitutional barrier which protects each against invasion by the other must not be so high that the state in discharging its obligation as *parens patriae*, cannot surmount distinctions which, viewing the citizen as a component unit of the state become irrelevant.

The state is under duty to ignore the child's creed but not its need.

This is the decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Mississippi in making funds available for the purchase of books and other material for the children of the parochial schools. The citation is *W. M. Chance et al. v. Mississippi State Textbook Rating and Purchasing Board*. It is the Supreme Court of Mississippi, No. 34417. The opinion was rendered February 24, 1941.

Hence it may well be seen that it is an established fact that the practice historically, in this country, has been to make federal grants to sectarian institutions for educational purposes and the courts have upheld these practices.

The question, then, is not one of tradition, or of law, but of policy. The policy was analyzed by the A. F. of L. Committee on Education as follows:

A consideration of this policy involves a number of principles:

1. Will the further development of sectarian schools create a more divisive community?

2. Has the special group of citizens concerned with the common good of such special group the right to a special share of public funds to protect and promote its special interests?

3. What factors are involved in the right of a parent or group to establish and maintain a form of training through which to preserve principles of conscience?

4. What is the scope of authority of the state on this question?

5. Upon what basis must the question of public-private sectarian activities be approached?

It has already been pointed out that these questions insofar as they affect the federal government are primarily questions of policy and not of law. It is therefore in the light of public policy that the Federation will approach the question.

The first question to be explored: Will the further development of sectarian schools create a more divisive society? If so they may well be held to do more harm than good. We are one nation, and

we wish our people to be united. But this unity must not be such as to destroy the rights of minorities. We all desire unity but not uniformity. Cohesion is essential, but regimentation is devastating. We cannot and we would not choose as a nation to compel all persons to act in keeping with a single pattern. Ours is a cohesive functional society, but a society in which the point of view of all minorities should be respected and afforded full opportunity of expression.

There is a minority group today that holds that in conformity with the religious concepts of their faith that a form of sectarian instruction must be given with all other educational training as an integral part of the education of children. The right of this minority group to its convictions must be zealously safeguarded. Not only to protect the rights of the minority, but actually to promote the unity of a functional democracy must we preserve the means through which minority viewpoints are expressed. A people are not more closely united if they are compelled through legal or economic pressures to accept a pattern of conduct if such acceptance would violate the tenets of conscience of the group. On the other hand, there can be no justification in law or in policy for subsidizing a purely private project simply because it serves to promote the good and worthy religious devotion of a particular group. To pay public funds to a religious organization for its maintenance would violate the fundamental principles and practices to which we as a nation are committed.

In view of the fact that a large portion of the instructors in the sectarian schools have taken a vow of poverty and that therefore what they are paid belongs not to them but to the religious organization to which they adhere, a direct payment to them for their services would in effect, therefore, be a direct payment to a religious organization. Such a practice cannot be condoned.

On the other hand, the child in these schools has the right to attend them. And that right, as has already been pointed out, involves not only a legal permission but a legal assurance that the right shall be enjoyed. The enjoyment of the right implies a degree of economic support. To assure each child's right to an education the federal government is thoroughly justified in making funds available to the use of that child.

Aid toward the payment of all the educational services rendered through the instruction of this group of children is a justifiable service for children and should be federally aided.

Services for the benefit of all children should be clearly understood to include that aid for the benefit of every child which is available for the benefit of any child.

However, in order to maintain educational standards and at the same time to preserve complete separation of church and state in a traditional American manner, the following safeguards should be written into any legislation on the subject:

A. Any institution which benefits from federal funds so received must maintain the educational standards of the state in which the institution is located.

B. No federal funds shall be used to pay the salaries of teaching personnel in sectarian educational institutions, for in these sectarian institutions the teaching personnel are often members of religious orders or organ-



izations and do not themselves receive pay; hence payment to them would be a payment to their respective religious orders or organizations.

A bill embodying these principles should receive the full and active support of the American Federation of Labor affiliates.

### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Our interest in a sound program of vocational education is fundamental. To assure a sound program, however, it is necessary that we have a clearer understanding of what is meant by vocational education and what its functional relation is to general education. There are a number of communities in which an excellent approach has been made. However, the trend in this country in the use of federal funds for vocational education has been to use those funds to separate vocational education from academic education rather than to integrate it into the general education program.

The bill before Congress during this last session (S. 619) was so loosely drawn that it would have even more markedly separated vocational from general education. The bill in its original form, if enacted into law, would also have practically wiped out the fine federal program for apprenticeship training, which is now in effect. It would likewise have wiped out standards which took many years to establish. Through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor the worst of the anti-social principles were stricken from the proposed legislation and the bill was passed in such form that it does little more than increase the amount of money available for this still poorly-conceived program of vocational education.

There is, however, a small appropriation in this bill for vocational guidance and counseling.

It is of the greatest importance that a study be made of the entire subject of guidance and counseling before any further legislation on this subject is enacted. Guidance and counseling are terms which require critical analysis, both in their relation to schools, veterans' programs and industry in general. Counseling and guidance should be based upon a real knowledge of the economic, social and industrial structure of our nation. It should recognize not merely the measurable technical capabilities of individual human beings but also the needs of the community, the relation of the various elements in our society and the need of effecting cooperation between these various elements for the common good.

The use of mental tests and achievement tests should be critically evaluated not only to focus attention on the need of further studies of the tests themselves, but also on the need of more properly evaluating the implications of the tests and their use. Labor has a profound responsibility at this time in seeking to have public attention focused carefully upon the social standards and social objectives involved in the many counseling and guidance programs.

It is, therefore, recommended that a special study be made of the entire field of counseling and guidance in relation to the social well-being of the individual and the well-being of the community.

### WORKERS EDUCATION

Just after the first World War, when the formal movement to promote workers education was under way in all countries, the American Federation of Labor made arrangements with the Workers Education Bureau whereby the Bureau would serve as its medium for this work. At that time programs were called "labor colleges" and provided modified high schools or college courses. Many of the courses given in labor colleges met needs which workers shared with other adult citizens and were not distinctly workers' problems. More and more our states and cities are trying to provide for adult educational needs. Unions have continued responsible for instructing members in trade union policies and procedures.

Workers education, however, like adult education, soon found limitations to the desires of adult persons to continue formal studies. But workers, like other adults, face problems to which they want answers, and they seek information in order to know what to do and how to decide policies. Workers look to their unions for answers and information on an increasing number of matters—insurance, loans and credit, home ownership, price control, taxes and income reports, community recreation facilities, educational facilities, medical care, etc. So an increasing number of unions have employed research workers to assemble facts and information for them. But the variety and scope of data available are limited. National wage data in the form of averages is not fully adequate for the needs of local wage negotiations where information is needed on wage scales and conditions of work in competing companies. For the needs of collective bargaining and for light on other problems unions must supplement national data by details on local situations. Local unions and local workers need access to local research agencies, with funds to render the services for which local groups find need. Research data should then be explored and discussed by union members or executives to aid in decisions on policies and in guiding the administrative work of the union. Unions also find manuals and other technical guides useful in maintaining their rights and promoting their welfare under labor legislation.

Now that scope and content of the educational needs of workers as trade unionists have been more clearly defined, we should move to provide the necessary means to meet them.

The Federal Government long ago anticipated a service to the workers of the United States when on July 2, 1862, it enacted the Morrill Act donating public lands to the several states and territories which provided colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanical arts. Based on this law and its amendments is the agricultural extension service which provides farmers with scientific and practical aids in farming—a world-famous service. The Department of Commerce provides research and technical assistance for employers engaged in trade and industry. But decades have passed and the Government has yet done nothing to implement the proposal that land grant colleges were to promote the welfare of those in the

mechanical arts equally with those in agriculture. The last Congress appropriated a small sum of \$37,000 to develop plans for a labor extension service. The basic responsibility for such a service for Labor as for Agriculture is research to get the facts. With respect to highly technical matters the research agency may be most competent to interpret the facts, but on matters affecting workers' welfare and experience, workers' interpretation carries more authority.

Such a service would parallel the service given farmers through their experimental stations linked to land grant colleges and other research agencies satisfactory to the Department, and provide workers with information needed to promote their personal and business welfare.

Such facilities would give workers the materials they need in solving union problems, for undertakings to raise and maintain living standards such as credit unions, consumer cooperatives and workers educational projects.

These changes would provide our unions and the Workers Education Bureau with materials for practical educational programs.

#### **Report On Current Undertakings**

The various projects in workers education now operating are varied and serve the needs of special groups.

#### **Harvard Trade Union Fellowship**

The Harvard Trade Union Fellowship program was planned to meet the needs of union officials, helping them to get technical and economic information needed for better performance of collective bargaining responsibilities. The undertaking has been highly successful.

#### **Madison Workers Education Bureau**

Through the efforts of Arnold S. Zander, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, an experimental "grass roots" organization for workers education has been launched in Madison, Wisconsin. During the past two years courses have been given in subjects along the lines of public speaking, labor legislation and current events in the labor world. Lecture forums have also been conducted on various issues of particular importance to Labor: full employment, labor and government, labor as consumer, etc. In addition, workshops were held on collective bargaining, consumers problems, farmer-labor understanding, etc. A Speakers Bureau has been set up to furnish speakers for regular meetings of local unions.

The Wisconsin Bureau meets the need of union members.

#### **Cooperation Between State Federations Of Labor And Universities**

During the past two years there has been increasing interest among educational institutions working with organized labor, until today 80 such institutions are offering programs of workers education or industrial rela-

tions. Two years ago the University of Michigan included a Workers Educational Service in its Extension Division under an appropriation from the State Legislature. Formal classes and educational discussion groups sessions have been set up at the request of the unions themselves. Over 50,000 trade unionists have enrolled in these various activities. In addition, the Workers Education Bureau has conducted regional and local conferences on topics of immediate concern to Labor. The Workers Education Bureau has cooperated with this program, particularly in the development of visual materials.

The School of Industrial and Labor Relations opened at Cornell University in November, 1945. This is the most comprehensive and best financed of the state-supported undertakings. The President of the New York State Federation of Labor was appointed a trustee of the University.

The New Jersey State Federation of Labor and Rutgers University have plans for a state-supported program in New Jersey.

**Kansas.** The Third Annual Kansas Labor Relations Institute, sponsored by the Kansas State Federation of Labor, was held January 19-20, 1946, in Wichita. The general theme was, "Labor Problems—Present and Future."

**Montana.** The second and third annual Montana Labor Institutes sponsored by the Montana State Federation of Labor and other Labor groups, the Farmers Union and Montana State University, were held on the University Campus August 2-4, 1945, and July 11-13, 1946, respectively. The theme of the 1945 Institute was, "Labor—Today and Tomorrow." This year no central theme was designated, but at general sessions and at group sessions running concurrently a wide variety of important topics were discussed.

**Educational Meetings at State Conventions.** The Workers Education Bureau has assisted in planning and conducting educational sessions held in connection with the annual conventions of the Indiana, Minnesota and Pennsylvania State Federations of Labor.

**Alabama.** A Conference on Labor Education, sponsored by the University of Alabama, was held at Tuscaloosa on November 18, 1944, attended by over 250 representatives of labor, educators and state officials. One of the most interesting discussions was a round table on "Desirable Relations Between Organized Labor and the University of Alabama." As a result of this conference a workers education program has been inaugurated in Alabama with the cooperation of the University.

**Southern A. F. of L. Conferences.** The Bureau cooperated with George Googe, Southern Representative of the A. F. of L. in the Third Regional Conference held in Jackson, Mississippi, September 6-8, 1945; the conference in Birmingham, Alabama, December 9-10, 1945, and in Asheville, N. C., May 11-12, 1946. At these conferences plans were made for enlarging the workers educational program in the South.

### **Labor Institutes and Conferences**

The program of Labor Institutes and other Conferences in which the Workers Education Bureau cooperates with State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies, State Universities and other educational institutions and community organizations, has been considerably curtailed because of the O. D. T.'s ruling against conventions and conferences during the war. The major theme of the meetings that have been held concerned the problems of labor and the returning veteran during the reconversion period and Labor's stake in international cooperation.

**San Diego, California.** The first San Diego Labor Institute was held at San Diego State College, January 19-21, 1945, under the auspices of the San Diego County Federated Trades and Labor Council, other labor groups and the State College. Among the subjects discussed were, "Collective Bargaining and Conciliation in Action," "Prospects for the Employment of Labor in Postwar San Diego," and "The Opportunities and Responsibilities of Organized Labor in the Years Ahead."

**Sioux City, Iowa.** The Third Sioux City Labor Institute was held April 28-29, 1945, at the Labor Temple, under the sponsorship of the Trades and Labor Assembly. Among the subjects discussed were, "Organization Needs of Labor," "Labor's Responsibility to the Servicemen," and "Labor-Management Cooperation." Discussions concerning "Labor as Others View Us" by a panel of representatives of various groups in the community was also a part of the program.

### **Institutes On Campuses**

**Minnesota.** The Third and Fourth Annual Minnesota Labor Institutes were held at the Continuation Center of the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis, February 3-4, 1945, and May 4-5, 1946, respectively, under the auspices of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and the University. The general topic for the Third Institute was, "Unions and the Readjustment of Veterans and War Workers" and for the Fourth "Atomic Energy."

**Colorado.** The Fourth Colorado Labor Institute was held in Denver, March 23-25, 1945, under the auspices of the Colorado State Federation of Labor and the University of Denver. "Postwar Reconstruction" was the general theme. The Institute had the cooperation of the Social Science Foundation of the University. Tentative plans for the Fifth Colorado Labor Institute to be held this fall are under way.

**New Jersey.** The Fifteenth Annual Rutgers Institute of Labor, under the auspices of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor and Rutgers University, was held on the University Campus at New Brunswick, June 4-7, 1945. This anniversary session was highlighted by the participation of two Cabinet members. The Institute theme was "Winning the War and Building the Peace." A unique feature of the gala dinner was a dramatic

review of "Fifteen Years of the Labor Institute," presenting the outstanding events of each year since this pioneer institute began in 1931, counterbalanced by an outline of the Institute discussions of the same year. Delegates commented on how prophetic those discussions were in the light of later national and world developments, affording a commentary on the educational value of the labor institute program.

The Sixteenth Annual Institute, held June 5-8, 1946, under the same auspices and at the same place, was the most largely attended session ever convened, with over four hundred in attendance. The theme was, "Labor's Part in Building a New World." Through the courtesy of Radio Station WHOM in Jersey City programs on three days were broadcast.

**Rhode Island.** A Rhode Island Labor Institute was held at Kingston, October 1, 1945, sponsored by the State Federation of Labor and other labor groups of the State and Rhode Island State College, to discuss labor problems and to consider specifically a Workers Education Program connected through the extension service of the State College.

**Virginia.** A two weeks' resident Labor School was held on the campus of the Eastern State Teachers College at Richmond in June, 1946. There were courses in collective bargaining, labor legislation, parliamentary law, public speaking, labor history, labor economics and world events.

Many Catholic universities and colleges have recently inaugurated labor schools, industrial relations institutes and workers education seminars.

#### WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

The Workers Education Bureau was directly or indirectly responsible for initiating the projects on which report is made.

The Bureau has cooperated with the various labor schools throughout the country and with the Jewish and Negro Labor Committees, as well as with other organizations devoted to eliminating discrimination on the grounds of race, creed or color.

The Bureau maintains a library of books, pamphlets and similar material on Labor and allied subjects and has been used more extensively during the past two years both by labor people and by university students. The Bureau also maintains a free registration service for teachers, research workers and other educational personnel for labor organizations and workers education enterprises.

The growing interest among educational institutions of the country in the trade union movement is evidenced by the large number of requests from universities and public schools for material to be used in connection with economics and labor relations courses. Similar requests have come from Europe as well as from some of our Latin-American neighbors such as Brazil, Puerto Rico and Cuba.

The Monthly News Letter of the Bureau is becoming increasingly popular as a medium of news of recent developments in the workers education field. The Bureau also publishes each month a list of current books, pam-

phlets and visual material of interest to trade unions and workers education leaders.

This year the Workers Education Bureau celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its establishment. On April 5-6 over 300 union delegates and representatives of workers education enterprises and other organizations from many parts of the country participated in the Silver Anniversary Convention and Conference in New York. The conference served as an opportunity to review progress and to consider future needs.

The energizing responsible agency for planning and directing overall educational plans and projects and for initiating and maintaining relationships with existing educational institutions is the Workers Education Bureau, directed by officials appointed by President Green and financed by the American Federation of Labor and dues from its affiliated unions.

**Kentucky Department of Research and Education.** In January 1946 the Kentucky State Federation of Labor pioneered in establishing the first Department of Research and Education with a full-time staff of three as a permanent service of a state federation. The program of the Workers Education Council in Louisville, set up in October 1944, was so outstanding that Edward H. Weyler, Secretary-Treasurer, and other labor leaders felt that its service should be statewide and integrated into the State Federation's program. With an annual budget of \$23,000 the Department carries on a program of classes in shop stewards' and officers' training, public relations activities, research and guidance in governmental agency procedure and union contract negotiations, and publication.

## WAGES

The Federation Convention of 1925 adopted a wage policy which has played a decisive part in the progress of American workers and in the economic and social progress of our country generally. The policy was stated as follows in the Executive Council Report and the report of the committee considering it:

Increased productivity is essential to permanent increases in our standards of living . . . With improvements in production technique . . . wages must increase so that wage earners may benefit from the material wealth which they help to create, and that financial depression may be avoided . . . High wages is the American policy . . . The industry that cannot pay high wages is an industry self-convicted of inefficient management and wasteful methods. Organized labor may help to indicate the sources of waste and inefficient methods so that management may make the necessary changes . . . Cooperation between all groups concerned with production results in a very genuine partnership that brings reciprocal benefits of the highest value . . . Your committee urges . . . cooperation and the spirit of intelligent responsibility in industry.

During the years since 1925, productivity, as represented in production per manhour has increased rapidly in American industry. Unions affiliated with the Federation, following the above wage policy, have succeeded in raising wages as production per manhour increased. During the period



from 1925 to 1939 this policy brought an increase in wages while living costs declined and living standards were thus substantially raised for all groups. In manufacturing industries during these 14 years, production per manhour rose 54% and the buying power of the factory worker's hour of work rose 41%.

In the war years, however, shortages of consumer goods and the danger of inflation made it necessary to modify temporarily the policy of increasing wages in proportion with the rise of workers' production per manhour. From April 1943 until the end of the war, wages were frozen to the Little Steel Formula and only minor adjustments were permitted.

In the first war years, however, from 1939 up to the April, 1943, wage freeze, wages rose rapidly in war industries (or "durable goods manufactures" in Labor Department nomenclature). The average weekly wage or take-home pay in these industries rose from \$26.50 in 1939 to \$48.67 in April 1943, a gain of more than \$22 or 84% in slightly over three years. More than half this rise was due to increases in straight-time hourly wages or to upgrading, and the rest to longer hours and overtime pay. These increases, which brought wages to a level far above non-war industries, attracted workers to war plants and assisted greatly in our wartime achievement of manning war industries by voluntary means. By the time of the April 1943 wage freeze, a work week of 48 hours or more was in effect in most war plants, and the average week worked was 46.8 hours in these industries. This level of work hours was held without any further significant change until the spring of 1945.

After April 1943, the wage stabilization regulations permitted few upward adjustments of wages. From then until wages in war industries reached their peak in January 1945, there was a further increase of only \$5 per week, to \$53.54.

The significant fact is that these wartime gains in the heavy industries were rapidly lost as war production slackened after V-E Day. From the peak of \$53.54 wages in these industries fell to \$42.57 in February 1946. Straight-time hourly earnings fell back almost to the level of April, 1943, at the start of the wage freeze. The drop was due in no small part to downgradings, for as work and employment were cut back in shipyards, airplane plants and other war industries, numbers of workers who had held supervisory positions were downgraded to jobs at lower rates of pay.

Due to the wage freeze, workers in war plants did not receive wage increases commensurate with their increasing production per manhour. War Production Board figures show an increase of 45% in production per manhour in war industries from January 1943 to September 1944, the peak period of the war effort. In September 1944, due to the wage freeze, the average war worker was producing 35% more for every dollar paid him in wages than he had produced in January 1943, according to these same figures. Straight-time hourly wages in war industries (adjusted to eliminate overtime) had risen only 11% in the same months. Taking

the whole war production period, from 1942 to August 1945, production per manhour in war industries rose more than 60% by AFL estimates, while straight-time hourly earnings rose only 23%. Much of this wage rise was due to wartime bonuses and upgrading which were lost during reconversion.

Wartime wage progress was quite different in the industries manufacturing consumer goods (or "non-durable goods industries"). These industries made slower progress in raising wages during the period before the wage freeze, showing an increase slightly less than \$12 in weekly pay from 1939 to April 1943, compared to \$22 in the war industries. The wage level before the war was also much lower; average wages rose from \$21.78 in 1939 to \$33.58 in April 1943. During the wage freeze, progress was about the same in the war and the consumer—goods manufacturing industries. But the significant fact is that after the war the general level of weekly wages in consumer goods industries, after declining very slightly in August, continued to rise while weekly pay was falling off sharply in war industries. By February 1946, wages in consumer goods industries had reached a new all-time peak, even above the highest wartime period. With the drive for wage increases after the war, these industries which had no reconversion problem adjusted wages upward as hours were shortened. Each month this spring brought the level of weekly wages or take-home pay to a new peak. Thus the slow increase in the early war period was offset by the absence of decline after the war and for the whole period, 1939 to June 1946, wage gains in consumer goods industries were about equal to the gains in war industries, amounting to about \$19 per week in each case. In this period (1939 to June 1946) wages in the heavy or war industries rose from \$26.50 to \$46.43; in consumer goods manufacturing, from \$21.78 to \$40.27.

In industries less well organized, wage gains during the war were far smaller. Retail trade is a good example, where average weekly wages rose by slightly over \$11 during the entire war period. This was only a little more than half the gain in manufacturing industries. The increase from \$21.17 in 1939 to \$32.39 in June, 1946, left these industries at a level far below manufacturing. It is significant however that the increasing strength of the Retail Clerks Union, which has quadrupled its membership since 1943, achieved a much more rapid wage increase in the last few years than the earlier period.

The serious effect of the wage freeze was felt by American workers as soon as widespread cutbacks in war work began to reduce work hours. These cutbacks started early in 1945 and increased after V-E Day, so that the average work week in war industries was reduced from 46.8 hours in January 1945 to 41.1 hours in August 1945 (V-J month) and has since declined further to 39.8 in June, 1946, in heavy industries. A similar decline took place in consumer goods manufacturing and service industries.

Workers who had depended on longer hours and overtime pay to enable

them to meet the high cost of living, found their take-home pay cut by amounts varying from 10% to 35%.

Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor sought by constructive means to remedy this situation and raise wages to make up for these cuts in take-home pay. Our policies contrasted sharply with those of unaffiliated organizations.

Immediately after V-J Day, the President, on August 18, 1945, issued Executive Order 9599 returning industry and labor to free collective bargaining with the sole limitation that wage increases should not break price ceilings. The American Federation of Labor saw the wisdom of this policy, recognizing that price ceilings must be held to prevent increases in living costs and to speed an orderly reconversion of the nation's industries to peacetime work. We cooperated fully with the President's wage policy.

Our unions therefore set out to remedy the lag in wages by measures which would not interfere with reconversion. Throughout the months of September, 1945, to February, 1946, we carried out thousands of wage negotiations with employers, and accepted wage increases which did not, in any case, break price ceilings. Although our no strike pledge terminated with the end of the war, we carried out these negotiations with a minimum of strikes. By the middle of February, 1946, we had won wage increases averaging between 10c and 20c an hour for some 3,000,000 workers, and in the vast majority of cases these increases were won without strike or threat of strike. Our demands were adjusted to the needs of the reconversion period, for we recognized that workers would benefit most by speeding the transition, so that production per manhour would be increased and output of consumer goods would make up shortages and check inflation dangers. Jobs for veterans were also vital as servicemen were demobilized. Therefore, if we found employers unable to pay the full increase we asked without breaking price ceilings, our unions accepted 5c or 10c in the fall with a provision for reopening the agreement for an additional 5c or 10c in the spring when industry had reached a larger production volume. We also negotiated widespread improvements in vacations, health and welfare plans, shift bonuses and many other advantages for our members which in no way interfered with reconversion.

Some unions outside the Federation did not consider the needs of reconversion. A series of strikes were called in which wage demands were set at 30% or \$2 a day, and the unions insisted on having government "fact finding" boards set up to determine a wage formula. The oil strike in mid-September was followed by strikes in automobiles, electric equipment, meat packing and other industries, culminating finally in the steel strike of January 1946, when the steel workers insisted on striking although they were offered a wage increase of 15c an hour. The President settled the steel strike by breaking the price ceiling of a strategic commodity, arranging a steel price increase of \$5 per ton or 8% before the steel companies agreed to grant an 18½c wage increase. Executive Order 9697 was issued

on February 14, 1946 superseding the government wage policy of August 18, and requiring that OPA grant price increases to companies requesting them on the basis of a wage increase approved by the Wage Stabilization Board. The Board was directed to approve wage increases for purposes of price adjustment which it found were "consistent with the general pattern of wage and salary adjustments . . . in the industry or local labor market area" or which it found "necessary to eliminate gross inequities, . . . to correct substandards of living, or to correct disparities between the increase in wage or salary rates . . . and the increase in cost of living."

This provision for paying wage increases by raising prices has had a disastrous effect on the entire economy. It resulted in price increases throughout industry which have caused a rapid rise in the cost of living. From February 14 to June 30, OPA granted 504 industry-wide price increases and some 15,500 increases to individual companies. These increases appeared first in wholesale prices, but were soon carried into retail prices. Cost of living rose 0.5% in April and the same amount in May, but with the cumulative effect of these price adjustments, the rise in June was 1.2%. The price ceiling break resulted in pressure from all groups on OPA and on Congress, for when the price line was no longer to be held, each employer and farmer sought equal treatment. Congress did not pass a strong OPA extension law, and the measure that finally received the President's signature will result in a series of further price increases. The cost of living in August was already 10% above January 1, 1946, and by the year end may be 15% above the first of the year.

This living cost rise brings a serious loss to every one of the millions of persons who have invested their money in war bonds or other savings, and to every one who depends for his living on a pension or Social Security. For each dollar of investments, savings and pensions will buy 10 or 15c less. This drastic living cost rise need not have occurred if the President's wise wage policy of August 18 had been observed and if he had insisted that it remain in effect. Those unions which broke price ceilings to get 18½c followed a short-sighted policy. Early in July their press statements claimed that they had lost most of this increase by rising living costs, and they brought the same losses on all other workers. Had they been really willing to accept smaller increases and adjust their demands by genuine collective bargaining to industry's ability to pay, they would be better off today and so would all American workers. And their members might have saved huge losses incurred in long strikes.

After the 18½c wage formula was established for the steel industry in February the Federation representative on the Wage Stabilization Board insisted that justice required setting 18½c as the Board's pattern for wage increase approval for all workers. His proposal was rejected. Increases of 18½c, however, became the general trend throughout industry as unions covering hundreds of thousands of workers negotiated increases of this amount and their increases were approved by the Wage Stabilization Board.

Throughout this difficult period since V-J Day, unions affiliated with the Federation have an outstanding record of sound relations with their employers. We have negotiated wage increases bringing more than 6,000,000 American workers an addition of more than one billion dollars to their yearly pay entirely without strike. Although strikes have sometimes been necessary, the vast majority of the strikes which have tied up industry and delayed reconversion have been outside the American Federation of Labor. From V-J Day through May 31, some 2,400,000 workers engaged in strikes involving 10,000 or more workers. These strikes included 80% of all workers who struck during the period. Unions outside the AFL account for 77% of those on strike; 18% were in the coal mines where the United Mine Workers sought to establish its great humanitarian reform—the health and welfare fund; all other AFL unions accounted for the remaining 5%. Out of 2,400,000 workers on strike, only 134,000 were in these other AFL unions.

Since 1925 the Federation has insisted that wages should increase in proportion as rising output per manhour increases the worker's production of wealth. During the war the effort of our entire economy was bent to increasing war production, with the result that production per manhour in war industries rose more than 60% as noted above. This gain was made at the expense of industries producing civilian goods, since the best machinery and the most highly skilled manpower were used for war industries. Since V-J Day however, the Federation can report that production per manhour is already increasing in industries where our members are employed. Preliminary figures show a marked increase in such industries as cement, brick products, newspaper printing, paper and pulp, anthracite coal.

The Federation maintains that no true progress for workers can be made by bringing the government between management and labor in collective bargaining or by government formulas which pay for wage increases by raising prices. Wage increases must be paid out of the increased wealth created by raising production per manhour. Our policy adopted in 1925 states:

American organized labor has held steadfastly throughout its history for voluntary group action expressed through collective bargaining and trade agreements. It has rejected efforts to promote a state control of labor and industry presented under any guise. It adheres only to principles of freedom from domination of the state and believes the only true course of a free people is to solve their problems of life and work through voluntary group action.

We reindorse this policy.

The rise in living cost has been so great since the spring of 1941 that wage increases in a very large sector of American industry have not been enough to give workers the same living standard they had before the war. The widely-accepted Heller Committee budget shows that a minimum adequate living standard for a wage earner's family of four (including taxes) cost \$2,042 in the spring of 1941 and \$3,079 in June, 1946, (average for

the United States). This budget is priced each year and gives a reliable indication of the rise in living costs. The increase since early 1941 is 50%, (without taxes 44%). In spite of all the publicity about high wages in war industries, workers' weekly take-home pay in these industries in June, 1946, was only 37% above 1941 while the cost of a decent living standard had risen 50%. As the Federation pointed out repeatedly, when we insisted upon revision of the Little Steel Formula, workers had to depend on long hours and overtime premiums to pay the high cost of living during the war. Now that the war is over, and industry is back on a 40-hour week, hundreds of thousands of workers have been forced down to a living standard below the 1941 level. This is just what our War Labor Board representatives forecast in the 1944 hearings on revision of the Little Steel Formula. In many industries the cutback in living standards has been especially serious because living standards were already far below an adequate minimum. We cite retail trade as an example, the largest distributive industry, employing 4,000,000 workers. In this industry average wages were \$21.59 a week in the spring of 1941 when it took \$40 a week to buy an adequate living; today workers in retail trade receive \$32 a week when an adequate living standard costs \$60 a week.

In some industries unions have won large enough wage increases to offset the rise in living costs and to maintain or even slightly increase workers' living standards. But few workers today receive incomes of \$1.50 per hour or \$60 per week which is the cost of an adequate living standard for a family of four.

In spite of wage increases in the first half of 1946 workers' average take-home pay in the heavy industries is lower today than it was when wages were frozen in April 1943 and is 14% below the wartime peak. The average factory wage in June was \$46.43 in heavy industries and \$40.27 in consumer goods industries.

War workers who were laid off from war plants have taken the heaviest losses. A Labor Department study of 3,600 war workers shows their typical experience. These workers were interviewed in the spring of 1945 and again after V-J Day. About 25% of them, when questioned 5 to 7 months after V-J Day, were still unemployed and seeking work. This alone represents a pay loss averaging well over \$200 per worker. Weekly earnings of those who had found jobs averaged 31% below what they had earned in war work, largely because jobs in peacetime work paid less than war jobs. More than one-fourth of the women had left the labor market, mostly to become housewives; but less than 3% of the men had retired from work. Only 15% of all these war workers had kept their jobs in the aircraft, ordnance and shipbuilding plants where they had worked in the spring of 1945. Comparing their earnings with 1941, the Labor Department found the same experience as we have noted above—these workers on the average had taken a serious cut in living standards. Their wages averaged only 26% higher than 1941. As we noted above, living costs have risen 50%.

Since workers have taken such severe reductions in living standards, we may well ask: How is it that consumer buying power is creating such an immense demand for industry's products today? An examination of the state of buying power is most important, particularly as we look to the future. Today's unprecedented demand for consumer goods is due chiefly to three factors: (1) The level of employment is at an all-time peak for peacetime; workers have jobs and incomes. (2) Workers have a certain sense of security because their jobs seem likely to last for a while and because many of them have accumulated some savings, although these savings are far less than the public has been led to believe. These two factors make them willing and able to spend. (3) They want to buy now to make up the huge shortages of consumer goods which accumulated during the war.

Total wages and salaries of all employed workers in June 1946 were running at a level of 10% below the war time peak. This however was higher than in any previous peacetime period. The figure was \$8.6 billion for the month of June '46 compared to \$9.6 billion at the end of February 1945 (seasonally adjusted Commerce Department figures). The \$1 billion decline is due chiefly to the demobilization of service men who have not yet gone to work in industry. Government wages and salary payments to servicemen and others have dropped by a little more than \$1 billion. The total payroll of private industry on the other hand is slightly above the wartime peak. Thousands of workers have shifted from one industry to another, so the total monthly payroll in manufacturing and other production industries has dropped by \$500 million, while that of service and distribution industries has increased by about the same amount.

A recent study by the Federal Reserve Board on consumers' savings confirms the statement our representatives have repeatedly made: Industry must depend for its market on high and rising incomes of workers. Savings cannot be counted on to maintain production. The study shows that 62% of the consumers' savings accumulated before 1946 are in the hands of the middle and high-income families—those who receive incomes of \$3,000 a year or more. Those families receiving less than \$3,000 (or less than \$60 a week) hold only 38% of all savings. This low income group represents 70% of all families and includes the vast majority of wage earners.

The study also shows that 20% of American families (9.3 million) received less than \$1,000 a year, or \$20 a week; they had saved on the average only \$20 each, and many actually spent more than they earned. Those with incomes between \$20 and \$40 a week include 27% of all families (12.4 million); they saved on the average \$230 during the entire war. Families with incomes between \$40 and \$60 a week include 23% of all families (10.3 million) and their average savings were \$470 per family. These figures show how very small an amount most wage earners had been able to lay aside.

The higher income families who hold almost two thirds of the \$81 billion of accumulated savings cannot be expected to spend any considerable por-



tion to buy consumer goods. Many low-income families will also hold their savings against a rainy day.

*Summary*—With this year's rapid price increases there is grave doubt whether workers' buying power is adequate to maintain industrial production at full employment levels. The immediate task before us is to build up those economic forces which will bring prices down to a reasonable level. This cannot be done by parades, slogans or buyers' strikes. It requires steady production of the goods needed to make up current shortages. These shortages are the main cause of the inflation. When the supply of goods is adequate to meet demand, the normal reaction of the market will bring prices down. This will result in more benefits to workers and all other consumer groups than any other single economic action. Steady production by workers is essential to accomplish this end, and government controls must also be so adjusted as not to interfere with production.

The American Federation of Labor reiterates the constructive principles which have guided our wage policy in the past:

Progress for workers and all others requires that wage increases be paid for by increasing output per manhour. Where collective bargaining exists and a relationship of square dealing and good faith has developed between management and union, cooperation of the two groups to promote efficiency and increase production per manhour will contribute greatly to the progress of both. Such cooperation should lead to a genuine partnership between management and workers, to the end that the income to pay wage increases will be created, wages will be increased and workers will receive a just and equitable division of profits that accrue from the wealth they produce.

#### THE SOUTH REVIVES ORGANIZATION WORK

The practice of holding biennial southern conferences, discontinued during the war, was revived by the Asheville Conference, May 11 and 12 of this year. It resulted in plans for a labor forward revival, relying upon educational methods. This movement is guided by a Policy Board consisting of forty-five leading southern representatives of the American Federation of Labor, with an executive committee to assist its chairman, George L. Googe, Southern Representative of the American Federation of Labor.

Following the Asheville Conference the Southern State Federations of Labor and central labor unions assisted by representatives of national and international unions initiated organizing campaigns. The area covered extends from the Potomac to the Rio Grande—about one-third of our national territory. It includes a large segment of the textile industry, the yellow pine and other forest products, the citrus and other fruit and vegetable industries, the growing manufacturing industries, the service and personal facilities, and white collar industries. Simultaneously there is in progress an agricultural program to relieve the South of its dependence on cotton which has brought poverty and economic degradation in its wake. This will result in additional industrialization with draining

of agricultural labor reserves. In addition there is the Oak Ridge Project where the employees work is closely guarded.

American Federation of Labor construction workers who built the war plants were the first union workers in atomic production. Some got jobs in the maintenance division. A large number of the work force, between 30,000 and 45,000 came from neighboring farms. As a by-product of the Oak Ridge organizing drive some 5,000 waitresses, laundry workers, taxi and bus drivers have also been added to union membership. In addition to strict military regulations under which the workers operate, the plants have been leased for operation to three giant anti-union chemical companies.

State federations of labor and city central bodies are the back-bone of the organizing work and contribute funds liberally. This type of decentralization puts on the local organizations continuing responsibility for work that will bring the machinery for sustained progress. The campaign has resulted in a tightening up of existing state federations as well as in the organizing of the unorganized.

The American Federation of Labor has won and our unions have been certified as the bargaining agency in more than 225 National Labor Relations Board elections. More than 300 election petitions are waiting to be processed by the Board. By careful planning and management only about one out of every five crafts or plants organized goes through National Labor Relations Board machinery, so that contracts with four out of five employers are signed as the workers organize.

More than 900 new collective bargaining relationships have been established as a result of the campaign. The total increase in membership gained is 120,000. For example, the Southern Conference of Teamsters has organized and secured union agreements with 99 new companies; Cement, Lime and Gypsum have added 6,000; Hotel and Restaurant, 1,500; Printing Pressmen, 3,000; the Bricklayers an approximate 10 per cent increase; the Electrical Workers won 1,000 members in the Arkansas Power Company by a statewide system election; 2,000 fishermen were organized under a new Southern Atlantic Charter; the Laundry Workers have organized 31 additional laundries including all the laundries of Lake Charles, Louisiana; 16 new unions of Teachers; 12 new specialty print shops under union shop contracts; office workers in 10 large cities organized and now under contract; three fabricated house manufacturers; police force in 15 southern cities; 2,000 clay processors organized in rural Georgia. In the textile industry organization was slowed down by the eight per cent increase announced July 1. Campaigns are under way in many plants in each of which hundreds of cards have been signed.

On September 17 and 18, the state federations not represented in the Asheville Conference because of travel conditions will hold a Southwestern Conference to consider and better their campaign.

This campaign has called for the elimination of all the remaining handicaps and discrimination against negro workers. Internationals and nationals with a large potential negro membership have qualified negro organizers in the field. Equal employment opportunity and full participation in unionism is the American Federation of Labor keynote. There are 450,000 negroes organized in American Federation of Labor unions in the South out of a total membership of 2,000,000.

The campaign is just getting under way.

### NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The 79th Congress convened its first session January 3, 1945, and it adjourned December 21, 1945, and the second session convened January 14, 1946, and adjourned August 2, 1946. There will be no further meeting of the 79th Congress unless the President calls for a special session.

Approximately 11,540 bills and resolutions were introduced and approximately 550 became law.

On January 14, 1946, the President submitted a 21-point legislative program to the Congress, as follows:

(1) Legislation to authorize the President to create fact-finding boards for the prevention of stoppages of work in nation-wide industries after collective bargaining and conciliation and voluntary arbitration have failed—as recommended on December 3, 1945.

(2) Enactment of a satisfactory full-employment bill such as the Senate bill now in conference between the Senate and the House—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(3) Legislation to supplement the unemployment insurance benefits for unemployed workers now provided by the different states—as recommended on May 28, 1945.

(4) Adoption of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Act—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(5) Legislation substantially raising the amount of minimum wages now provided by law—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(6) Legislation providing for a comprehensive program for scientific research—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(7) Legislation enacting a health and medical-care program—as recommended on November 19, 1945.

(8) Legislation adopting the program of universal training—as recommended on October 23, 1945.

(9) Legislation providing an adequate salary scale for all Government employees in all branches of the Government—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(10) Legislation making provision for succession to the Presidency in the event of the death or incapacity or disqualification of the President and Vice-President—as recommended on June 19, 1945.

(11) Legislation for the unification of the armed services—as recommended on December 19, 1945.

(12) Legislation for the domestic use and control of atomic energy—as recommended on October 3, 1945.

(13) Retention of the United States Employment Service in the Federal Government for a period of at least up to June 30, 1947—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(14) Legislation to increase unemployment allowance for veterans in line with increases for civilians—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(15) Social security coverage for veterans for their period of military service—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(16) Extension of crop insurance—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(17) Legislation permitting the sale of ships by the Maritime Commission at home and abroad—as recommended on September 6, 1945, including adequate authority for chartering vessels both here and abroad.

(18) Legislation to take care of the stock-piling of materials in which the United States is naturally deficient—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(19) Enactment of federal airport legislation—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(20) Legislation repealing the Johnson Act on foreign loans—as recommended on September 6, 1945.

(21) Legislation for the development of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River Basin—as recommended on October 3, 1945.

We found it necessary to oppose proposals 1, 8, 11 and 21. We have actively supported the other proposals in his message with the exception of numbers 10 and 16.

Although the 79th Congress is overwhelmingly Democratic—House 236 Democrats, 190 Republicans; Senate 56 Democrats, 39 Republicans—the coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats continued to function and as a result Administration proposals suffered as the President was unable to secure enactment by Congress of many vital matters he suggested.

Congress left unfinished the following desirable proposals: 65c minimum wage, supplementary unemployment insurance benefits, a health and prepaid medical care program, anti-poll tax law, anti-lynch law, a long-range housing program but also failed to enact many undesirable proposals.

Labor, those citizens whose circumstances require liberal and humanitarian laws and the country generally suffered as a result.

The more important legislative matters in which the American Federation of Labor interested itself are as follows:

#### **BRETTON WOODS INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AGREEMENT**

This proposal (H.R. 3314) ratifies the financial pacts drafted at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, about a year ago and will establish two world agencies.

1. A \$9,100,000,000 International Bank with the following functions:
  - A. Long term credit for the reconstruction of war-stricken nations and the development of resources in those countries whose industrialization has been slow. For example, bank credit could be used to rebuild an automobile factory in France, or to provide mining machinery for China.
  - B. To provide, through credit, the foundation for a permanent expansion of world trade among nations by increasing productive capacity.

Of the \$9,100,000,000 proposed subscription toward the capital stock of the International Bank, the United States' share—largest by far of all nations—is \$3,175,000,000.

2. An \$8,800,000,000 International Monetary Fund. This stabilization fund is designed to:

- A. Stabilize values of the currencies of member nations, thus facilitating international commerce.
- B. Provide credit for trade by making foreign exchange available to central banks or other Government agencies. For example, if China lacked dollars with which to buy mining machinery, the fund would make the dollars available.

Of the total \$8,800,000,000 stabilization fund, the American quota is \$2,750,000,000—again the largest share by far. The United States also would be called upon to provide the largest pro rata share of any assessments which might be needed to make good defaulted bank loans.

There is no limit, technically, to the size of loans members could seek from the bank. However, the bank would pass upon such loan applications in the manner of commercial banks, taking the prospective borrower's ability to repay and resources into consideration, and in case the loan were defaulted the loss will be met either by special funds or by a pro rata assessment of member nations.

President Green appeared personally before the congressional committees in support of this legislation and it passed both Houses by July 20, 1945.

It was approved by the President on July 31, 1945 (Public Law 171—79th Congress).

#### UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in 1943 recommended support for an international organization to effect cooperative work in education and other cultural pursuits in order to promote international understanding and good will. The peace of the world rests upon fulfillment of moral obligations among men and among nations. These obligations must be inherent in the cultural pattern of each nation and all nations together must seek to attain this high moral goal. For this purpose U. N. E. S. C. O. was conceived.

The American Federation of Labor was the first large national organization to urge such an agency. The charter was drafted in London, November, 1945. Congress this year considered legislation to authorize participation in the U. N. E. S. C. O.

While strongly endorsing the principle of the charter of organization, the American Federation of Labor did not favor the proposals contained in the enabling act through which United States participation in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was to be authorized.

The Enabling Act proposed provided that the Department of State should select the persons to serve on the National Commission which was

authorized in the Charter to represent the educational, scientific and cultural organizations of this country. The Federation demanded that the voluntary organizations of this country should have the right to select their own spokesmen rather than delegate that right to the State Department. In spite of active opposition from the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State, the American Federation of Labor won its point. The Bill as it passed Congress provides that national voluntary organizations have the right to select their own spokesmen to represent them on the National Commission.

The enactment of the Charter itself and the modification in the enabling act are a victory for democratic principles.

#### CHARTER FOR A WORLD SECURITY ORGANIZATION

The United Nations Conference for World Security met for many weeks and agreed upon a charter which was submitted by President Truman to the Senate for ratification early in July, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee began its hearings on the proposal on July 9, 1945. President Green appeared before the Committee on July 13 and urged its ratification. The Senate approved the Charter by a roll call vote of 89 to 2.

#### BRITISH LOAN

We supported S. J. Res. 138 providing a loan of \$3,750,000,000, to Great Britain which became law. (Public Law 505—79th Congress).

#### UNRRA

We aided in securing passage of H.R. 4649 (Public Law 262—79th Congress) continuing U. S. participation in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and which also provided \$1,350,000,000.00 additional funds.

We also supported H.J. Res. 266 providing \$550,000,000.00 additional funds. (Public Law 259—79th Congress.)

#### PAY INCREASE FOR CONGRESSMEN

When the Legislative Appropriation Bill (H.R. 3109—Public Law 85, 79th Congress) passed through the House of Representatives, an amendment was added to it providing for expense allowance of \$2,500.00 per year for members of the House. We favored greater compensation for members of Congress and so advised them.

The increase allowed, which the Senate declined to accept, is non-taxable.

*Retirement Benefits for Congressmen.* H.R. 524 provides for extension of the existing contributory system of retirement benefits to elective officers of the United States and heads of executive departments. We appeared in behalf of this measure but no further action was had upon the bill and

both the preceeding matters were cared for as set forth under the following heading:

**Legislative Reorganization.** A committee headed by Senator LaFollette reported a bill streamlining Congress, but the bill did not pass as reported. It reduces by more than half the number of Congressional Committees, compels lobbyists to register their names and their employers, the money they spend, increases the salaries of members of Congress and provides them with a pension. The salary of the next Congress will be \$12,500.00 with an additional tax-free expense account of \$2500.00.

Under the pension plan for Congress a member gets only what he pays for, the same as all other Federal Government officials and employees. His payments and pension depend on his length of service and age, and actuarial basis. A Congressman or Senator must have served at least five years and be 62 years old. The minimum is \$1400.00 and the maximum \$7500.00 but in order to secure the latter amount a member must have been in Congress thirty-three years.

We favored the bill with slight exceptions. (Public Law 601—79th Congress).

#### **PUBLIC DEBT**

The present national debt is approximately \$269,000,000,000. On April 3, 1945, H. R. 2404 (Public Law 28—79th Congress) was approved by the President after legislative action had been completed upon it by Congress. It increases the amount to which the public debt may be raised to \$300,000,000,000, and it is quite possible that the debt will reach this figure by the end of the next fiscal year.

Several bills were introduced to decrease the debt limit and one, S. 1760, reducing the limit to \$275,000,000,000 passed the Senate but was not reported by the House Ways and Means Committee.

#### **FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS**

We maintained careful check on all appropriation bills carrying funds for all activities of the Federal Government in order to insure, insofar as was possible, ample appropriations for agencies handling matters in which Labor had a direct interest. During the first part of the 79th Congress a liberal policy toward requests for war appropriations was continued by Congress, but thereafter it began to question activities of certain war agencies. However, in addition to enormous loans by the Export-Import Bank and Reconstruction Finance Corporation running into billions of dollars, the Congress has found it necessary to continue large appropriations for expenditure by the various Federal Departments and the amounts appropriated and re-appropriated by the 78th and 79th Congresses are \$253,277,537,966.74 and \$131,290,523,769.67, respectively.

The public debt has increased to such an amount—now \$269,000,000,000.00—that the sum of \$5,550,000,000.00 is required to pay the interest



on it annually. The figures quoted above are of more than passing interest and as expenditures of government continuing to run at a terrific rate, should be of exceptional interest to all taxpayers.

#### ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

At the 1943 and 1944 Conventions, 67 anti-Labor bills were listed and commented on. Only one of these bills, S. 796, was passed, the obnoxious Connally-Smith War Labor Disputes Act, Public No. 89. All the others died at the end of the 78th Congress.

Since the beginning of the 79th Congress the following bills against Labor have been introduced:

Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
S. J. R. 20	O'Daniel	Proposing amendment to Constitution of U. S. that no person shall be denied employment because of membership or non-membership in labor union.	In Committee on Judiciary.
S. J. R. 133	Byrd	Providing for incorporation and registration of labor organizations and to impose certain responsibilities upon such organizations.	In Committee on Judiciary.
S. J. R. 163	Andrews	Proposing amendment to Constitution of U. S. to prohibit denial or infringement of inherent right of a citizen to work and bargain freely with employer.	In Committee on Judiciary.
S. 36	Bailey Brewster	To amend Selective Training and Service Act re-induction into Service on leaving essential work.	In Military Affairs Committee
S. 63	Vandenberg	To amend Communications Act of 1934, as amended, so as to prohibit interference with broadcasting of non-commercial cultural or educational programs.	Appr. 4-16-46 Public Law No. 344
S. 364	O'Daniel	To amend NLRA re employer shall be free to state his opinion and preferences concerning any labor organization.	In Committee on Education and Labor
S. 365	O'Daniel	To amend NLRA re Bd. shall have no power to order reinstatement of employee, etc., who has willfully engaged in violence or unlawfully destruction of property.	
S. 366	O'Daniel	To amend NLRA in that Sec. 8 shall also refer to labor organizations and their members.	In Committee on Education and Labor
S. 369	O'Daniel	Amending certain provisions of law relating to overtime pay.	In Committee on Military Affairs
S. 371	O'Daniel	Making unlawful use of force or violence, or threats thereof, to prevent or attempt to prevent any person from engaging in any lawful vocation.	In Committee on Judiciary
S. 754	Bailey	To protect commerce from certain harmful and disruptive practices.	In Committee on Judiciary
S. 791	Bailey	To amend "Act to protect trade and commerce against interference by violence, threats, coercion, etc."	In Committee on Judiciary
S. 1171	Hatch Burton Ball	To amend NLRA to protect commerce by providing for prompt, peaceful, and just settlement of labor relation controversies, "Federal Industrial Relations Act."	In Committee on Education and Labor
S. 1196	O'Daniel	To guarantee veterans their right to work regardless of whether or not they are members of a labor union.	In Committee on Finance

Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
S. 1350	O'Daniel	To repeal National Labor Relations Act and all its amendments.	In Committee on Education and Labor
S. 1487	Wiley	To amend section 313 of Federal Corrupt Practices Act, 1925, to prohibit political expenditures by national banks, corporations, and labor unions.	In Committee on Privileges and Elections
S. 1641	Moore	To demand the National Labor Relations Act.	In Committee on Education and Labor
S. 1642	Moore	To provide for the election of labor organization officials.	In Committee on Education and Labor
S. 1643	Moore	Declaring certain contracts and practices relating to employment unlawful, prescribing penalties, etc.	In Committee on Education and Labor
S. 1644	Moore	To amend Act entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against interference by violence, threats, coercion, or intimidation," approved June 18, 1934.	In Committee on Judiciary
S. 1645	Moore	To amend subsection (a) of Sec. 303 of Social Security Act, as amended.	Committee on Finance
S. 1646	Moore	To amend Sec. 6 of Act entitled "An Act to supplement existing law against unlawful restraints and monopolies, appr. Oct. 15, 1941.	In Committee on Judiciary
S. 1647	Moore	To repeal Act entitled "An Act to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, etc., approved Mar. 23, 1932.	In Committee on Judiciary
S. 1648	Moore	To amend Federal Corrupt Practices Act, 1925 as amended.	In Committee on Privileges and Elections
S. 1656	O'Daniel	Prohibiting labor organizations from making contracts or engaging in combinations or conspiracies in restraint of commerce etc.	Committee on Education and Labor
S. 1661	Ellender	To provide for appointment of fact-finding boards to investigate labor disputes seriously affecting national public interest, etc.	In Committee on Education and Labor
S. 2163	Byrd	To provide additional facilities for mediation of labor disputes, etc.	In Committee on Judiciary
S. 2170	Byrd	To provide additional facilities for mediation of labor disputes, etc.	In Committee on Education and Labor
S. 2255	Barkley	To provide on temporary basis during present period of emergency prompt settlement of industrial disputes vitally affecting the national economy in transition from war to peace.	Committee on Interstate Commerce
H. Con. Res. 120	Lyle	Conscription of labor.	Committee on Military Affairs
H. J. Res. 280	Smith (Va)	Creating joint select committee to study and recommend legislation concerning labor disputes.	Committee on Rules
H. Res. 89	Haagen	Creating a select committee composed of 11 members to make investigation of all labor conditions and labor-employer practices which affect progress of war production, etc.	Committee on Rules
H. R. 32	Hobbs	To amend Act entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against interference by violence, threats, coercion, or intimidation.	Public Law No. 486
H. R. 39	Hobbs	To amend Act entitled "An Act to punish willful injury or destruction of war material or of war premises or utilities, etc.	Committee on Judiciary

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Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
H. R. 42	Hobbs	To amend sections 1, 2, 3, of Act entitled "An Act to punish willful injury or destruction of war material or of war premises or utilities used in connection war material, etc.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 354	Woodruff	To prohibit aliens from voting in labor organizations or acting as their officers or agents.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 422	Harless	To repeal the provisions of War Labor Disputes Act relating to political contributions by labor organizations.	Committee on Military Affairs
H. R. 428	Hoffman	To protect employees engaged in war production.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 429	Hoffman	To aid in preservation of constitutional government in U. S.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 454	Kefauver	To provide for garnishment, execution, or trustee process of wages and salaries of civil officers and employees of U. S.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 544	Randolph	To prohibit aliens from acting as officers or agents of corporations or business associations engaged in interstate commerce, or of labor organizations.	Committee on Foreign Commerce
H. R. 1119	May	To amend Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.	Committee on Military Affairs
H. R. 1207	Walter	To affirm intent of Congress that the regulation of business of insurance remain within control of several States, and that Acts of July 2, 1890 and Oct. 15, 1914, as amended, be not applicable to that business.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 1337	Hoffman	To protect employees engaged in war work (Unlawful to try to force, etc., worker into labor union).	In Committee on Labor
H. R. 1338	Hoffman	Labor disputes--retarding war effort (Strikers, etc., to be inducted into military service).	In Committee on Military Affairs
H. R. 1339	Hoffman	To amend Public 89 to permit plant seizure by government in labor disturbances.	In Committee on Military Affairs
H. R. 1752	May	Mobilization of Civilian manpower (Work-or-Jail Bill).	Conf. Rept. Rfd. back to Committee on Military Affairs
H. R. 1806	Douglas (Calif.)	To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.	In Committee on Labor
H. R. 1815	Clason	To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.	In Committee on Labor
H. R. 1894	Doyle	To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.	In Committee on Labor
H. R. 2121	Monroney	To confer jurisdiction in U. S. courts in cases involving work stoppage for illegitimate and non-labor purposes.	In Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 2232	Norton	To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.	Rept. without amds. H. Rep. 187
H. R. 2788	Gwynne (Iowa)	To amend title 28 of U. S. Code in regard to limitations of certain actions, etc.	Passed House amended to S. Committee on Judiciary Rpt. with amds. Sen. Rpt. 1395
H. R. 2818	Miller	To make unlawful certain contracts and practices in connection with labor regulations.	In Committee on Labor
H. R. 2819	Miller	To make unlawful certain agreements providing for payments by employers to labor organizations.	In Committee on Labor

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Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
H. R. 3384	Rankin	To protect veterans in their right to join or refrain from joining labor and other organizations.	Rpt'd. without amds. H. Rpt. 784
H. R. 3937	Smith (Va.)	Repeal War Labor Disputes Act and abolish National War Labor Board.	Rpt'd. with amds. Rpt. 1183
H. R. 4165	Bennett	To prohibit aliens and felons from acting as officers or agents of corporations or business associations engaged in interstate commerce, or of labor organizations, etc.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 4344	Hoffman	To diminish the causes of labor disputes burdening or obstructing interstate and foreign commerce; diminish unemployment; establish a national policy for assuring continuing employment in free competitive economy; and to protect right to work.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 4463	Shafer	To amend War Labor Disputes Act by prohibiting the organization of supervisory employees for purposes of collective bargaining.	Committee on Military Affairs
H. R. 4584	Hebert	To amend title 15 of U. S. Code Annotated.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 4875	Smith (Va.)	To provide for investigation and mediation of labor disputes, to diminish the causes of labor disputes, and for other purposes.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 4908 (Case Bill)	Norto.	Provide for appointment of fact-finding boards to investigate labor disputes seriously affecting national public interest, etc.	Vetoed by President. Veto sustained by Hse.
H. R. 4934	Hoffman	To amend National Labor Relations Act of July 5, 1935, as amended.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 4935	Hoffman	Amend Sec. 6 of Act entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against interference by violence, threats, coercion, or intimidation."	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 4936	Hoffman	To amend National Labor Relations Act of July 5, 1935, as amended.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 4937	Hoffman	To amend National Labor Relations Act of July 5, 1935, as amended.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 4951	Hoffman	To make certain labor practices and boycotts unlawful.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 4960	Andrews	To require labor organizations to incorporate and file annual financial reports.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 5114	Hoffman	To aid in maintaining essential public services by public utilities by requiring collective bargaining contracts to include provision for adequate notice of intention to strike.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 5202	Hoffman	To protect employees and employers engaged in interstate and foreign commerce.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 5203	Hoffman	To diminish causes of labor disputes or obstructing interstate and foreign commerce; to establish a national policy for assuring continuing employment in free competitive economy and to protect right to work.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 5216	Hoffman	To prevent discrimination in employment because of race, creed, sex, color, lack of color, national origin, ancestry, membership or non-membership in any labor or fraternal organization.	Committee on Labor

Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
H. R. 5264	Walter	To permit payment of readjustment allowances after a three-week waiting period to former members of armed forces whose unemployment is due to a stoppage of work resulting from a labor dispute.	Committee on World War Vets. Legis.
H. R. 5273	Huber	To permit payment of readjustment allowances after a three-week waiting period to former members of armed forces whose unemployment is due to stoppage of work resulting from labor dispute.	Committee on World War Vets. Legis.
H. R. 5301	Hare	To prohibit the use of force, violence, intimidation or coercion to prevent any individual from accepting or performing work when and where offered.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 5320	Hoffman	To diminish cause of labor disputes burdening or obstructing interstate and foreign commerce; to diminish unemployment; to establish national policy for assuring continuing employment in free competitive economy and to protect the right to work.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 5334	Hoffman	To repeal National Labor Relations Act and to diminish causes of labor disputes burdening or obstructing interstate and foreign commerce, to create a National Labor Relations Board etc	Committee on Labor
H. R. 5367	Hays	To protect interstate and foreign commerce by providing for prompt, peaceful, and just settlement of labor relations controversies between employers and employees, to establish rights and obligations of parties thereto, etc.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 5570	Hoffman	To diminish causes of labor disputes burdening or obstructing interstate and foreign commerce; to diminish unemployment; to establish a national policy for assuring continuing employment in a free competitive economy; and to protect the right to work.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 5571	Hoffman	To prevent interference with interstate or foreign commerce and to prevent interference with public utilities serving communities engaged in interstate and foreign commerce.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 5787	Smith	To require registration of persons engaged in lobbying and to require an accounting of contributions received for purpose of influencing legislation, etc.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 6230	Smith (Va.)	To amend Criminal Code by making unlawful the exaction of tributes or royalties from the production of articles in commerce, and to prohibit coercive practices affecting such production, etc.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 6259	Robertson	To amend Criminal Code so as to make unlawful certain harmful and disruptive practices in commerce.	Committee on Judiciary
H. R. 6409	Buck	To authorize President of U. S to declare certain strikes contrary to national interest, etc.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 6558	Slaughter	To provide additional means for settlement of labor disputes, etc.	Committee on Labor

Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
H. R. 6578	McCormack	Provide temporary basis during present period of emergency for settlement of industrial disputes affecting transition from war to peace.	Passed Sen. with Amdts. Sen. appoints conferees
H. R. 6586	Boren	To outlaw the closed shop.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 6668	Healy	To provide additional facilities for prevention of labor disputes, etc.	To Committee on Labor
H. R. 6912	Herter	To declare and protect rights of public when labor disputes result in, or threaten to result in danger to public health or safety.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 6913	Heseltun	To declare and protect right of public when labor disputes result in or threaten to result in, danger to public health or safety.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 6914	Hale	To declare and protect rights of public when labor disputes result in, or threaten to result in danger to public health or safety.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 6915	Auchincloss	To declare and protect the rights of public when labor disputes result in or threaten to result in, danger to public health or safety.	Committee on Labor
H. R. 6916	Case	To declare and protect rights of public when labor disputes result or threaten to result in, danger to public health or safety.	Committee on Labor

Particular attention is directed to the Hatch-Burton-Ball Bill, S. 1171. These three Senators, without practical experience in labor relations, introduced a bill tailored as a straight-jacket for Labor. A committee headed by Donald Richberg consumed 18 months in preparation of this bill. It is significant that Labor was never consulted on any of its provisions. A persistent drive in newspapers and on the radio for its passage immediately got under way after its introduction. It provides the following objectionable features:

1. The bill proposes compulsory arbitration. This is a restriction upon their freedom that the wage earners of America will never accept.
2. Under the guise of revising the National Labor Relations Act, the bill would so thoroughly transform that law as to make it an instrument of labor oppression, rather than emancipation.
3. The right of contract is seriously impaired by the bill, which would prohibit Labor and Management from entering into voluntary closed shop agreements except on an unworkable percentage basis.
4. The scope of the Wagner Act also would be seriously limited by the new bill, which proposes to exempt small employers from obligations required of larger enterprises.
5. In fact, this measure seeks to establish Government regimentation of labor and industry in normal times to a degree that would gravely undermine free collective bargaining.

Organized labor has fought compulsory arbitration since its earliest days as it is the first step toward involuntary servitude. We shall continue this fight.

Attention is also called to H. R. 3384 by Chairman John Rankin of the World War Veterans Legislative Committee of the House of Representatives. Peculiar circumstances surround the favorable report on this bill.

It has been stated on the floor of the House that the bill was reported by a vote of four-to-three and it is significant that the committee is composed of 21 members.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor had been promised by Chairman Rankin that they would be given an opportunity to be heard on the proposal but this promise was not kept and no hearings were held, except that the Committee permitted General Hines of the Veterans Administration to meet with them.

After the bill had been favorably reported as above outlined, a majority (eleven) of the 21 members of the Committee signed a minority report in opposition to the bill.

This was a union-smashing, strike-breaking proposal.

In addition to the above list of bills, many anti-Labor amendments were offered on the floor or in committees.

Only two of the above bills became law.

#### TRUMAN'S ANTI-LABOR BILL

On May 25, 1946 during the hysterical period of the coal strike the President appeared before a joint session of Congress and recommended a bill (H. R. 6578) which was very drastic.

It provided that the President might proclaim a national emergency at any time when there was an interruption in operation of any facility he deemed vitally necessary to maintain the national economy; gave him power to draft into the armed forces any individuals necessary to run strike-bound plants or facilities; took away seniority and reemployment rights of workers refusing to work under his proclamations; made labor officials subject to fines and imprisonment if they prevented resumption of work in any way in plants taken over by the Government and gave Federal Courts authority to issue injunctions.

Within two hours after the House of Representatives listened to the President's recommendations they passed the bill with but 13 members voting in opposition, and it was sent to the Senate.

The Senate night session refused to act immediately on an emergency bill but adopted a large number of harsh amendments, most of them extracted from the Case Bill, (H. R. 4908) which the President had vetoed, and the veto was supported by the Congress at our request.

On May 27, the House refused to accept the Senate Amendments and as objection was made to sending it to conference by unanimous consent it was then necessary to secure a rule for that purpose.

Employers generally were opposed to the bill as was Labor, so the measure languished in the Rules Committee and died.

#### ANTI-CLOSED SHOP AMENDMENT

Senator Andrews introduced S. J. Res. 163 and made a last minute appeal to the Senate Judiciary Committee which then favorably reported it because its implications were not known to the committee.



This was a very misleading and apparently innocent amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It stated:

The inherent right of a citizen to work and bargain freely with his employer, individually or collectively, for terms and conditions of his employment shall not be denied or infringed by any Federal or State law, or by any organization of whatever nature.

This amendment to the constitution of the United States was designed to void closed shop contracts.

State and anti-Labor laws passed by some state legislatures abolished the closed shop.

Florida passed the first of these laws and we have carried the fight against it to the Supreme Court.

Senator Andrews comes from Florida.

Had this amendment been adopted by either or both Houses of Congress it certainly would have been cited before the Supreme Court against our pleadings.

There is a steadily growing practice on the part of powerful interests to evade their responsibilities when brought before courts charged with violating law.

This occurred when insurance companies brought into court by the Attorney General of the United States attempted to secure passage of H. R. 3269, H. R. 3270 and S. 1362 which would have cleared the companies (see page 185, 1944 Proceedings).

Other instances in the 79th Congress are S. 2140 and H. R. 6035 excusing companies for violations of contracts, H. R. 2788 excusing them from liability under certain circumstances for violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Tidelands Bill, H. J. Res. 225, which the Congress passed and the President vetoed, and which gave submerged oil fields off the coasts of the states to the states instead of permitting the Supreme Court to decide ownership.

#### NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

**Frey Amendment.** When the Labor Department-Federal Security Agency Appropriation Bill for the 1946 fiscal year (H. R. 3199, Public No. 124, 79th Congress) came up through its various legislative stages we again suggested that the amendment commonly known as the Frey Rider be incorporated in the measure. This was done and the bill became law with the amendment reading exactly as it did last year.

The C. I. O. and communist publications fought the amendment in issue after issue of their papers and made request upon their entire membership to write or wire their representatives in the United States House of Representatives and Senate to oppose the measure. Despite this action, not a single member of either the House or Senate rose in his place to object to its inclusion in the bill.

After we were assured of the adoption of the Frey Amendment, we advocated before the Senate Committee the allowance of the full amount

of the appropriation requested by the National Labor Relations Board. The House cut the appropriation \$400,000, but we were able to secure the restoration of \$109,000 in conference.

**Lea Amendment.** When the National Labor Relations Board appropriations were under consideration in the congressional committees, an amendment was offered providing that none of the funds appropriated could be expended in any cases affecting agricultural labor as defined in the Social Security law. This was known as the Lea Amendment. We were able to defeat the amendment in committee.

**Foreman Amendment.** Another amendment offered to this appropriation was a prohibition against the expenditure of any part of the Board's funds in handling cases affecting organizations of foremen. This amendment was also defeated in Committee.

In 1946, we again secured the adoption of the Amendment known as the Frey Rider to the 1947 Labor Department Federal Security Appropriation Bill (H. R. 6739, Public Law No. 549, 79th Congress) carrying the funds for the National Labor Relations Board in the same form as carried in the Appropriation Act for 1946, which is set forth, in full, on page 171 of the 1944 Proceedings.

In the House, an amendment known as the Elliot Amendment was added to the Frey Rider identical with the Lea Rider which we were able to defeat in committees last year. This Elliott Amendment prohibited the use of any of the funds of the National Labor Relations Board from handling cases involving agricultural labor as defined in the Social Security Act. This definition is very broad and would deprive many of those now under the National Labor Relations Act from the protection they enjoy under it. We were able to have the Senate strike the Elliott Amendment from the bill, but in conference we encountered great difficulties and each House voted on the matter twice. The final passage of the bill was held up until after the middle of July and this prevented payment of salaries in the government agencies affected. A compromise was finally agreed upon by substituting the definition of agricultural labor as set forth in the Fair Labor Standards Act. This was much more satisfactory and was the best that could be secured under the circumstances. We also secured an amendment to the National Labor Relations Board appropriation prohibiting the use of any of the funds for the purpose of taking strike votes under the Smith-Connally Act.

#### WAR LABOR BOARD APPROPRIATION

**Lea Amendment.** When the War Agencies Appropriation Bill (H.R. 3368) (Public Law 156, 79th Congress) was in the House an amendment was adopted which prohibited the expenditure of any part of the War Labor Board appropriation in handling any cases affecting agricultural labor as defined in the Social Security Law.

The Senate struck the amendment from the bill and the conferees

could not reach agreement so the amendment was taken back to both Houses for a vote. After considerable debate the House stood firm by a roll call vote of 203 to 101 on the amendment and the Senate finally accepted it, without a roll call, on July 13, without anyone speaking in favor of its merits, because all the agencies involved in the bill were without funds.

The amendment leaves labor organizations operating in this field without a place to appeal and it is bound to cause industrial disturbances. Intensive efforts were made to eliminate this amendment, but the legislative situation made such efforts futile. (See N. L. R. B. Appropriation).

### **SPEED-UP SYSTEM**

When the Navy Department Appropriation Act for 1946 (Public 62 of the 79th Congress) was being considered by the Senate Appropriations Committee in executive session, Senator Ball offered a motion, which was adopted, to strike out a provision prohibiting the use of stop watches or other timekeeping devices in timing workmen employed by the Navy.

This provision was inserted in 1915 at our request and we, therefore, bitterly opposed Senator Ball's proposal. After a hot fight on the floor of the Senate the Ball proposal was stricken by a vote of 40 to 21.

On the 1947 Bill the same proposal, modified, was adopted by the Senate but stricken out by the conferees and so was defeated. (Public Law 492—79th Congress)

### **REDUCTION IN STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS**

This bill, H. R. 2788, by Representative Gwynne, to amend Title 28 of U. S. Code in regard to limitation of certain actions and for other purposes, reduces the time limit to one year unless a shorter time is fixed by any applicable state law.

Such a bill, if enacted into law, would prevent workers from collecting back pay due them, and we have bitterly opposed the proposal as we know that enactment of such a measure will be very harmful to collecting back wages due under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Despite our efforts, this measure passed both Houses but as the measure was amended in the Senate a unanimous request to send it to conference was blocked, at our request, and it became necessary for the Rules Committee to bring in a rule sending the bill to conference. This rule was reported to the House August 1, 1946, the day prior to adjournment and we immediately arranged to have it filibustered to death in the event it was called up. Our friends in the House served notice on the Speaker to this effect and he did not permit its consideration by the House.

### **GURNEY-ANDREWS BILL**

H. R. 6035 (Andrews) and S. 2140 (Gurney) excuse employers for acts done or omitted in good faith by an employer in respect to reemploying

veterans in accordance with regulations of the Director of Selective Service or in accordance with any applicable decision.

The Selective Service Act of 1940 (Public Law No. 783, 76th Congress) provided reemployment rights and the continuation of certain benefits for employees, in private employment, who entered the armed services during World War II.

Director of Selective Service, General Hershey, interpreted the law as providing super-seniority for World War II veterans over World War I veterans and non-veteran employees who remained in the employers' service.

Compliance with these rulings violated union contracts and were overruled by the courts and the passage of these bills would excuse the employers from liability for back pay or any benefits due employees.

We fought the proposal intensely all the way, but the bill was passed by the House of Representatives and reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs.

We put friendly members of the Senate on guard in opposition to these bills and they were not considered by the Senate.

#### PEACETIME MILITARY TRAINING

The Gurney-May bill, S. 188—H. R. 515, called for compulsory military training of all able-bodied men when they reached the age of 18.

The bill is reported to have been sponsored by officials of the American Legion. It provided a training period of one year.

The Executive Council took the following action at the February, 1945, meeting:

We are opposed to compulsory military training service, and that in no event should the matter be given consideration until demobilization of the armed forces. In the meantime, the American Federation of Labor advocates a comprehensive program of improved education and health service for the youth of the nation.

No hearings were held on these bills which were referred to the Military Affairs Committees of Congress, but the special House Committee on Post-War Policy did hold hearings on these proposals and our representatives appeared there and testified in opposition to the proposal on June 13, 1945. The question was still pending at the time Congress took its recess.

H. Res. 325, introduced by Representative Joseph Martin, provides:

That before the United States adopts compulsory military service, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the personal representative of the President of the United States on the United Nations Organization, Edward R. Stettinius, Junior, be, and hereby are, urged to work unceasingly for an immediate international agreement whereby compulsory military service shall be wholly eliminated from the policies and practices of all nations.

The resolution died in the House Committee on Military Affairs.

## MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

The infamous "work-or-jail bill," H. R. 1752, sponsored by Chairman Andrew May of the House Military Committee, passed both Houses of Congress after a toe-to-toe battle every inch of the way on our part with those who favored the bill. The House adopted the conference report, but we were able to prevent its adoption in the Senate. The President and practically every high Government executive officer spoke and worked in favor of this proposal, but despite this fact we were able to prevent its passage.

Our International organizations, State Federations, City Central Bodies and Local Unions rallied to our support in defeating this measure.

## DRAFT OF NURSES

H. R. 2277, providing for the draft of nurses for the Armed Service passed the House but failed of enactment in the Senate. We opposed this bill as there was no need for it. It smacked of class legislation and might have been an entering wedge for universal conscription.

## IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

The report on legislation made to the 1943 and 1944 conventions listed sixty-three bills. Of all the bills above-mentioned, but five became law, namely—

H. R. 2207	Dickstein	To amend Nationality Act re loss of nationality and citizenship acct. conviction of desertion.	Public 221
H. R. 1284	Dickstein	Naturalization of aliens who serve honorably in armed forces and who cannot prove legal entry into U. S.	Public 531
H. R. 3070	Magnuson	To repeal Chinese Exclusion Act and to establish quotas.	Public 199
H. R. 3722	Dickstein	To amend Sec. 842 of the Nationality Act of 1940 in respect to fees for issuance of certificates of arrival.	Public 444
H. R. 4271	Dickstein	To amend Nationality Act of 1940 to preserve nationality of citizens residing abroad.	Public 432

All the other bills died at the end of the 78th Congress but the following bills have been introduced and are now pending in the present Congress:

Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
H. Res. 52	Dickstein	House Committee on Immig. and Natur. authorized to investigate problems re. post war immigration.	Passed House March 27, 1945
H. J. Res. 95	Bennet	Providing for admission to U. S. of aliens who are religious or racial refugees.	In Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 173	Celler	Authorizing admission and naturalization into U. S. under quota Eastern Hemisphere Indians.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 387	Dickstein	To permit person who has acquired foreign nationality acct. parents to return to U. S.	Rptd. without amend. H. Rep. 168. Killed in Hse.
H. R. 388	Dickstein	Amending sec. 201(g) of Nationality Act of 1940 re. person born outside U. S.	Passed Senate amended. Senate amnds. agreed to by Hse. 7-22-46.
H. R. 414	Gossett	To reduce immigration quotas.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee

Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
H. R. 434	Kearney	To provide that U. S. nationals shall not lose nationality act. voting under compulsion in a foreign state.	Passed House 4-17-45; Rep. in Sen. 7-18-46.
H. R. 545	Kandolph	To prohibit entry into U. S. of quota immigrants until after 5 years after end of war.	Immigration and Naturalization Committee
H. R. 677	Allen	To prevent immigration of aliens into U. S. while unemployed in U. S. numbers 1 million or more.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 707	Dickstein	Amending Nationality Act re persons who have been away from U. S. for certain period of time.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 711	Dickstein	To require naturalized citizens to take oath of allegiance.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 714	Dickstein	To facilitate admission into U. S. of husbands, wives, etc., of U. S. citizens who served in armed forces during World War II.	Passed House Oct. 15, 1945. Senate Committee on Immigration 10-18-45.
H. R. 728	Johnson	To provide for loss of U. S. nationality under certain circumstances.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 748	Pace	To deny admittance into U. S. to all immigrants while unemployed number 1 million or more.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 1279	Sheppard	To provide for expatriation of certain nationals of the U. S.	Immigration and Naturalization Committee
H. R. 1368	Fisher	To reduce immigration quotas.	Immigration and Naturalization Committee
H. R. 1586	Farrington	To authorize admission into U. S. of Koreans under quota.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee
H. R. 1810	Hartley	To permit naturalization of aliens whose sons or daughters have served in armed forces.	Immigration and Naturalization Committee
H. R. 1829	Rees	Providing for naturalization of certain alien veterans of war.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 1901	Powell	To permit admission and naturalization of Koreans under a quota.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 2499	Case	To permit admission of Finnish immigrants into Alaska, who served in armed forces of United Nations.	In Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 2756	Philbin	To permit naturalization of non-citizens whose sons or daughters served in armed forces of U. S.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 3077	McMillan	To prohibit naturalization of Germans for 25 years after end of war.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee
H. R. 3263	Gossett	To deny admission to U. S. of aliens who served in armed forces of countries at war with U. S.	Hearings held. Rfd. to Subcommittee. Superseded by H. R. 3663
H. R. 3286	Rankin	To prevent admittance into U. S. of immigrants while unemployed number 1 million or more.	Immigration and Naturalization Committee
H. R. 3466	Fisher	To preserve nationality of citizens residing abroad.	Approved Oct. 11, 1945. Public 193
H. R. 3517	Celler	To permit admission to U. S. of races indigenous to India and to make them eligible for naturalization.	Appr. July 2, 1946. Public Law No. 483
H. R. 3528	Farrington	To confer U. S. citizenship upon certain inhabitants of Guam.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 3546	Farrington	To confer U. S. Citizenship upon certain inhabitants of American Samoa.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 3773	Izac	To prevent, during a period of 30 years, nationals of enemy countries becoming naturalized citizens of U. S., and immigrants from such countries from entering U. S.	Rfd. to Committee on Immigration and Naturalization

Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
H. R. 3976	Havener	To provide for admission to U. S. of alien Chinese wives of American citizens who are admissible under provisions of immigration laws other than those authorizing exclusion on grounds of race or birth in a defined geographical area.	Superseded by H. R. 4883
H. R. 4066	Dolliver	To amend the immigration and naturalization laws to deny admission to U. S. of aliens who are unable to establish good moral character.	Rfd. Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 4109	Douglas (Calif.)	To provide for admission to U. S. of alien wives of American citizens who are admissible under provisions of immigration laws other than those authorizing exclusion on grounds of race or birth in a defined geographical area.	Superseded by H. R. 4844
H. R. 4148	Dickstein	To amend Nationality Act of 1940.	To Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 4149	Dickstein	To provide for establishment of lawful entry into U. S. of certain aliens not subject to deportation who entered U. S. prior to July 1, 1924.	Passed House. Amended 12-17-45. To Senate Committee on Immigration
H. R. 4179	Miller (Calif.)	To provide for admission to U. S. of alien Chinese wives of American citizens who are admissible under the provisions of the immigration laws other than those authorizing exclusion on grounds of race or birth in a defined geographical area.	Superseded by H. R. 4844
H. R. 4531	Patterson	Relating to reentry of Chinese laborers and Chinese wives and children into U. S.	Superseded by H. R. 4681
H. R. 4628	Reed (Ill.)	To amend Sec. 332(a) of Nationality Act of 1940.	Passed House 12-17-45. To Senate Committee on Immigration
H. R. 4681	Patterson	Relating to reentry of Chinese laborers and Chinese wives and children into U. S.	Supersedes H. R. 4531
H. R. 4844	Miller (Calif.)	To provide for admission to U. S. of alien Chinese wives of American citizens who are admissible under the provisions of immigration laws other than those authorizing exclusion on grounds of race or birth in a defined geographical area.	Passed House 2-18-46
H. R. 4857	Dickstein	To expedite admission to U. S. of alien spouses and alien minor children of citizen members of U. S. armed forces.	Approved 12-28-45. Public Law No. 271
H. R. 4956	DeLacy	To permit the naturalization of foreign seamen who served on American-owned vessels at least 3 yrs. while U. S. was at war.	In Committee on Immigration
H. R. 5429	Miller (Calif.)	To amend Immigration Act of 1924.	To Immigration and Naturalization Committee
H. R. 5454	Eberharter	To amend Act of Feb. 5, 1917, as amended by Act of June 28, 1940, providing for deportation of undesirable aliens.	To Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 6120	Sadowski	Relating to admission into U. S. as non-quota immigrants of certain individuals who have served in Polish Army, and for other purposes.	In Committee on Immigration and Naturalization



## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
H. R. 6279	Lesinski	To facilitate admission into U. S. of alien fiancées or fiancés of members of armed forces of U. S.	S. 2122 passed in lieu thereof. Public 471
H. R. 6505	Judd	To amend subsec. (c) of sec. 19 of Immigration Act of Feb. 5, 1917, as amended.	Rfd. to subcommittee on H. R. 5454
H. R. 6531	Barrett (Pa.)	To amend sec. 101 of Nationality Act of 1940.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 6638	Fisher	To amend Nationality Act of 1940 to preserve nationality of citizens residing abroad.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. R. 6838	Kearney	To amend Nationality Act of 1940, as amended.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.
H. R. 6869	Gossett	To amend immigration and naturalization laws to deny admission to U. S. of certain aliens who served in armed forces of countries at war with U. S., also members of certain parties and organizations and to deny naturalization to such persons, and to deny admission to U. S. persons who the Atty. General knows or has reason to believe seek to enter U. S. for purpose of engaging in activities which will endanger public safety of U. S.	Passed House July 2, 1946
H. R. 6996	Hedrick	To amend Immigration Act of 1917, as amended.	Reported with Amendments, July 17, 1946
H. R. 7060	Klein	To amend sec. 3 of Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, as amended.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
R. Res. 17	Laue	To provide for temporary admission of political or religious refugees of Continental Europe into areas within U. S. to be known as free ports.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. Res. 53	Dickstein	To provide for temporary admission of political or religious refugees of Continental Europe into areas within U. S. to be known as free ports.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. J. Res. 95	Bennet (N. Y.)	To provide for admission to U. S. of aliens who are religious or racial refugees.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. J. Res. 288	Bennet (N. Y.)	To provide for admission to U. S. of aliens who are religious or racial refugees.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
H. J. Res. 363	Luce	Authorizing admission into U. S. as non-quota immigrants of certain orphan children now interned within the American zone of occupation in Europe.	Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
S. 236	Langer	To permit naturalization of all people from India in U. S.	Committee on Immigration
S. 258	Walsh	Relating to legality of entry into U. S. of certain persons born in a country contiguous to U. S.	Committee on Immigration
S. 659	Radcliffe	To permit naturalization of foreign seamen who serve on American owned vessels for at least 3 years while U. S. is at war.	Committee on Immigration
S. 730	Pepper	To authorize admission into U. S. of Koreans under quota and make them racially eligible for naturalization.	Committee on Immigration
S. 1020	Stewart	To deny admittance into U. S. of all immigrants while unemployed number one million or more.	Committee on Immigration

Bill Number	Introduced By	Subject	Status
S. 1040	Pepper	To permit issuance of certificate of lawful entry to foreign seamen who serve on American owned vessels for a period of at least one year while U. S. is at war.	Committee on Immigration
S. 1758	Maybank	To suspend immigration for a period of five years.	Committee on Immigration
S. 1825	Russell	To amend subsection (c) of section 19 of the Immigration Act of 1917, as amended.	Committee on Immigration
S. 1930	Downey	To provide for expeditious naturalization of former citizens of U. S. who have lost U. S. citizenship through voting in a political election in a country not at war with U. S. during Second World War.	Committee on Immigration
S. 2122	Russell	To facilitate the admission into U. S. of the alien fiancées or fiancés of members of the armed forces of the U. S.	Approved, June 29, 1946 Public Law 471
S. 2377	Morse	To amend title III of the Nationality Act of 1940, as amended, with respect to naturalization of persons who have served with armed forces of U. S. in overseas theaters.	Committee on Immigration

Only four of the above-mentioned bills became law in the 79th Congress.

When more shipping facilities are available, there no doubt will be large numbers of immigrants desiring to enter this country. The Executive Council recommends that any lowering of the immigration bars be opposed and the present restrictive measures maintained.

The Executive Council recommended to the 1944 convention "that all phases of the traditional immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor be maintained." This recommendation is reiterated and particularly stressed in regard to the so-called "barred races" who cannot be assimilated.

#### FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

We continued to cooperate closely with the officials and representatives of our affiliated organizations composed wholly or in part of Federal employees and aided them in every way.

A new Council formed of such organizations, with our approval and assistance, known as Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor did exceptionally fine work. All eligible organizations should affiliate with it in order to secure the benefits of joint consideration, presentation, counsel and action and it is so recommended.

**Retirement.** H. R. 2638 by Mr. Neely, S. 1089 by Mr. Langer, and S. 653 by Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma, amends the Civil Service Retirement Act by temporarily increasing the annuities of former federal and district employees now retired. These bills were opposed by Chairman Ramspeck of the Civil Service Committee because he felt that annuities were on an actuarial basis and that if such annuities are changed and predicated on a cost of living basis, it might eventually result disastrously to the annuitants.

No action was had on any of these bills after their introduction.

**Exempting Annuities from Taxation.** Congressmen Rees of Kansas introduced H. R. 2948 which amends the Civil Service Retirement Act so as to exempt annuity payments made under such Act from taxation up to and including an annuity of \$1440.00.

This bill was favorably reported by the Civil Service Committee in May, 1945.

When the bill came upon the floor, however, a bitter jurisdictional fight developed as the Ways and Means Committee contended that their committee had jurisdiction as it was a tax measure.

The bill passed the House of Representatives with our vigorous support but when it reached the Senate it was referred to the Finance Committee which corresponds to the House Ways and Means Committee.

The Senate Committee ended all hopes of enacting the bill by having a committee of tax experts investigate and examine all phases of taxation of annuities whether paid by federal, state, county or city governments or others.

The committee of experts have not reported to date.

It is recommended that efforts be continued to secure tax exemptions on such annuities.

#### POSTAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES

The officers and legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor continued their close cooperation with the officers of all our affiliated postal organizations. We reported to the 1944 convention that the most important bills affecting postal employees still pending were S. 1882 by Senator Mead and H. R. 4715 by Representative O'Brien, providing that the compensation of employees in the postal service be increased \$400.00 per annum and which repealed Public Law 25 of the 78th Congress which had provided a temporary increase for postal employees not to exceed \$300.00 per annum.

There was also pending at the time of the last convention H. R. 4501 by Mr. Weiss which adjusted the basis of compensation for overtime in the postal service at true overtime rates of one-and-one-half times the regular rate of pay. H. R. 4715 passed the lower House and had incorporated in it not only the \$400.00 increase but true overtime provisions. However, it was prevented from passing in the Senate by a parliamentary technicality raised by Senator Bailey.

Shortly after the beginning of the 79th Congress H. R. 2071 was introduced by Representative Burch, and after extensive hearings in both Houses, H. R. 3035 developed and became law, as it was signed by the President on July 6th, Public Law 134.

This law, to touch on its high lights, grants an increase in their basic pay of \$400.00 per annum to all postal employees, with true overtime computed by dividing the annual salary by 2080 and multiplying by one-and-one-half in order to secure the hourly rate of overtime, as well as other favorable

adjustments in regard to sick leave, automatic promotions, and 10 percent extra for work performed between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m.

Early in 1946, the Postal organizations had a bill, H. R. 5059, introduced and it was enacted (Public Law 386—79th Congress) increasing annual rates of pay for postal employees \$400.00 per annum, and 20c per hour additional for those on an hourly or part time basis.

We gave support to this measure.

#### CLASSIFIED EMPLOYEES PAY INCREASE

Public Law 106 of the 79th Congress replaces the War Overtime Bill, Public Law 49 of the 79th Congress, a temporary measure which expired June 30, 1945. President Truman signed the former June 30, 1945, and thereby made effective July 1st substantial pay increases available to approximately one and one-half million Federal employees who had not received a basic pay increase for a fifth of a century.

The Act provides an average 15.9 per cent increase in basic pay and gives government workers true time-and-a-half for overtime instead of the time-and-a-twelfth which they formerly received.

The wage boosts are staggered in accordance with the following formula—20 per cent on the first \$1,200 of salary; 10 per cent additional on everything between \$1,200 and \$4,600, and 5 per cent on that part of salary above \$4,600. True overtime will be paid for work beyond 40 hours to employees whose salaries are under \$2,980. The amount of overtime will be lower for employees in the higher brackets. The law also provides a 10 per cent differential for work between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m., except where a higher rate already has been established. Holiday pay at time-and-one-half is authorized by the new law for employees who are ordered to work on any holiday that is declared a non-work day by the President. In addition, the Act reduces the waiting period between in-grade promotions and directs that salaries must be paid every other week, instead of twice a month.

In a memorandum to the Civil Service Commission, the President said the administrative workweek of Federal employees should be 40 hours to be worked in five 8-hour days. "Whenever possible," he wrote the commission, "the practice should be followed by scheduling the first 40 hours on Monday through Friday with any overtime hours to be scheduled on Saturday." This definitely means that Saturday will be the overtime day for the vast majority of Federal workers.

We gave a full measure of support to the enactment of this meritorious legislation.

In early 1946, the cost of living having greatly increased, a new bill was prepared (S. 1415) and with our support became law effective July 1, 1946. (Public Law No. 390—79th Congress).

It provided for a general increase of 14 percent or \$250.00 per annum whichever was the greater.

Other major provisions were a night-pay differential of 10% addi-

tional and 10 percent additional for certain employees in lieu of overtime. The law did not cover those whose basic compensation is fixed and adjusted from time to time by wage boards or similar administrative authority or to postal employees.

### RETIREMENT

**Public law 470—79th Congress.** The President signed S. 896 on June 29, 1946.

This law, effective August 1, 1946 brings annuitants who were retired prior to enactment of the law approved January 24, 1942 under the more liberal terms of the latter.

**Public Law 216—79th Congress.** Amends the 1930 Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended in order to protect retirement rights of persons who leave the federal service to enter the armed forces of the United States.

It was approved by the President on November 9, 1945.

**Public Law 265—79th Congress.** Amends the Civil Service Retirement Act to allow credits for all periods of separation from the Service except active service in the armed forces. Approved by the President on December 21, 1945

**Public Law 536—79th Congress.** Amends Civil Service Retirement Act so that a disabled retired annuitant, who recovers and whose annuity has been discontinued subsequent to June 30, 1945, shall in case he cannot obtain employment, be considered as involuntarily separated from the Service as on the date of his disability and receive his annuity.

**Public Law 688—79th Congress.** Amends Civil Service Retirement Act to permit those with 25 years service, who are involuntarily separated from the Service, to receive their annuities providing they have reached the age of 55.

**Triple Taxation of Federal Employees.** There is a situation existing in the District of Columbia wherein employees, in some cases, are obliged to pay an income tax in three different states. For example: A person employed by the Government in Washington is obliged to pay a District of Columbia tax, and if he is a voting resident of some other state he is also obliged to pay a tax there. If, while employed in the District of Columbia, he resides in Virginia he is also obliged to pay the Virginia tax.

In addition, Philadelphia has a tax levied by the city and in case the employee's voting residence is in Philadelphia, he is also obliged to pay a tax levied on incomes by the City of Philadelphia. This creates a most objectionable situation which H. R. 534 was designed to cure. The bill passed both Houses but was prevented from final passage in the House of Representatives by the opposition of Mr. Smith of Virginia.

### HEALTH PROGRAM

H. R. 2716 provides for the establishment of employee health programs in agencies of the Federal Government.

This bill was passed placing the programs under the United States

Public Health Service and was signed by the President. (Public Law 658—79th Congress.)

This proposal had our full support.

#### REPEAL OF HATCH ACT

S. 1214 to repeal "An Act to prevent pernicious political activities," commonly known as the Hatch Act, was introduced, but no further action ensued.

#### SENIORITY OF MECHANICS—GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS

S. 594—H. R. 2255. These bills abolish the present efficiency rating system and substitute seniority for pay purposes and reductions in force for mechanics and helpers employed in Government Navy Yards, Arsenals and other Government establishments.

It was advocated by all our affiliates and extensive hearings were held by the Naval Affairs Committees of both Houses.

We joined with our affiliates in advocating the passage of the proposal but without avail, as veterans' organizations, fearing loss of their veterans preference, were in opposition.

The present system of efficiency rating certainly needs revision as under it our employees' efficiency rating can be and frequently is based solely upon the whims of his supervisor and sycophants are often highest upon efficiency rating lists.

These bills died with the 79th Congress but it is recommended that the purposes of these measures be revived and advocated in the 80th Congress.

#### GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES UNDER WAGE BOARDS

After bills were passed increasing compensation for postal and classified employees, a bill was introduced by Senator Langer (S. 1222) as follows:

That the rates of pay for federal employees, employed in the several trades and occupations, whose basic compensation is fixed and adjusted from time to time in accordance with prevailing rates by wage boards or similar administrative authority serving the same purpose, shall be maintained at rates which are not lower than those in effect on June 1, 1945, plus such amount, calculated to the nearest cent per hour, as will equal the pay for a forty-eight-hour week under the wage schedules in effect on June 1, 1945, wherever the hours are or have been reduced below forty-eight per week: Provided, That the hours of labor in those branches of the federal service covered by this Act shall be reduced to forty per week as soon as the requirements of the war effort permit; and reductions in the hours of labor to as low as forty per week shall be made to minimize or avoid reductions in personnel wherever feasible.

We are in favor of this bill.

#### REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

In 1945 the Congress passed and the President signed Public No. 263 of the 79th Congress, an Act permitting the President to reorganize the

Government Departments and agencies with a proviso that reorganization plans submitted by the President would become effective unless both Houses of Congress disapproved within sixty days.

On May 16, 1946, the President submitted three plans to the Congress.

We disapproved Plans 2 and 3, but approved Plan 1 because the latter set up a Central Housing Agency.

Plan 2 was objected to because it abolished the United States Employees Compensation Commission which was set up by law as a bi-partisan agency whose members were confirmed by the Senate, and transferred its functions to the Director of the Federal Security Agency and permitted him to appoint a board of three to which his decisions might be appealed.

It also transferred certain agencies from the Department of Labor to the Director.

Plan 2 continued the Coast Guard's wartime control of the United States Steamboat Inspection Service.

All our maritime organizations, including the Longshoremen, joined the A. F. of L. in opposition to this plan as seamen were continually being placed in double jeopardy for minor offences.

All of the plans were defeated by the House of Representatives by approximately four to one.

Plan 1 was defeated by the Senate and the others approved, so all plans became effective.

Bills were immediately introduced in both Houses of Congress reinstating the United States Employees Compensation Commission and the Senate passed the bill (S. 2456) on July 29, 1946.

A delegation immediately waited upon the Speaker but he declined to permit the bill to be considered by the House of Representatives.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

**Police and Firemen.** Public No. 22 of the 78th Congress expired on June 30, 1944 and as this law only provided for a temporary increase in pay of \$300.00 per annum for District of Columbia firemen and policemen, including White House and park police, representatives of the A. F. of L. met with representatives of the above groups and aided in drafting a bill, H. R. 3291, which provides for a 20-10 per cent increase in basic pay rates with a provision of 8% overall increase in lieu of overtime and night work compensation. The 20% increase is on the basic pay up to the first \$1200 and the 10% is on the next \$3400, and 5% is on any salary over \$4,600 per annum.

Although District of Columbia Commissioners opposed this increase for annuitants retired under the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Retirement Law, the last mentioned law provides that they be so increased, and the Congress declined to accept the amendment prohibiting such an increase for these annuitants as proposed by the District of Columbia Commissioners.

Delay was encountered in signing this general pay bill and it did not



leave the House until July 6. It was flown to President Truman while he was enroute to the "Big Three" Conference in Europe and signed by him on July 14, 1945—Public 151.

In 1946 we aided in the preparation and arranged for the introduction of H. R. 6516.

This increased by 14% the salaries of the District of Columbia Metropolitan Police, the United States Park Police, the White House police and the District of Columbia firemen as set in Public 151 of the 79th Congress.

The District of Columbia Commissioners again endeavored to prevent retired members of the Police and Fire Departments from benefitting under this law and we again defeated their amendment. Congress passed the bill and the President approved it on July 5, 1946 (Public Law 491—79th Congress).

It became effective July 1, 1946.

#### TEACHERS' PAY LAW

In 1945 a bill increasing salaries for teachers and employees of the District of Columbia schools was drafted by the District of Columbia school officials and introduced in the House (H. R. 3376) without the advice of the Teachers' unions.

The bill as introduced was most unsatisfactory and protests were made by us and representatives of the Teachers at the hearings.

The bill gave high officials in the schools large increases but failed in some cases to grant any increase to those in lower brackets.

We prepared and had S. 1153 presented by Senator McCarran and many of its more liberal terms were adopted so that the final enactment, although not entirely satisfactory, was a great improvement over the original bill.

The bill passed Congress and was approved by the President on July 21, 1945, (Public Law 158—79th Congress).

In 1946 the District of Columbia Teachers' Union with our assistance prepared, and we had introduced a comprehensive bill, (S. 1783) increasing salaries of teachers in the District of Columbia.

Those opposing us immediately prepared a bill (S. 2352) providing for a flat increase of \$450.00 annually.

The latter bill was enacted after the Congress had accepted proposals satisfactory to us and the President approved the bill on July 31, 1946 (Public Law 568, 79th Congress).

#### D. C. BANKS

S. 2307—A bill permitting the banks in the District of Columbia to close on Saturdays and so give their employees a holiday, was supported by us and became law, July 13, 1946. (Public Law 508—79th Congress.)

This measure was favored jointly by Employers and Labor of the District of Columbia.

### BARBERS

S. 16 and H. R. 5701 provide for the closing of District of Columbia barber shops one day in each calendar week.

It is sponsored by both the local and international barbers' organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and similar proposals have had our support over a period of years.

No action has been had on the bills since their introduction.

### FIRE BOAT

We aided in securing the passage of S. 2488 a bill permitting the Navy to transfer a fire boat to the District of Columbia, without cost, for harbor and water front protection.

The President signed the bill.

### CANAL ZONE

The following bills affecting the Canal Zone were introduced and are still pending in committees except H. R. 2125 which became law (Public No. 113—79th Congress) and H. R. 3748 which became law (Public Law 619—79th Congress).

Number	Introduced By	Title	Committees
S. 94	Lafollette	To extend certain benefits of Canal Zone Retirement Act of March 2, 1931, as amended, to include "Old-Timers."	Interoceanic Canals
S. 95	Lafollette	To amend the Canal Zone Code with reference to the retirement of employees.	Interoceanic Canals
S. 516	Lafollette	To amend the Canal Zone Code relative to employees' retirement annuities.	Interoceanic Canals
S. 1186	Stewart	To amend the Canal Zone Code relative to employees' retirement annuities.	Interoceanic Canals
S. 1193	Pepper	To amend the Canal Zone Code relative to employees' retirement annuities.	Interoceanic Canals
H. R. 34	O'Brien	To extend the benefits of Act of May 29, 1944, entitled "An Act to provide for recognition of services of civilian officials and employees engaged in construction of Panama Canal.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries
H. R. 362	Bland	To amend the Canal Zone Code relative to employees' annuities, service of summons, and taking of vehicles for temporary use or operation.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries
H. R. 631	Welch	To amend the Canal Zone Code with reference to the retirement annuity of employees.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries
H. R. 632	Welch	To amend the Canal Zone Code with reference to retirement on annuity of employees 55 years old who have rendered at least 25 years of service.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries
H. R. 1288	Peterson (Florida)	To amend Canal Zone Code with respect to taxation of retirement Annuities paid to certain retired employees of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries

Bill Number	Introduced By	Title	Committees
H. R. 2679	O'Brien	To extend benefits of Canal Zone Retirement Act of March 2, 1931, as amended, to certain employees covered by Civil Service Retirement Act approved May 22, 1920, and Acts in amendment thereto, approved May 29, 1930.	Civil Service
H. R. 3439	Woodruff	To amend Act entitled "An Act to provide for recognition of services of civilian officials and employees citizens of U. S., engaged in and about construction of Panama Canal," approved May 29, 1944.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries
H. R. 3596	Welch	To amend the Canal Zone Code relative to employees' retirement annuities.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries
H. R. 3689	Herter	To exclude from income tax in U. S. possessions, wages or other compensation for personal services, paid by U. S.	Ways and Means

H. R. 3689 repeals the exemption from payment of income tax by those on the Canal Zone and other outlying possessions.

The author has agreed to amend the bill so it will still exempt employees from its terms as he seeks only to equalize the payment of taxes by service people wherever they may be stationed.

Number	Introduced By	Title	Committees
H. R. 4321	Welch	To amend Article 2 of the Canal Zone Code, as amended, so as to exempt annuity payments under such code from taxation.	Ways and Means
H. R. 5402	Bland	Making general amendments to the Canal Zone Code.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries
H. R. 6160	Price	To extend the benefits of the Act of May 29, 1944 entitled "An Act to provide for the recognition of services of civilian officials and employees, engaged in the construction of the Panama Canal.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries
H. R. 6813	Peterson	To amend Section 107 of Title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, approved June 19, 1934, relative to employees' retirement annuities.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries
H. R. 6814	Peterson	To amend Section 92 of Title 2 of the Canal Zone Code, approved June 29, 1934, relative to employees' retirement annuities.	Merchant Marine and Fisheries

Public Law 113—79th Congress provides for voluntary retirement at 55 with not less than 25 years of service, fifteen of which must be on the Isthmus of Panama.

Public Law 619—79th Congress amends the so called "Old Timers Bill" (Page 198—1944 Proceedings) to provide that naturalized citizens may enjoy its benefits.

#### McCARRAN AMENDMENT

This amendment was again placed on the two War Department and Navy Department Appropriation Bills (Publics No. 374, No. 515, and No. 492 of the 79th Congress).

It provides a 40-hour week, 25% over states rates of pay for similar

service and for the employment of only United States or Panamanian citizens in skilled positions. It contained a proviso that it was not to be made effective during the present year and the Governor of the Canal Zone agreed to endeavor to work out, with our representatives, a method of applying it gradually prior to the adoption of the 1948 appropriations.

The replacement of several thousands of aliens by the citizens of the United States or Panama would require new townsites, sewers, streets, light and power facilities and \$32,000,000.00 worth of new housing.

### PUERTO RICO

The following bills are pending affecting the interests of Puerto Rico:

Number	Introduced By	Title	Committees
S. 226	Radcliffe	Amending Organic Act of Puerto Rico.	In Committee on Territories
S. 227	Radcliffe	Granting independence to Puerto Rico.	In Committee on Territories
S. 1092	Tydings	Granting independence to Puerto Rico.	In Committee on Territories
H. R. 99	Bell	To investigate and study political, economic and social conditions in Puerto Rico.	Agreed to and report made
H. R. 272	Cole	To use excess revenue taxes from Puerto Rico to improve conditions in Puerto Rico.	In Committee on Ways and Means
H. R. 2781	Marcantonio	To grant independence to Puerto Rico.	In Committee on Insular Affairs
H. R. 3237	Pinero	To grant independence to Puerto Rico.	In Committee on Insular Affairs

We cooperated fully with Mr. Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, Secretary-Treasurer of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen, who came to the States to present Puerto Rican labor's views.

Under H. Res. 99 of the 79th Congress the House Committee on Insular Affairs completed the investigation authorized by H. Res. 159 of the 78th Congress, of political, social, and economic conditions in the Island.

### AVIATION

We supported S. 2, a bill providing Federal aid for the development, construction, improvement and repair of public airports in the United States. The bill authorizes \$100,000,000 each year for five years for this purpose.

We requested incorporation of an amendment providing for the payment of the rates of wages predetermined by the Secretary of Labor and included in the invitation for bids. The amendment was included and the bill passed Congress and was approved by the President May 13, 1946. (Public Law No. 377 - 79th Congress)

#### S. 326

Senator McCarran introduced legislation providing for postwar operation of international airways by one United States Flag Line to be composed of all U. S. Lines.

After careful consideration of all factors involved we approved the bill.

There has been much maneuvering by companies and others in regard to this question and permits for overseas lines have been issued to more than one company. The bill died in the Senate Commerce Committee as it failed to be reported because of a tie vote ten to ten.

#### AIR MAIL

We supported H. R. 5560, (and its companion, S. 1858) reducing the rates on air mail from eight cents to five cents, and it became law on August 14, 1946 (Public Law 730—79th Congress.)

#### RAILROAD RETIREMENT AMENDMENTS

The Legislative Committee appeared before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee when hearings were held on H. R. 1362 (S. 293) and gave it the general endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, in conformity with the action of the Executive Council at its February 1945 meeting. Later it was learned that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America was not in agreement with the terms of the bill as introduced, and the latter organization proposed amendments. The Building Trades who likewise were opposed to the bill as introduced, conferred with the Railroad Brotherhoods and the latter agreed to amendments which were acceptable to all concerned.

The bill (H. R. 1362) passed both Houses and was approved by the President on July 31, 1946 (Public Law 572—79th Congress).

The bill as passed makes the Railroad Retirement Act the best in existence and it is expected to cause other groups to endeavor to secure greater benefits for their people.

The Railway Employees Department, A. F. of L., has published a pamphlet briefly analyzing this law.

#### MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY

The Missouri Valley Authority (S. 555, H. R. 2203) provides flood control, erosion control, new farms, jobs in nine states and helps postwar jobs in all United States.

We appeared and testified in favor of this bill. Our experience with the T.V.A., which we supported, has been most favorable and our organizations enjoy the benefits of contractual relations made with its officials.

S. 555 has not made progress, as by parliamentary maneuvering its opponents have the bill routed through three Senate Committees, one of which—Commerce—has adversely reported. We recommend continued support of this proposal.

#### BONNEVILLE PROJECT AMENDMENTS

H. R. 2690 amends the original Bonneville Project Act by permitting the Administrator to employ business principles in administering the Act, and also aids him in his relationship with the employees, especially as set forth in Section 5.

We supported this measure which was passed by the Congress and approved by the President on October 23, 1945, (Public Law 201—79th Congress).

### **HIGHWAYS**

Although numerous bills providing for extensive building of roads, superhighways and feeders were introduced, no final action has been taken on them.

However, the most beneficial bill, S. 2105, upon which we reported to the 1944 convention became law December 20, 1944, before the end of the 78th Congress (Public No. 521—78th Congress).

H. R. 6324 was passed in 1946 (Public No. 562—79th Congress). It amends the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916, as amended, and supplemented to provide for the design and construction of dams so that they will serve as foundations for highways, bridges, etc., and thereafter orders all departments and agencies of the Government to construct all Government dams so they will be suitable for the same purposes. It authorizes expenditure of \$10,000,000, for reimbursement of these agencies for these additional expenditures, by the Commissioner of Public Roads.

### **RIVERS AND HARBORS**

**Public 14 (79th Congress).** This legislation, containing scores of postwar projects, failed of passage in the 78th Congress but was reintroduced early in the present Congress, was enacted, and became law March 2, 1945.

It does not become effective until six months after the official ending of the war.

Following the enactment of Public No. 14, a bill authorizing a great many additional projects for construction, repair and preservation of public works on rivers and harbors was enacted and became law on July 24, 1946 (Public Law No. 525—79th Congress).

### **RECONVERSION UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS**

As a result of the presidential message to Congress on this subject, Chairman Doughton of the Ways and Means Committee introduced H. R. 3736. This bill is so hedged around with restrictions that it cannot be very effective. For example—it provides that 600,000 compensable claims must be built up before the bill becomes effective. This does not mean that 600,000 persons must be unemployed but that many compensable persons must be unemployed, therefore, it might be that 9 or 10 millions could be unemployed before 600,000 compensable claims would be built up.

The American Federation of Labor representative, therefore, collaborated in drafting a more comprehensive proposal which was introduced by Senator Kilgore on July 17, 1946 in behalf of himself and Senators Murray, Wagner, Guffey, Thomas of the Utah and Peppers, (S. 1274), which amends the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 by adding a new title. This bill represented a sincere attempt to carry out President Truman's recommendation without in any way impairing or interfering

with present state unemployment compensation laws. It met the standards outlined by President Truman, viz., benefits of 26 weeks' duration with maximum of \$25.00 per week, and it also covers Federal and maritime employees. If any State did not voluntarily agree to supplement its State benefits in this way the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion was authorized to make such supplementary payments, although any State could voluntarily elect to administer the supplementary Federal benefits.

This bill did *not* provide for paying each unemployed person a uniform amount of \$25.00 a week but specifically provided that each individual will receive the same percentage amount of his wages now provided by State laws except that where this amount was limited by an arbitrary ceiling of \$15.00 or \$20.00 the ceiling would be increased so that a maximum amount of \$25.00 could be paid. In addition a State was given the option of liberalizing its benefit payments below the \$25.00 ceiling, with the further proviso in the bill that while an individual may receive 66% per cent of his wages, in no case must it be more than \$25.00 weekly.

The Kilgore bill differed from the Doughton Bill in providing increased benefits for returning veterans which the House bill did not include, and in starting payments under the Act without waiting for mass unemployment to exist. It also provides travel allowances for displaced workers.

It was believed that this bill would provide a strong incentive to the States to remove the restrictive disqualification and eligibility provisions characteristic of so many of their unemployment compensation laws and therefore make it possible for all States to increase their maximum to \$25.00 per week so long as there were no suitable jobs available up to 26 weeks.

It also provided for transportation for workers and their families when the only jobs available for them were at a distance from the localities in which they live. It also increases the maximum benefits to \$30.00 per week to servicemen with dependents for a period up to 52 weeks if unable to find suitable work for that long.

After long hearing and days of Senate debate the Senate passed S. 1274 but although the House Ways and Means Committee held long hearings both bills were pigeonholed.

#### RECONVERSION STATISTICS

H. R. 3146 was reported from the House Appropriation Committee and most of one afternoon was used up in general debate on the bill. However, the Rules Committee refused to grant a rule, and all the items in the bill were subject to points of order, as there was no legislative authority for such appropriations. Therefore, the Appropriations Committee was forced to withdraw the bill. It provides for statistics which were to be compiled by the Departments of Labor, Commerce and Agriculture on income and expenditures of individuals, a census of manufacturers, a census of business



We supported this measure which was passed by the Congress and approved by the President on October 23, 1945, (Public Law 201—79th Congress).

### HIGHWAYS

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H. R. 6324 was passed in 1946 (Public No. 562—79th Congress). It amends the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916, as amended, and supplemented to provide for the design and construction of dams so that they will serve as foundations for highways, bridges, etc., and thereafter orders all departments and agencies of the Government to construct all Government dams so they will be suitable for the same purposes. It authorizes expenditure of \$10,000,000, for reimbursement of these agencies for these additional expenditures, by the Commissioner of Public Roads.

### RIVERS AND HARBORS

**Public 14 (79th Congress).** This legislation, containing scores of postwar projects, failed of passage in the 78th Congress but was reintroduced early in the present Congress, was enacted, and became law March 2, 1945.

It does not become effective until six months after the official ending of the war.

Following the enactment of Public No. 14, a bill authorizing a great many additional projects for construction, repair and preservation of public works on rivers and harbors was enacted and became law on July 24, 1946 (Public Law No. 525—79th Congress).

### RECONVERSION UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

As a result of the presidential message to Congress on this subject, Chairman Doughton of the Ways and Means Committee introduced H. R. 3736. This bill is so hedged around with restrictions that it cannot be very effective. For example—it provides that 600,000 compensable claims must be built up before the bill becomes effective. This does not mean that 600,000 persons must be unemployed but that many compensable persons must be unemployed, therefore, it might be that 9 or 10 millions could be unemployed before 600,000 compensable claims would be built up.

The American Federation of Labor representative, therefore, collaborated in drafting a more comprehensive proposal which was introduced by Senator Kilgore on July 17, 1946 in behalf of himself and Senators Murray, Wagner, Guffey, Thomas of the Utah and Peppers, (S. 1274), which amends the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 by adding a new title. This bill represented a sincere attempt to carry out President Truman's recommendation without in any way impairing or interfering

with present state unemployment compensation laws. It met the standards outlined by President Truman, viz., benefits of 26 weeks' duration with maximum of \$25.00 per week, and it also covers Federal and maritime employees. If any State did not voluntarily agree to supplement its State benefits in this way the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion was authorized to make such supplementary payments, although any State could voluntarily elect to administer the supplementary Federal benefits.

This bill did *not* provide for paying each unemployed person a uniform amount of \$25.00 a week but specifically provided that each individual will receive the same percentage amount of his wages now provided by State laws except that where this amount was limited by an arbitrary ceiling of \$15.00 or \$20.00 the ceiling would be increased so that a maximum amount of \$25.00 could be paid. In addition a State was given the option of liberalizing its benefit payments below the \$25.00 ceiling, with the further proviso in the bill that while an individual may receive 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent of his wages, in no case must it be more than \$25.00 weekly.

The Kilgore bill differed from the Doughton Bill in providing increased benefits for returning veterans which the House bill did not include, and in starting payments under the Act without waiting for mass unemployment to exist. It also provides travel allowances for displaced workers.

It was believed that this bill would provide a strong incentive to the States to remove the restrictive disqualification and eligibility provisions characteristic of so many of their unemployment compensation laws and therefore make it possible for all States to increase their maximum to \$25.00 per week so long as there were no suitable jobs available up to 26 weeks.

It also provided for transportation for workers and their families when the only jobs available for them were at a distance from the localities in which they live. It also increases the maximum benefits to \$30.00 per week to servicemen with dependents for a period up to 52 weeks if unable to find suitable work for that long.

After long hearing and days of Senate debate the Senate passed S. 1274 but although the House Ways and Means Committee held long hearings both bills were pigeonholed.

#### RECONVERSION STATISTICS

H. R. 3146 was reported from the House Appropriation Committee and most of one afternoon was used up in general debate on the bill. However, the Rules Committee refused to grant a rule, and all the items in the bill were subject to points of order, as there was no legislative authority for such appropriations. Therefore, the Appropriations Committee was forced to withdraw the bill. It provides for statistics which were to be compiled by the Departments of Labor, Commerce and Agriculture on income and expenditures of individuals, a census of manufacturers, a census of business

employment and unemployment by States and cities and wages by cities and industries.

This bill was a very necessary one for planning for reconversion.

We were able, however, to secure the appropriation for the wages and unemployment statistics when the regular Labor Departmental appropriations were enacted in 1945.

Every effort was brought to bear on the Rules Committee to secure a rule up to the very day of recess but without avail.

In the closing days of the 79th Congress Representative Randolph introduced H. J. Res. 389 which was immediately reported by the Labor Committee and passed by the House of Representatives.

It provided \$250,000.00 additional funds for the Labor Department Bureau of Statistics for the collection of information and reports on prices of foodstuffs, rents and other living essentials, more frequently and covering a greater range than at present.

The Senate Education and Labor Committee considered the proposal and discovered such appropriations could be given without further authorization in the regular appropriation for 1947.

The Committee therefore unanimously agreed to request the Senate Appropriations Committee to do so and Chairman Murray appeared and made the request.

\$25,000.00 was allowed with the assurance that the matter would be further considered early in the 80th Congress.

#### FULL EMPLOYMENT

As an organization we yield to none in our consistent endeavors to promote stable and profitable employment. We have made some progress in securing incomes for wage earners enabling them to share in the material and cultural achievements of the world. We are deeply interested in proposals to assure jobs to all those who seek an opportunity to earn a living in productive employment at ample rates of pay.

We have endeavored to secure appropriations with which government agencies would be able to develop statistics which could be used as measuring rods and such statistics should furnish the size of working forces, those employed and self-employed, broken down by equal categories; employment and unemployment by industry and by area; national gross production, distribution of income therefrom, and its expenditure; savings and capital formation.

We, of course, favored legislation which would further full employment and so supported S. 380 which was enacted in disappointing emasculated form. The President, however, signed the bill February 20, 1946 (Public Law 304—79th Congress) and in July 1946 sent the names of Leon H. Kyserling, John Davidson Clark and Edwin G. Nourse to the Senate to be members of the Council of Economic Advisors set up by the bill. The nominations were approved July 30, 1946.

## SOCIAL SECURITY

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bills referred to in last year's report to the convention expired with the 78th Congress and modified bills were prepared and introduced by Senators Murray and Wagner (S. 1050) and Representative Dingell (H. R. 3293) in the present Congress. The following is a brief summary of the provisions of the new amendments to the Social Security Act:

The bill sets up a national social insurance system consisting of health insurance and temporary disability insurance in addition to improvements in existing unemployment insurance and in retirement, survivors and extended disability insurance.

**Part A—Prepaid Personal Health Service Insurance**—Provides for insurance of medical care costs; not state medicine.

**Part B—Unemployment and Temporary Disability Insurance Benefits**—On a Federal basis. Benefits of \$5 to \$30 per week up to twenty-six weeks; if funds are adequate, up to fifty-two weeks for unemployment.

**Part C—Retirement, Survivors and Total Disability Insurance Benefits**—Provides for more liberal benefits than existing law. Minimum, \$20 per month; maximum, \$120.

**Part D—National Social Insurance Trust Fund**—All funds invested in United States Government bonds.

**Part E—Credit for Military Service**—\$160 wages credited under the insurance system for each month of military service.

**Part F—Coverage Provisions and Definitions**—Extends coverage to about 15,000,000 additional persons.

**Part G—Social Insurance Contributions**—Four per cent each on employers and employees. Government contribution authorized when necessary.

**Part H—General Provisions**—Creates a National Advisory Council with Labor-Management representation.

Other sections of the bill provide:

1—A ten-year program of federal grants and loans for construction and expansion of hospitals, health centers and related facilities to be financed out of general revenues. The Federal Government will pay at least 25 percent of the cost of a project and up to 50 percent in accordance with a state's per capita income. Loans may not exceed an additional 25 percent of the cost of the project.

2—Federal grants to states from general revenues for expansion of public health services. The Federal Government will pay at least 25 percent of the amounts expended by a state and up to 75 per cent in accordance with a state's per capita income.

3—Federal grants to states from general revenues for maternal and child health and welfare services. The Federal Government will pay at least 25 percent of amounts expended by a state and up to 75 percent in accordance with a state's per capita income.

4—Federal grants to the states for public assistance to needy individuals—aged, blind, dependent children or others. Federal Government will pay at least 50 percent of amounts spent by states and up to 75 percent for states in accordance with a state's per capita income.

5—Permanent federal operation of United States Employment Service.

No action whatsoever was taken in either House on these bills, partly

because the Ways and Means Committee is having conducted a far-reaching investigation of Social Security as suggested by Senator Vandenberg. It was anticipated and hoped that rapid progress on the pending bills would follow upon completion of this investigation but instead the House Ways and Means Committee brought out an abortive measure, inadequate and inconsistent, freezing the social security deductions for the eighth consecutive year.

Some of the states would be deprived of some benefits under the bill.

On the other hand the bill had desirable features such as benefits in case of deceased war veterans and unemployment compensation for seamen. These beneficial features prevented opposition on our part.

The bill, H. R. 7037, passed Congress and was approved by the President. (Public Law 719—79th Congress).

We recommend that efforts be continued to increase the coverage and increase the benefits of the present Social Security Act along the lines of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bills.

#### HOUSING LEGISLATION

This subject is fully covered in another section of the Report of the Executive Council under this same title.

#### PRICE CONTROL

We supported (Public Law 108, 79th Congress approved June 30, 1945) extension of the period of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, and it was re-enacted without substantial change, for, although attempts were again made to bring barber shops and beauty parlors under control of the Administrator of the Act, we defeated these attempts.

In 1946 although desiring end of government controls at the earliest practical date possible we realized that the period of emergency price controls should be extended beyond the expiration date of June 30, 1946 without crippling amendments.

We exerted every effort to these ends with the vigorous support of our affiliated bodies but without avail and the Congress passed and sent to the White House an Act which was woefully inadequate and ineffectual, (H. R. 6042).

The President vetoed this measure and the veto was sustained the same day, June 29, 1946.

The House then on July 1, 1946 passed H. J. Res. 371 continuing OPA for a period of 20 days and the Senate on July 12, 1946 passed the resolution in amended form and conferees agreed on a bill which was approved by both Houses and which was reluctantly approved by the President on July 25, 1946, (Public Law 548—79th Congress).

The law as finally approved was not an improvement on the vetoed measure but the President was obliged to accept it or be without any controls whatsoever in the face of inflation with prices increasing by leaps

and bounds during the twenty-four days interim after the O. P. A. expired on June 30, 1946 until the new law became effective July 24, 1946.

The new law expires June 30, 1947 and under the measure, price controls on meats, poultry, eggs, grains, dairy products could not be restored until August 21, 1946, but rents, manufactured goods and other commodities with but few exceptions were immediately controlled.

A three member bi-partisan De-Control Board is set up with power to remove or clamp on controls.

The O. P. A. may be overruled by the Secretary of Agriculture to de-control farm commodities.

Particular attention is directed to Section 18 in regard to its effect on cutting wages or salaries back to the June 30, 1946 level in some cases.

The members of the Decontrol Board are Ray L. Thompson, Dan W. Bell and George H. Mead.

### MINIMUM WAGES

Senator Pepper, on March 19, 1945, introduced S. Con. Res. 11 in behalf of himself and Senators LaFollette and Johnston of South Carolina. This resolution provides "that it is the sense of the Congress that a straight time hourly rate of 65 cents per hour is the minimum below which the National War Labor Board shall consider any wage rate substandard."

After full and complete consideration, the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, headed by Senator Pepper, recommended that the War Labor Board be authorized to increase wages to 65 cents per hour minimum to correct substandard conditions in living. The present War Labor Board minimum is 55 cents.

The American Federation of Labor supported an increase in the minimum pay rates and suggested 72 cents per hour.

Senator Pepper's Subcommittee Report further recommended that the War Labor Board adopt a definite policy concerning substandard wages, using the cost-of-living budget approach as its criterion in determining what wage rate is required to eliminate substandards of living, and that the War Labor Board apply its policy uniformly in voluntary and dispute cases; that the Board discontinue its practice of offsetting wage increases granted to correct substandards against the 15 percent cost-of-living adjustment allowed under the Little Steel Formula; and that Congress give early consideration to amending the Fair Labor Standards Act with a view to raising the statutory minimum wage and broadening the coverage of the Act.

The Committee found that more than 10 million workers receive less than 65 cents per hour, and it is estimated that the maximum cost under the resolution would be about \$4,000,000,000 annually if all these workers were raised to 65 cents per hour.

The following bills have been introduced touching on the recommendations of the Pepper Committee:

Bill No.	Introduced By	Referred To
H. R. 1172	Holifield	Banking and Currency Committee
H. R. 3837	Huber	Committee on Labor
H. R. 3869	Price	Committee on Labor
H. R. 3841	Hook	Committee on Labor
H. R. 3844	O'Toole	Committee on Labor
S. 1282	Mead (and 9 others)	Committee on Education and Labor
S. 1349	Pepper	Committee on Education and Labor
H. R. 4130	Norton	Committee on Labor

S. 1349, the Pepper Bill, amending the Fair Labor Standards Act was enacted by the Senate and referred to the House Labor Committee which reported H. R. 4130, the Norton Bill, and no further action ensued except the filing of a petition, requiring the signature of 218 members, which failed.

The Pepper Bill specified a 65 cents minimum wage the first two years after its enactment, 70 cents the next two, and thereafter not less than 75 cents per hour.

The Norton Bill simply provided a 65 cent minimum under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

We recommended that the convention instruct the administrative officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor to continue endeavors to increase the minimum rates of wages of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

#### FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE

Although bills providing for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee (S. 2048 and H. R. 3986) were favorably reported in both Houses, they died with the ending of the 78th Congress.

New bills were introduced early in the 79th Congress after it convened January 3, 1945, (H. R. 2232, by Representative Norton, and S. 101, by Senator Chavez) and were favorably reported. These new bills are almost identical with those reported during the 78th Congress.

The American Federation of Labor by convention action is in favor of sound, constructive and practical fair employment legislation, but in its enactment careful effort should be put forth to prevent incorporation of legislative requirements which would injure rather than help in the promotion of tolerance.

Our 1943 Convention declared itself, in regard to this question, against the imposition of any policy, no matter how salutary, through compulsory government control, and this action was reiterated and confirmed by the 1944 Convention.

The bills as now reported and pending in the Congress are most objectionable and dangerous and they do not meet the requirements laid down by our conventions. It is our opinion that these bills providing for compulsory governmental regulation and denying to the trade union move-



ment the right of self-government, cannot but act as a detriment to the successful consummation of our efforts to solve the problem of discrimination and, therefore, they should be opposed in their present form.

When the War Agencies Bill (H. R. 3368) was under consideration, the House Committee on Rules refused to grant a rule for its consideration if the bill carried funds for the present Fair Employment Practices Committee which is set up by Executive Orders of the President (Executive Orders 8802-9346) and has no legislative authorization. (When a government agency has no status in law, an appropriation for it is subject to being stricken out in case a point of order is made against it. The adoption of a rule making it in order is a function of the Rules Committee.

The Appropriations Committee was, therefore, forced to observe the action of the Rules Committee and it reported, and the House passed, the bill without providing funds for the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The Senate Appropriations Committee reported the bill with \$446,000 of the \$599,000 requested by the Fair Employment Practices Committee and a filibuster ensued. A compromise was finally proposed and accepted in the Senate allowing \$250,000.

When the bill with the Senate amendments was returned to the House, unanimous consent was requested to send the bill to conference which was refused, so the Speaker referred it to the Appropriations Committee because of the parliamentary situation. The Appropriations Committee by a vote of twenty-one to eleven declined to insert any funds for the Fair Employment Practices Committee and reported the bill under a new number, H. R. 3649. This bill carried appropriations for the following war agencies, most of which were also without legislative status: Office for Emergency Management, Office of Alien Property Custodian, Smaller War Plants Corporation, Office of Censorship, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, Selective Service System, and War Relocation Authority.

The proponents of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, therefore, made points of order against appropriations for most of these agencies and they were stricken from the bill. The bill then went to the Senate Appropriations Committee and was tabled so the House Appropriations Committee revived H. R. 3368 and restored all including \$250,000 for the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The House and Senate accepted this amount with a proviso limiting its expenditure to termination of the Fair Employment Practices Committee during the 1946 fiscal year, unless legislation setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee by law is enacted by Congress, (Public Law No. 156 of the 79th Congress).

Legislation setting up a Fair Employment Practices Committee by law has not been enacted.

We recommend that the action of our 1943 and 1944 Conventions as set forth above be reiterated.

**ANTI-LYNCH BILLS**

S. 778, H. R. 113, H. R. 187, H. R. 405, H. R. 496, H. R. 1375, H. R. 1698 and H. R. 1747 were introduced on this subject, but none had been considered up to the time of the congressional recess.

We supported the principles incorporated in these legislative proposals and we recommend that they be continued.

**POLL TAX**

The following states still require the payment of this obnoxious tax as a prerequisite to voting in elections: Virginia, Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee and Mississippi.

We have consistently opposed the poll tax for years and in several Congresses have supported legislative proposals providing for its abolishment.

On several occasions the House of Representatives has passed the bill but it has been filibustered to death on each occasion in the Senate.

During the 79th Congress H. R. 7 was introduced, petitioned out of both the Judiciary and Rules Committees and passed by the House of Representatives but in the Senate after several attempts to attach it as an amendment to various bills failed, it was brought up on July 30, 1946 by Senate Leader Barkley who, realizing that it was impossible to pass the bill with unlimited debate, made a proposal to vote on a limitation of debate at 1 p.m. July 31, 1946.

This vote failed—by a vote of 39 for and 33 against—to apply cloture, two-thirds having failed to vote for it and under such circumstances the bill was laid aside.

It is recommended that we continue efforts to abolish this tax.

**UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE**

The Labor-Federal Security Appropriation Bill for 1947, Public Law 549, was approved July 26, 1946. It provides for the return of the Employment Service operations to the states on November 15, 1946.

The Federal Government, under the law, provides the funds for the entire cost of operating the offices until July 1, 1948, and all federal facilities and properties in the USES in each state are to be transferred to the states.

It authorizes the withholding of federal funds for financing the state system in case any state fails to make provision for the continuous employment of all personnel in the transferred offices.

It requires the state to make provision for the reemployment of employees of the Federal Government who left employment service positions to perform training and service in the armed forces or the United States Merchant Marine.

It directs the Civil Service Commission, upon request, to refund to former employees deductions made under the Civil Service Retirement Act.

Requires that state offices be operated in accordance with personnel merit system standards prescribed by the Secretary.

We were opposed to the transfer of the USES to the states and testified on several occasions on other measures favoring its retention by the Federal Government.

#### INTERNEED EMPLOYEES OF CONTRACTORS

S. 1561 to which we gave our full support amends the law providing benefits for the injury, death, disability or detention of employees of war contractors by providing 100 per cent earning provisions retroactively to January 1, 1942.

These employees are the men captured on Wake, Guam, etc.

The bill passed and became law—Public No. 650—(79th Congress).

#### NAVAL AND MILITARY PERSONNEL

Since September 16, 1940 up to the adjournment of the 79th Congress, 196 laws affecting veterans and their dependents were enacted.

We continued our support of all beneficial measures for service men.

Space will not permit detailing the above in this report but the laws are on file at headquarters.

#### TAXATION

H. R. 3633, a bill to facilitate reconversion, provides an increase in the excess profits tax exemption from \$10,000 to \$25,000, a 10% credit of 10% of the excess profits tax to be taken currently with respect to 1944 taxes and subsequent years. Advanced to 1946 the maturity date of postwar refund bonds, speeds up refunds from carry-backs, net operating losses, and speeds up refunds of recomputations of deductions for amortization of emergency facilities.

Reconversion and readjustment to peacetime operation, it is claimed, will be facilitated by enactment of the bill as business men could intelligently plan for postwar business.

The bill passed Congress and was approved by the President on July 31, 1945 (Public Law No. 172—79th Congress).

We approved the extension to business of some measure of relief from the burden of taxation in the amount of five billion dollars by this bill, but some relief should also have been extended to the great mass of taxpayers by increasing the amount of exemptions approximately as follows:

Single individual .....	\$1200.00
Married couple .....	2000.00
Credit for each dependent .....	500.00

Tax laws should be equitable and practical and the purchasing power of the mass of the people should not be reduced to such a level by heavy taxes and low exemptions that business is retarded and living standards lowered.

### OLEOMARGARINE TAX

H. R. 579 repeals the tax on oleomargarine. It was introduced by Mr. Rivers but no action was had. We reported to the 1944 Convention on our activities in endeavoring to repeal this most obnoxious tax.

It is recommended that we continue to oppose this tax.

### ALIENS' INCOME TAX

On May 7th J. P. Geelan (D) of Connecticut introduced H. R. 3138, a bill designed to plug loopholes in our tax laws under which approximately one-quarter million aliens escape paying taxes in the United States. It is estimated that the bill will force the payment of approximately \$200,000,000 in taxes from an estimated \$800,000,000 in stock-market profits which these non-resident aliens and refugees, most of whom are here on extended visitors' permits, appear to have gleaned. The bill will also make the tax liability retroactive to 1940, with directions to the United States Treasury that it collect.

By giving their official residence in countries other than the United States, non-resident aliens avoid tax payments to the United States on profits that would cost an American citizen from 25 to 80 per cent in taxes. They also make an additional profit by sending American-made money home and taking advantage of the depreciated currency in their own countries.

Senators Maybank of South Carolina and McMahon of Connecticut are also interested in this proposal and may jointly sponsor a drive for a tax amendment to remove any doubt that profiteering aliens are subject to taxes. Senator McMahon has been making an investigation of this matter since last spring and has endeavored to persuade the Treasury to interpret the term, "non-resident alien," so that refugees here on extended visitors' visas might be termed resident aliens and under such a classification they would be subject to taxation.

The Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee backs this move and says the Joint Tax Committee of which he is also chairman is awaiting report from the Treasury on this subject.

### EDUCATION

We sponsored and had introduced S. 717 and H. R. 3002, identical bills, providing Federal aid to education in conjunction with the states, and Vice-President Woll presented our viewpoint to the Congress at the hearing.

Our opponents sponsored S. 181 and H. R. 1296 and we have advised state federations of labor in regard to the bills and they contacted members of Congress from their states in favor of our bill.

All bills failed to pass either House.

### FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

Just prior to adjournment Senators Morse, Murray and Pepper introduced a bill providing for a ten-year, \$19,000,000,000.00 educational program, S. 2499.

No doubt the proposal will be introduced in the 80th Congress and in the meanwhile our Committee on Education will study its details.

Just prior to adjournment, too late for any action, Senator Fulbright introduced S. 2503 which provides for a Federal Department of Health, Education and Security.

#### AID TO STATES

S. 619, providing \$24,000,000 to be allotted to the State and Territories for vocational education, training and work experience, etc., was opposed by us. It would set up trade schools throughout the United States.

The basis of our opposition was not to vocational education as such but because we had drafted and introduced S. 717 and H. R. 3002 providing for equalization of educational opportunities for all children, to eradicate illiteracy, etc.

S. 619 passed the Congress and was approved by the President on August 1, 1946. (Public Law 586—79th Congress.)

#### HEALTH AND SAFETY WORKING CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY

The American Federation of Labor aided in the drafting of H. R. 525, a bill providing for cooperation with state agencies administering labor laws in establishing and maintaining safe and proper working conditions in industry and the preparation, promulgation, and enforcement of regulations to control industrial health hazards. The bill authorized the appropriation of \$250,000 annually for these purposes.

It was favorably reported by the House Committee on Labor and an attempt was made to pass it under unanimous consent. However, this failed. It was then planned to bring the bill up under suspension of the rule but the Speaker declined to recognize anyone for such a purpose.

It is pointed out that the Public Health Service opposed this bill as they did not wish the State Labor Department agencies to administer it, feeling it should be handled by the Health Service.

As the bill died with the 79th Congress, we are of the opinion that the standing Committee on Education and Health of the American Federation of Labor should consider this proposal in conjunction with measures which covered the field generally and which have previously been handled by the standing committee.

#### HOSPITALS

S. 191, introduced by Senator Hill, provided \$5,000,000 for assisting the states in carrying on a survey as to the need of hospitals. The bill also authorized the appropriation of \$100,000,000 for allotment, each year for five years, for construction among the states.

We appeared in favor of this bill and suggested an amendment providing for the payment of the prevailing rates of wages which was adopted.

The bill passed both Houses of Congress but not in identical form and

was sent to conference. The conferees reached an agreement on the bill and it became law. (Public No. 725—79th Congress.)

As enacted it carries \$75,000,000 federal contributions each year for a period of five years. As the Federal Government contributes one-third of the cost annually, the program over the five-year period amounts to \$1-125,000,000.00.

#### PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

The Senate completed action on August 1, 1945 on H. J. Res. 23. This resolution calls for the observance of "National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week."

We supported this proposal and also appeared and testified in support of H. Res. 45 which called for an investigation as to aid from physically handicapped in conserving manpower in the war effort.

#### BLIND

We supported H. R. 2020 designed to prevent discrimination against the blind in Civil Service and H. R. 2594 providing for appointment of placement agents for the blind.

The Social Security amendments recently enacted (Public Law 719—79th Congress) reported upon elsewhere in this report also make additional provisions for the blind.

S. 2430 and H. R. 6455 were introduced and the latter passed both Houses of Congress and became law (Public Law 661—79th Congress).

It provides \$1,125,000.00 for the purchase of books for the blind.

We feel that it is incumbent upon us in our capacity as citizens and as an organization to continue to support reasonable aid for those who are blind or otherwise physically handicapped and it is so recommended.

#### INSURANCE

We reported on this subject to the 1944 Convention, advising that the then pending legislation would permit insurance companies to be exempted from the application of federal labor laws such as Fair Labor Standards Act, National Labor Relations Act, Anti-Injunction Act, etc.

We further advised that, as a result of our protests, a new bill, meeting our objections, would be drafted and enacted in the 79th Congress. This was done and S. 340, introduced by Senators McCarran, and Ferguson, became law (Public No. 15—79th Congress).

#### CHILDREN

We gave exceptional consideration to the welfare of children. The appropriations for the Children's Bureau carried in the Labor Department Appropriations Bill for 1946 (Public No. 24—79th Congress) totaled for all the Bureau's activities \$56,368,510. In addition, a supplemental appropriation for 1945 of \$2,200,000 was granted. (Public No. 83—79th Congress.)

The Recission Bill, (H. R. 5158) (Public 301—79th Congress), approved

February 18, 1946, reduced appropriations made for federal departments and agencies by many billions of dollars.

The Children's Bureaus Appropriation for 1946 was reduced \$8,113,600 by this law.

The following table compares the 1946 appropriations with those of 1947:

	1946	1947
Total appropriation for Children's Bureau .....	\$50,382,260	\$29,045,341
Following amounts were allotted from .....	278,000	356,810
Labor Department and State Department .....	84,210	80,000

The above table does not include the recent amendments to the Social Security Act which are as follows:

For Children's Bureau Administration ..... Increase of \$ 425,000

For Grants to states—

These grants are in the following amounts, including the amounts shown in the tables of appropriations for 1946 and 1947. In other words, they include the amounts previously authorized and the increase under amendments to the Social Security Act.

For maternal and child health service ..... \$11,000,000

For services for crippled children ..... 7,500,000

For child welfare services ..... 3,500,000

We gave active support to the proposed amendments to the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act which, if enacted into law, would strengthen the existing provisions in two ways: First, by including a direct prohibition against the employment of children by the employer; the present law prohibits only the shipment of goods in commerce from an establishment in which children have been employed contrary to the Act. Second, by extending the coverage of the child-labor provisions of the Act to establishments engaging in interstate commerce even though not producing goods and shipping them in commerce. This extension of coverage would have included among other enterprises telephone and telegraph companies; railroads and boats engaging in shipping in interstate or foreign commerce. Our testimony before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on S. 1349, pointed out our consistent opposition to the exploitation of children and urged that the children of the nation be given this additional protection by covering the industries engaged in commerce as well as those producing goods for commerce. The same testimony was offered before the House Labor Committee.

**School Lunches Program.** The following bills, to expand the school lunch program, were introduced:

Number	Introduced by	Title	Status
S. 503	Ellender	To provide federal assistance in establishment, maintenance, etc., of school lunch and milk programs.	In Committee on Agriculture
S. 962	Russell Ellender	To provide federal assistance in establishment, maintenance, etc., of school lunch and milk programs.	Indefinitely postponed HR. 3370 passed in lieu thereof
H. R. 2673	Flannagan	To provide federal assistance in maintenance, etc., of lunch programs in schools and child-care centers.	In Committee on Agriculture



Number	Introduced By	Title	Status
H. R. 3143	Flannagan	To provide assistance to states in establishment, etc., of school lunch programs.	In Committee on Agriculture
H. R. 3370	Flannagan	To provide assistance to the states in the establishment, maintenance, operation, and expansion of school lunch programs.	Approved June 4, 1946 Public Law 396

H. R. 3370 authorizes funds to be apportioned in the states and territories by the Secretary of Agriculture. It passed Congress and was approved by the President on June 4, 1946 (Public No. 396, 79th Congress).

### UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The Special House Committee on Un-American Activities, formerly commonly known as the Dies Committee, was made a regular standing committee of the House.

We continued supporting the new committee which endeavors to expose the machinations of those opposed to our form of government and wish to overthrow it by force or violence as despite the opposition and criticism of a comparatively few, this committee has done some excellent work.

Continued support is recommended.

### PROHIBITION

The following bills are pending on prohibition:

S. 744  
S. 860  
H. Res. 270  
H. Res. 278  
H. R. 752  
H. R. 3117

While none of the bills have made progress, petitions are filed daily in the Congressional Record by members from organizations or groups of citizens favoring or opposing the bills.

We were recorded in opposition to all these proposals and similar bills, no doubt, will be introduced in the next Congress.

It is recommended that our officers and representatives be instructed to watch this matter carefully and to oppose all measures designed to restore prohibition wholly or in part.

### SALE OF GOVERNMENT-OWNED MERCHANT VESSELS

H. R. 1425 provides for sale of certain government-owned merchant vessels. We supported the changes advocated by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers Union of North America at the hearings held in 1945 before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

No further action was taken on this bill but the bill as revised and reintroduced (H.R. 3603) became law March 8, 1946. (Public Law 321—79th Congress)

This measure provides for the disposal of some 4500 surplus ships and

as passed will save shipping companies almost \$1,000,000,000 as the minimum value of these ships was estimated at \$2,000,000,000.

### SEAMEN'S INCOME TAX

We supported H. R. 3385, introduced by Congressman Welch at the request of the Seamen's Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers' International Union of North America, which is designed to alleviate the effect on seamen's wages of the annual accounting period for the purposes of the federal income tax, as under present law seamen are unduly penalized.

### RE-EMPLOYMENT - - MERCHANT MARINE

H.R. 3973 a bill providing re-employment rights for those who left their employment to serve in the merchant marine was enacted into law. (Public Law 660—79th Congress).

It gives the men of the merchant marine rights similar to those carried in the Selective Service Act for those who served in the armed services.

### EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

Bills providing equal pay for equal work for women were introduced and favorably reported in both Houses. (H.R. 5221—S. 1178)

Both failed to pass either House.

We favor and will support the principle enunciated in the title of the bills but as drafted, as amended, and reported they should be carefully examined before approval is given, if similar proposals are introduced in the next Congress.

### EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

The Equal Rights Amendment for women (H. J. Res. 49) was favorably reported by the House Judiciary Committee. A rule, permitting it's consideration by the House was applied for but was not granted.

A similar measure (S. J. Res. 61) was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 38 to 35 as two-thirds of those voting failed to support the proposal.

This proposal would destroy all laws designed to protect the physical and social wellbeing of women and, in addition, laws designed to force the support of families, etc.

We will continue to oppose its enactment.

### FEDERAL JUDGES

**Retirement.** S. 565 extends the benefits of retirement to judges of the District Courts of Alaska, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands and Canal Zone. The bill provides that judges may retire at the age of 70 after having served for ten years or more whether continuously or not.

We endeavored to have the ten-year period stricken from the bill when it reached the House Committee and have eight years inserted, as most

of these judges are appointed for either a four-year or eight-year term but we were not successful. The bill was enacted and approved by the President, April 16, 1946, (Public Law 345—79th Congress).

**Salary Increase.** S. 920 (H. R. 2181) provides for an increase in the salaries of all judges of the United States Courts of \$5,000.00 per year.

The bill was enacted with our full support and was approved by the President, July 31, 1946 (Public Law 567—79th Congress).

#### **GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR**

The newest addition to the federated bodies under the American Federation of Labor is pleased to report upon its operations during the seventeen months it has functioned.

The Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor was created at the suggestion of Brother William C. Doherty who called the initial meeting.

This Council took its place in organized labor's family at a time when the war was in its final stages, thus inheriting some of the problems still unsolved because of the stress of circumstances.

The Council though new to its responsibilities had to revise its planning to a peacetime basis at a time when it was just moving into high gear on a wartime basis. The facility with which these changes were made was a tribute to its member unions which had thrown support so wholeheartedly behind the purposes of the Council.

The preamble of the Council's constitution sets forth the desire for creation of such Council, based upon the need for "improved working conditions brought about through constant and frequent exchange of the best views of the leaders of all groups concerned."

Differential rates, safeguarding the rights of all American Federation of Labor members including supervisors in the government service, adjustment in basic pay rates, improvement of retirement provisions, including family benefits, are only a few of the topics with which the Council has been concerned in the few months it has carried on.

In addition, the Council has had as its guests speakers from the Congress and from the Executive Branch of the Government who have presented their side in discussions. The Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor is widely known in the Government.

#### **FIGHT TO HOLD GAINS**

The Council took part in the legislative struggle over the governmental reorganization plans submitted by the President. Primarily its interests lay in the fact that the United States Employes' Compensation Commission was being ordered dissolved. By a margin of only two Senate votes, the Commission was abolished.

The more obvious factors involved in working for Uncle Sam have

been considered by the Council—salaries and wages, efficiency ratings, retirement benefits, hours and general conditions of government employment. A number of abuses have already been eliminated as a direct result of unions working together through the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor. Improvements have been noted at gratifying intervals.

Memberships of government employes in the Unions affiliated to the Council now total a quarter of a million. The over-all membership, of course, is far greater.

#### BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

Due to the war there was no convention held in the year 1945.

At the thirty-eighth annual convention in 1944, the convention concurred in the action of the Executive Council that no President would be appointed for the Building and Construction Trades Department and that the resident members of the Executive Council would continue to render decisions in jurisdictional disputes. This has been the practice since that time.

The officers of the Department have at all times cooperated with the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor and they in turn have given the Department the fullest degree of assistance on legislative matters.

When called upon, the officials of the other Departments of the American Federation of Labor and the Office of the Director of Organization have always been willing to cooperate with this Department.

The Wage Adjustment Board continued to function for the duration of the war and after that in the reconversion period. The regular Labor members consist of Harry Bates, Robert Byron and Herbert Rivers. The alternates are C. W. Sickles, John Garvey, William McCarthy, O. William Blaier and James Riley.

This department worked with the War and Navy Departments, the Labor Department, the Veterans Administration and other agencies of the Government all during the war and in the reconversion period. Letters of commendation have been received from the above mentioned Departments and agencies of the Government on the work of the building and construction trades during the emergency period.

The national and international unions in affiliation with this Department have made special concessions in their apprenticeship systems in order to help the returning veterans.

This Department has cooperated fully with the veterans housing program and given assistance to the Civilian Production Administration in keeping them informed as to the availability of labor throughout the various parts of the country when they received requests for priorities for building other than houses.

The finances of the Building and Construction Trades Department are

in excellent condition and all affiliated national and international unions are in good standing with the Department and will be represented at the thirty-ninth annual convention.

### METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The affiliated and cooperating International Unions of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., were occupied in 1945 primarily with the war production effort, and after V-J Day in negotiating peacetime agreements.

The Metal Trades Department is exceptionally proud of the record made by its affiliated and cooperating International Unions during the war period. Their members excelled all previous records for production, this being particularly true in shipbuilding.

In 1941 the metal trades and their cooperating International Unions negotiated a so-called Master Shipbuilding Agreement on the Pacific Coast. At the height of the shipbuilding production, some 480,000 members were covered by this single agreement. Some of the shipbuilding firms made records for production unapproached by those of any other country, and produced liberty ships with from twenty to seventy thousands less man days than other shipyards.

Friendly negotiations for an increase in wages for shipyard workers began in December 1945, and terminated in February 1946, when, without any stoppage of work, an increase of 18 cents an hour was secured.

The Metal Trades Department was the first labor organization to declare a definite policy of no strikes during wartime. This pledge was kept with a few exceptions, and in these cases the membership responded to the request of their international unions that they return to work so that their grievances could be taken up under the provisions of the agreement they had with their employers.

Early this year, before the automobile and steel strikes, local Metal Trades Councils negotiated hundreds of agreements with their employers carrying increases in wages, these agreements being approved by the War Labor Board because they did not carry with them any provisions for an increase in prices.

This policy if carried out by the members of organizations not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, would have spared our economy much of the confusion which had resulted from increases in wages based upon an assurance that the employers could recover in part by increasing prices.

The widely advertised unemployment which was to follow cessation of hostilities set in motion by some theorists and national planners, failed to develop. While hundreds of thousands of metal workers were discharged when wartime plants ceased to produce, the demand for skilled workmen had been so steady that there is practically no unemployment in the metal trades; in fact national officers are being continually called upon to supply skilled workmen.

The membership of the metal trades is at present much larger than ever before. No unwise and unjustified strikes have drained the national treasury, or cut down their income. Never before has the Metal Trades Department been in a better position to protect and advance the interests of its members.

#### **REPORT OF RAILWAY EMPLOYES' DEPARTMENT TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR**

The Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations have continued to make progress in improving the wages and working conditions of their membership in the railroad industry. The principal gains made during the past two years have been the negotiation of many new and revised agreements providing for improved conditions and the elimination of substandard rates of pay, the liberalization of the 1941 Vacation Agreement to provide for a two-week vacation with pay and the negotiation of substantial increases in basic wage rates. In addition, the railroad labor organizations have succeeded in securing the enactment of amendments to the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts, providing for the extension and liberalization of the benefits under these laws.

##### **Progress of Organization**

Substantially all of the railroad mileage in the United States is now under agreement with the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated international organizations. At the present time, these agreements cover the mechanical trades employees on about 95 percent of the line-haul mileage in the United States in addition to numerous switching and terminal companies, electric railways and other types of carriers in the railroad industry. The only large railroad not yet organized is the Pennsylvania Railroad where an intensive campaign is now in progress. We hope soon to also have this carrier under agreement.

Meanwhile, good progress has been made since the last Convention in extending organization to the few remaining carriers not yet organized. During the past two years representation was established on 18 new carriers and for one or more crafts on 15 roads where representation was previously established for some of the crafts. As heretofore, however, the chief emphasis has been on the negotiation of revised agreements so as to eliminate substandard wages and working conditions. In addition to 36 new agreements which have been negotiated, 50 existing agreements have been revised, which makes a total of 86 carriers on which agreement negotiations have been carried on during the past two years by the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations.

##### **Vacation Movement—1944**

During June, 1944, a movement was inaugurated to liberalize the Vacation Agreement of December 17, 1941 by the Fourteen Cooperating

Standard Railway Labor Organizations, original parties to this agreement. Notices were served on June 26, 1944 by the respective organizations on each railroad requesting that Sections 1 and 2 of the Vacation Agreement be amended to provide for an annual vacation of 12 consecutive days with pay for employees who rendered not less than 160 days of compensated service during the previous calendar year, and 15 and 18 consecutive days with pay for employees with two and three years of service respectively, to be effective with the calendar year, 1945.

As provided by the Railway Labor Act, conferences were held between the representatives of the organizations and management on each property. No agreement was reached, so in keeping with the request contained in the notices, conference committees were formed by the carriers and the involved organizations for the purpose of negotiating further with respect to the dispute. Conferences were begun on December 7, 1944 and continued until December 14, 1944 when the services of the National Mediation Board were invoked because no agreement could be reached. Mediation proceedings were begun by the Board on January 9, 1945, but failing to bring about a settlement, the Board requested that the parties submit the matter to arbitration on January 17. While both parties were disposed to arbitrate, no agreement could be reached on an arbitration agreement with the result that the Board terminated mediation on January 18, 1945. The representatives of the employees filed a request with the National Railway Labor Panel on January 22, 1945, for the appointment of an Emergency Board, but before a Board was appointed, the case was re-opened and mediation was resumed. Proceedings were conducted on February 9 and 10, and again beginning February 19 with the result that an agreement was reached on February 23 settling the controversy. This agreement was approved by the National Railway Labor Panel on March 3, 1945, and became effective January 1, 1945.

The agreement, which is in the nature of a supplement to the Vacation Agreement of December 17, 1941, provides for an annual vacation of six days with pay for employees rendering compensated service of not less than 160 days during the previous year as before, but in addition, employees who have rendered 160 days of compensated service during the previous calendar year and have five or more years of continuous service, and during such period of continuous service have rendered compensated service on not less than 160 days in each of five of such years, not necessarily consecutive, receive 12 consecutive work days with pay. This applies to all employees except clerks and telegraphers, who continue to receive 6, 9, and 12 days vacation with pay after one, two and three years of service respectively, as provided by the Vacation Agreement of December 17, 1941.

Like the Vacation Agreement of December 17, 1941, the Supplemental Agreement will continue in effect for two years from its effective date, but either party may serve notice not less than seven months prior to January 1, 1947 (or in any subsequent year) of a desire to amend the



agreement as of the end of the year during which notice is served. A counter-proposal may be served within 30 days following the receipt of such notice by the other party and the procedure thereafter will be in accordance with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, as amended.

#### Railroad Wage Movements of 1945-46

With the rigid controls over wages exercised by the government under the stabilization program, the railway employees could not proceed with any further general adjustment of wage rates so various movements were begun for essential changes in working conditions which were permissible under the stabilization program.

On September 25, 1945, the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations served notice on the various carriers requesting the establishment of a six-hour day without a reduction in compensation. The carriers immediately countered with a notice for changes in certain working rules. Meanwhile, a number of the other non-operating railroad labor organizations likewise served notice on the carriers for a five-day week and various other changes in wages and working rules.

These various movements were progressed on each carrier in accordance with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, but when an effort was made by the organizations representing the different groups of employees to secure the establishment of national conference committees to deal with these disputes, the carriers took the position that they did not have sufficient personnel to form a conference committee to deal with each dispute. Meanwhile, the government had changed its stabilization program so as to permit further general adjustment of wage rates. Under the circumstances, it was decided that all pending requests should be deferred in favor of one general request for a wage adjustment by all of the organizations representing the non-operating employees. As the result of negotiations with the conference committees representing the carriers, an agreement was executed and signed on November 29, 1945, converting the original requests into a single proposal providing for an increase in wage rates of 30 cents per hour, with the understanding, however, that it would not prejudice the right of either party to make the original issues the subject of a new proposal which could be taken up at any time, in accordance with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act as amended.

The dispute was considered in conferences conducted between the parties. Failing to reach an agreement, they invoked the services of the National Mediation Board on December 13, 1945, but the Board also failed to bring about a settlement. As provided under the Railway Labor Act, the Board then proposed that the parties arbitrate the wage dispute. The conference committees representing both the carriers and the organizations agreed and with the assistance of the Board, negotiated an Arbitration Agreement which was signed on January 26, 1946.

In accordance with the terms of the Arbitration Agreement, the carriers and the organizations each appointed two arbitrators. Messrs.

Ralph Budd, President of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, and J. Carter Fort, Vice-President and General Counsel of the Association of American Railroads, were selected to represent the carriers, while E. E. Milliman, President of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, and F. H. Knight, President of the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, were selected to represent the employees. They were unable to agree on the two public members so the National Mediation Board appointed Judge H. B. Rudolph of the Supreme Court of South Dakota and Judge Ernest M. Tipton of the Supreme Court of Missouri to act as the neutral arbitrators.

Meanwhile, notices were served on the carriers by the organizations representing the operating employees, i.e., the train and engine service employees, requesting an increase in wages and changes in certain working rules. One notice was served by the organizations representing the Engineers and Trainmen and another by the organizations representing the Firemen, Conductors and Switchmen. As in the case of the non-operating employees the carriers countered with requests for various changes in working rules. The organizations representing the Firemen, Conductors and Switchmen reached an agreement with the carriers to arbitrate their wage request and defer all action on their rules proposals, but the organizations representing the Engineers and Trainmen declined to drop their rules proposals and also refused to enter into an Arbitration Agreement. As a result, the President appointed an Emergency Board to investigate the dispute involving the latter employees.

Separate hearings before the two Arbitration Boards were begun in Chicago on February 18, 1946. Following the completion of the employees' presentation in each case, the two Arbitration Boards sat jointly to hear the carriers' evidence. Rebuttal was then presented to the individual boards by the respective groups of organizations representing the employees. At the conclusion of the hearings on March 26, 1946, each of the two Arbitration Boards went into executive session and on April 3, 1946 handed down their respective awards, both providing for an increase in wage rates of 16 cents per hour, effective January 1, 1946, as provided in the Arbitration Agreements.

The award covering the Firemen, Conductors and Switchmen was signed by the carrier and public members of the Board, while the award covering the non-operating employees was signed by the public and labor members with the latter filing a special opinion protesting the basis of the award. In addition to objecting to the adoption by the public members of the award of 16 cents granted to the operating employees, which was based on the application of the cost-of-living formula to this group of employees only, the labor members of the Board considering the non-operating employees' case insisted that the inequalities of these employees should have been corrected and that their correction was permissible under the stabilization program of the government. The labor members signed

the award only to forestall a lesser award being granted by the public and management members.

Following the pattern set by the Arbitration Boards, the Emergency Board hearing the case of the Engineers and Trainmen likewise recommended an increase in wage rates of 16 cents per hour as well as changes in seven working rules in its Report which was filed with the President on April 18, 1946.

Dissatisfied with the awards of the Arbitration Boards, the fifteen non-operating Railroad Labor Organizations served notice on the carriers on April 15, 1946, requesting an additional increase of 14 cents per hour, while the organizations representing the Firemen, Conductors and Switchmen served notice on the carriers on May 4, 1946 for further wage increases ranging from 40 cents to \$1.20 per day and certain changes in working rules.

Meanwhile, the organizations representing the Engineers and Trainmen, declining to accept the recommendations of the Emergency Board, broke off negotiations with the carriers conference committees on May 3, 1946, and announced that a strike of these employes would take place on May 18, 1946. The government took over the operation of the railroads on May 17 and on the following day, the strike was deferred for five days at the request of the President. Conferences were conducted between the representatives of the organizations and the railways from May 19 to 21 without making any progress, so on May 22, the President proposed that an increase of 18½ cents per hour and deferment of rules changes for one year be accepted by both parties as a basis of settlement. A similar proposal was made to the representatives of the other eighteen railroad labor organizations in settlement of their pending requests.

This proposal was accepted by the representatives of the carriers and the eighteen railroad labor organizations but rejected by the representatives of the Engineers and Trainmen with the result that a strike of these employes was called at 4:00 P.M. on May 23, 1946 as scheduled. Negotiations between the representatives of the employes and the carriers were continued while the strike was in progress, however, and on May 25, 1946, an agreement was reached and the strike called off. On the same day, the President appeared before a joint session of the Congress to request restrictive labor legislation to deal with strikes.

The settlement was on the terms proposed by the President which provided that an increase of 18½ cents per hour would be effective as of May 22 and that the retroactive adjustment for the period January 1 to May 22 would be on the basis of 16 cents per hour, as recommended by the Emergency Board. In addition, rules changes were deferred for a period of one year.

On May 25, the representatives of the Firemen, Conductors and Switchmen signed a similar agreement with the carriers while the organizations representing the non-operating employes, which were not involved in a rules dispute, signed an agreement providing for an increase in wages of

2½ cents per hour effective May 22, 1946, with no restriction of the right to amend agreement rules at any time. This increase, with the 16 cents previously awarded by the Arbitration Board, made a total of 18½ cents per hour.

With the settlement of all matters in dispute, the railroads were returned to their private owners on May 26, 1946.

#### **Canadian Railroad Wages And Working Conditions**

As outlined in our previous report the National War Labour Board in Canada awarded an increase in wage rates of 6 cents per hour to all Canadian railway employees on July 31, 1944 retroactive to September 15, 1943.

Following the settlement of this dispute, Division No. 4, of the Railway Employees' Department, which with its affiliated international organizations represents the mechanical trades on the Canadian Railways, began a movement to revise the existing agreement with the Railway Association of Canada. On January 30, 1945, notice was served on the Association requesting that Wage Agreement No. 6 be amended to provide for a two-weeks' vacation with pay, a forty-hour week, an increase in wage rates of 10 cents per hour and certain other changes in working rules.

Conferences between the representatives of the organizations and the railways were held in Montreal during June, July and August, 1945, but because the railways would not agree to any changes in rules which would involve an increase in expenditures; and negotiations on the other proposed changes could not go forward until these matters were disposed of, the representatives of the railways were advised on September 12, 1945 that the Employees' Negotiating Committee of Division No. 4, Railway Employees' Department, would present their proposals for vacations with pay, the forty-hour week and an increase in basic rates to the National War Labour Board for approval.

Accordingly an application was filed with the Board on October 2, 1945, requesting that a hearing be granted so that evidence could be presented in support of the employees' requests. On February 12, 1946, a brief in support of the employees' position was filed with the Board. The carriers filed their reply on June 3, 1946 and the employees filed their rebuttal to the carriers' submission on July 18, 1946. Although an immediate hearing was requested, the Board referred the dispute back to the parties for further negotiation. A similar request was also directed to the other Railway Labor Organizations having wage and other requests pending, and conferences are now in progress between the representatives of all of the Railways and the Railroad Labor Organizations in Canada for the purpose of trying to reach a settlement on all matters in dispute.

#### **Railroad Retirement And Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts**

In the field of legislation, the most significant development which has occurred affecting railroad employees was the amendment of the Railroad

Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts so as to provide for extended and more liberal benefits to railroad workers under these Acts.

In 1940, a committee was appointed by the Railway Labor Executives' Association to study the numerous proposals which had been submitted from time to time for changes in the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts, and with the aid of the Railroad Retirement Board, a bill was finally drawn up containing the most essential of these proposals, consistent with a reasonable increase in taxes to meet the minimum needs of railroad workers.

This measure (S. 1911) was introduced in the Senate on May 11, 1944 by Senator Wagner and Senator Wheeler, while the companion measure (H.R. 4805) was introduced in the House by Congressman Cresser on May 15, 1944. Hearings were conducted by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, but other than that, no further action was taken.

The bill as it was first introduced was a codification of all of the original laws, amendments thereto and the proposed amendments, but since there was some objection to this, a bill which simply amended the Railroad Retirement, Unemployment Insurance and Taxing Laws was introduced by Congressman Cresser (H.R. 5625) on December 16, 1944. This bill, which contained the basic changes of its predecessor, except for two additional higher unemployment insurance benefits rates, was introduced too late in the session for any action to be taken and therefore, it was reintroduced by Congressman Cresser as H.R. 1632 on January 11, 1945, while its companion bill, S. 293, was introduced in the Senate by Senator Wagner four days later.

Hearings were held by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce from January 31 to April 26, 1945, while in the Senate, the bill was referred to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce where hearings were held from July 23 to July 27, 1945. In September, 1945, the House Committee also referred the bill to a subcommittee for study with instructions to report its recommendations to the full Committee. On March 1, 1946, the subcommittee of the House committee filed its report with the full committee recommending a number of crippling amendments to the original Cresser Bill. On April 11, 1946, the full House Committee not only adopted the unfavorable recommendations of the subcommittee, but adopted some additional crippling amendments of its own, thus effecting a virtual emasculation of the original proposals.

It was apparent that the House Committee would either report a measure which would be wholly unacceptable to the railroad workers or withhold making any report prior to the adjournment of the Congress. Under the circumstances, a petition was filed by Representative Mathew M. Neeley, of West Virginia on April 16, 1946 to discharge the House Committee from further consideration of H.R. 1362. Within two days, the required number of 218 Representatives had signed the petition. Before

the House could vote on the petition, however, the House Committee reported out its emasculated version of the Bill on May 9, 1946, giving it the same number as the original Crosser Bill in order to nullify the effect of the petition.

The bill was subsequently given an "open rule" by the Rules Committee of the House which meant that the House could first vote on the substitute bill of the House Committee, and then, if it rejected the substitute, on the original Crosser Bill. When the substitute Bill reported by the House Committee came to a vote on July 3, 1946, it was defeated decisively; the original Crosser Bill. When the substitute bill reported by the House vote of 234 to 49. The measure was then sent to the Senate where it was passed on July 26, 1946 by a vote of 55 to 11. The Senate amended the measure in a number of respects, however, so it was necessary to refer it back to the House for further action. The following day, the House rejected a proposal made by Congressman Lea to send the bill to a Conference Committee and under a suspension of rules, passed the bill as amended by the Senate by a vote of 189 to 64, which is well in excess of the two-thirds majority required under a suspension of rules. The amendments became law with the signature of the President on July 31, 1946.

Except for the changes made in the Senate and adopted in the House providing for the elimination of the proposed extended coverage of the Acts, as well as the provision transferring the collection of taxes under the Carriers' Taxing Act from the Bureau of Internal Revenue to the Railroad Retirement Board, the amendments enacted into law were substantially as proposed in the original Crosser Bill.

The principal changes made in the Railroad Retirement Act and the Carriers' Taxing Act include the following:

1. The provision of monthly death benefits for an employe's widow and minor children or his dependent parents and a lump-sum death benefit for his survivors where no monthly benefit is immediately payable. These benefits, which have been substituted for the existing joint-survivor and death benefit provisions, include monthly payments to widows past age 65, to dependent, unmarried children under age 18, to younger widows having such children in their care, and to dependent parents over age 65 where there is no widow or child, while the lump-sum death benefit is payable where the employe's survivors do not qualify immediately for monthly benefits. The new benefits are similar to those provided under the Social Security Act except that the monthly payments will average about 25 percent higher and the lump-sum payments about two-thirds higher. Earnings under both the Social Security and the Railroad Retirement Systems after 1936 will be combined for the purpose of computing these benefits, so that employes who make one or more shifts from railroad to non-railroad employment, or vice-versa will suffer no loss in their insurance credits. The monthly benefits will be payable to the survivors of those who died before as well as after the effective date of the amendments, although the benefits

themselves will not be retroactive. The new lump-sum death benefits will be payable only to the survivors of those who die after the effective date.

2. The provision of benefits similar to those described above, based on all railroad earnings, including earnings before 1937, for the survivors of annuitants and pensioners not qualifying by reason of employment after 1936.

3. The liberalization of the conditions under which disability retirement annuities are payable and, in some instances, the amount of such annuities. Under the existing law, an employee may retire on account of disability if he is totally and permanently disabled from carrying on his regular and any other gainful occupation and either is 60 years of age or has completed 30 years of service. Where he has less than 30 years of service, 1/180 of his annuity is deducted for each month he lacks of being 65 years of age. Under the amended legislation, the disability provisions were liberalized in several respects: (a) the payment of annuities after 10 instead of 30 years of service to employees under age 60 who are disabled for all gainful work, (b) the payment of annuities to employees at age 60 disabled for all gainful work after less than 10 years of service, (c) the payment of annuities after 20 years of service or at age 60 to employees who are only occupationally disabled, provided they are attached to the railroad industry at the time they retire and (d) the elimination of the present reduction applicable in such cases.

4. The liberalization of the amount and basis of paying minimum annuities. Under the existing law, only those who have had 20 years of service and were employees at age 65 can qualify on retirement for a minimum annuity, usually \$40 a month. Under the law as amended, an employee who has had five years of service and a current attachment to the railroad industry will receive a minimum of, (a) \$3 multiplied by the number of years of service, (b) \$50, or (c) the average monthly compensation, whichever is lowest.

5. The reduction in the retirement age from 65 to 60 for women with 30 years of service, who will receive full instead of reduced annuities under these conditions.

6. The provision for the increase of annuities awarded before the amendments become effective in all cases in which the amendments are more liberal than the existing law.

7. The improvement in the existing employment relation provision by giving credit for prior service to a worker who was not in an employment relation on August 29, 1935, the enactment date of the existing law, provided, (a) he worked in at least six months during the period from August 30, 1935 to and including December 31, 1945, (b) was prevented from doing so by sickness or disability, (c) established before July 1, 1947 to the satisfaction of the Board that on August 29, 1935, he was on leave expressly granted by an employer or (d) was absent on that date by reason of wrongful discharge and reinstated.



8. The increase in the ultimate tax rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  percent of creditable compensation each on employer and employees. Of this increase,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of one percent will make up the deficiency in the existing law and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  percent will pay for the new retirement benefits provided. Under the existing law, the present tax rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  percent each on employers and employees would have increased to  $3\frac{3}{4}$  percent in 1949. The law as amended provides for a tax rate of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  percent beginning next year, increasing to 6 percent in 1949, 1950 and 1951 and to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  percent thereafter.

With respect to the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, the major changes include the following:

1. The provision for the payment of cash benefits in case of sickness. The daily benefit rate and the duration of benefits will be the same as in the case of unemployment. An employee may qualify for both sickness and unemployment benefits in the same year but may not combine days of sickness with days of unemployment for the same benefit period.

2. The provision of maternity benefits equivalent to the maximum benefits payable to employees for unemployment or sickness.

3. The addition of two new and higher daily benefit rates. The maximum daily benefit was formerly \$4, payable to an employee who had qualified on the basis of earnings of \$1,600 or more in his base year. Benefits of \$4.50 per day will now be payable to an employee who has earned at least \$2,000 in the base year, and of \$5 to one who has earned \$2,500 or more.

4. The increase in the maximum number of days for which unemployment benefits are payable from 20 to 26 weeks within the benefit year, that is, from 100 to 130 times the daily benefit rate.

5. No additional contribution above the 3 percent now paid by employers is levied for the support of the sickness and maternity insurance programs or for the liberalization of the present unemployment insurance benefits.

The new retirement and death benefits and the increase in the tax rate become effective January 1, 1947 except that the new definition of employment relation became effective July 31, 1946. The new sickness and maternity benefits become effective July 1, 1947, while the increase in the amount of unemployment insurance benefits became effective July 31, 1946 and the increase in their duration, July 1, 1946.

#### **Retirement Of President Jewell**

After more than forty-one years in the labor movement, B. M. Jewell retired from active service on June 30, 1946 to take a well deserved rest. At the time of his retirement, Brother Jewell had been President of the Railway Employees' Department for twenty-eight years, during which time he had come to be recognized as one of the foremost labor statesmen and students of labor problems in our country.

Like many of our great leaders, he came from a humble background. Born in 1881 at Brock, Nebraska, of English-Welsh parents, he had to quit school while in the eighth grade to become the breadwinner of the family.

He worked briefly as a farmer, a sawmill hand, a miner, in a foundry, a machine shop and a blacksmith shop before coming into the railroad industry where he was to spend the rest of his active life.

At the age of 19, he started an apprenticeship as a boilermaker on what is now a part of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. After completing his apprenticeship in 1904, he began working at his trade and it was at this time that he joined the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, over 41 years ago. He immediately became interested in organization work and for several years was a "boomer," which is what an organizer was called in those days, going from one railroad to another usually on freight trains, to organize the shop employes.

Finally, in 1912, he settled down going to work for the Seaboard Air Line Railroad at Jacksonville, Florida, where he became active in the Boilermaker's organization. He held every office in his Local Lodge and was a leader in the Jacksonville Central Labor Body, subsequently becoming the General Chairman of his craft on the Seaboard Air Line Railroad and a member of the Executive Board of the System Federation. At that time, he was also a member of the Executive Board of the Southeastern Federation of Federations, which was a forerunner of the Railway Employees' Department and participated in the negotiation of the so-called Southeastern Agreement covering substantially all of the railroads in the Southeastern United States. This was the first concerted movement of railroad shop employes conducted in this country.

In May 1916, Brother Jewell became a Grand Lodge Representative of the Boilermakers' organization, serving first in the Atlantic and Gulf States and later in Washington where he handled many critical problems affecting the organization. Two years later, in August 1918, he was selected as the Acting President of the Railway Employees' Department, when the late A. O. Wharton, who was then president, was appointed to the Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions by the United States Railroad Administration. At the end of federal control, Brother Wharton returned to his position as president of the Department, but was immediately appointed to the United States Railroad Labor Board, so that Brother Jewell continued as acting president until he was elected President by the 1922 Convention of the Railway Employees' Department. He was reelected to that office by each succeeding convention until his retirement in June of this year.

On his retirement Brother Jewell remarked that few men have had the opportunity which he had to serve his fellow men, but those who knew him intimately are unanimous in the view that few men have served their fellow men as well as he. Dedicating his life to the cause in which he believed so firmly, he was confronted with almost insuperable odds, but his strong will and determination saw him through.

In 1922, when still a comparatively young man, he had the responsibility of leading the shopmen in what was then the biggest strike of any single

group of employes which was called in protest of the unjust wages and working conditions ordered by the United States Railroad Labor Board. The odds were too great and the strike was lost on a majority of railroads, but out of the wreckage he rebuilt an everlasting monument to his memory. Today, the shopmen are organized on virtually every railroad in the country and enjoy conditions vastly better than they ever did in their history. Under his leadership, the wages of not only the shopmen but of other railroad employes as well have been increased substantially, vacations with pay established and many other improved working conditions won.

Recognized as a fighter and a shrewd negotiator, he was respected by his adversaries because he had established a reputation for fair dealing and they knew that his word was his bond. Few men have enjoyed the prestige which was bestowed on him by men in all walks of life. Modest at all times, he won the love and admiration of all who knew him. In getting out of harness, he can look with satisfaction on a job well done, with the best wishes of his many friends for happiness in the years to come.

#### UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The chief function of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is publicizing union labels, shop cards, and service buttons, and educating our membership about the use of these official emblems of our fifty-two affiliated national and international labor unions. We also promote the sale of union label goods and the patronage of union services.

The Union Label Trades Department wishes to acknowledge the splendid cooperation it has received from President William Green and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany of the American Federation of Labor through the columns of the *American Federationist* and A. F. of L. Weekly News Service. All items of interest concerning union emblems have been given wide publicity. We are also indebted to the A. F. of L. organizers who, under the direction of Frank P. Fenton, Director of Organization of the A. F. of L., have given their all-out support throughout America. Likewise, we are indebted to the officials of all national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions, Union Label Leagues, and Women's Auxiliaries. We fully appreciate the loyal support that they have voluntarily contributed to the success of every union label campaign.

#### Union Label Feature Service

Among the various activities of the Department are: news releases, editorials, and cartoons which are released to the entire labor press. Special articles are prepared for annuals and other labor publications. The Department issues union label literature, posters, and mats. Exhibitions, radio, and every other channel of advertising and publicity are used to create a demand for union label goods and union services.

The Union Label Trades Department desires to acknowledge its deep

indebtedness to the editors of the official monthly labor journals, weekly labor newspapers and all other publications for the liberal display they have given to all of these union label features.

#### **The Union Label Catalogue-Directory**

Each year the Union Label Trades Department issues the Union Label Catalogue-Directory which contains a listing of all union manufacturers, union merchandisers and other A. F. of L. unionized industries. It also contains a facsimile of every union label, shop card, or service button with the names of the officials of each respective affiliated union that has adopted one of these official emblems. Messages from A. F. of L. officers and display advertising make up the balance of the pages in our official "union buyers' guide"—the Union Label Catalogue-Directory.

#### **The Union Label Week**

Local drives are often stimulated by a Union Label Week, usually a six-day period, designated for the single purpose of increasing the volume of business for firms that sell union label goods, display the union shop card, or employ members of service unions who wear the service button. Mayors of cities and governors of states have issued proclamations declaring Union Label Week in many cities throughout America.

#### **Local Union Label Campaigns**

Among the various activities of the Union Label Trades Department are local house-to-house campaigns, carried on by a local union label committee, the members of which make a house-to-house canvass in every locality, urging members of labor unions, their families and friends to purchase only union label goods and to use only union services.

#### **Radio Broadcasts**

Over the past two years the Union Label Trades Department has broadcast as follows: March 29, 1945, Mutual Broadcasting System, a dramatization entitled "Together We Fight"; June 30, 1945, Columbia Broadcasting System, an address entitled "Union Label and Postwar"; September 1, 1945, National Broadcasting Company, address entitled "The Union Label—Emblem of American Prosperity"; March 21, 1946, American Broadcasting Company, address entitled "Union Label—A Peacetime Plan"; April 8, 1946, Mutual Broadcasting System, dramatization, "The Shield of Protection"; July 4, 1946, Mutual Broadcasting System, dramatization, "Samuel Gompers—Patriot"; August 10, 1946, Columbia Broadcasting System, address entitled "Labor-Management Cooperation," and on Labor Day, September 2, 1946, Mutual Broadcasting System, dramatization, "Peter J. McGuire—The Founder of Labor Day."

We have also been offered and have used time granted to us on the regular American Federation of Labor broadcasts.

#### **Local Union Label Exhibits**

Another event that creates great interest in the cause is a local Union Label Exhibit. That's where local manufacturers, merchandisers

and service institutions can rent an exhibit booth to display their union label wares or to demonstrate their union services. Many successful community exhibits have been held. They can be made an annual event and often attract local agencies of nationally advertised products. Union label literature and posters from our headquarters are furnished without charge for all union label events.

#### **American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor**

The American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor will hold its third convention in St. Louis, Missouri, October 31, November 1 and 2, 1946.

The importance of women's auxiliaries should be stressed more and more now during the reconversion period. The purchasing power of the women members of a wage earner's family is most important in every marketing place. Too great an effort cannot be made to encourage members of women's auxiliaries and all members of trade unionists' families to buy only union label goods and to use only union services. Through the efforts of women's auxiliaries, many women have come to realize that union emblems are the best safeguards for their bread-earners' jobs and insurance of American Labor standards which include wages, hours and working conditions. More and more encouragement must be given to women members of every trade unionists' family to join the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. This fact cannot be over-stressed, because while the wage earner may be working to obtain the union scale, his wife, mother, sister and daughter may be spending his union-earned money with merchandisers who are selling the very non-union products that are destroying his or her union standards and reducing his wages.

#### **The All-American Union Label Exhibition**

The A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition of 1946 which will be held October 29 to November 3 in the new Municipal Auditorium in St. Louis, Missouri, is an all-American event.

That's where union manufacturers will show American consumers that union-made goods are superior in quality and workmanship. It is where consumers can visualize the best in everything that bears the union label and every service designated by shop cards or service buttons.

This Exhibition is confined exclusively to union manufacturers and union merchandisers who can obtain booth space to display their products and demonstrate union services.

Any plan to protect the American economic system is unworkable without the cooperation of Industry, Labor and Agriculture. There is far too much skepticism among some members of each group. Now is the time for all Americans to pull together. It will require their combined power to assure economic stability and peacetime prosperity.

The A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition gives fair business and unionized industry an unusual opportunity to meet and

display their goods to the great consumer market of organized labor and other Americans.

### THE PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF WORKINGMEN

**Special Convention.** On August 26, 1945 the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen held a special convention to ratify the Labor Unity Charter which had been drafted by our Secretary Treasurer and accepted with slight modification by the outstanding officers and leaders of the different labor organizations including the dual movement and independent unions. The delegates went over the document giving their unanimous approval to it. This action was taken by our Federation in an effort to prevent labor strife and unrest; and to create a united labor force.

The other organizations had great difficulties in calling their conventions and in the ratification of the document. Although the memberships of the different organizations have shown deep interest and enthusiasm towards labor unity the leaders of the different groups outside of the American Federation of Labor in Puerto Rico have prevented the organization of the Labor Unity Council provided in the Charter. The dual movement has split into two groups.

**Cuban Delegation.** Two different delegations from the Cuban Confederation of Labor, one headed by Mr. Faustino Calcines and the other by Mr. Lázaro Peña, visited Puerto Rico "to investigate labor conditions" and "help the Puerto Rican labor movement in its effort to create a united front." Mr. Calcines made a public statement that our Federation was the only responsible organization in the Island. Mr. Lázaro Peña proposed the dissolution of all labor organizations and the merging of all of them into a National Labor Congress. We vigorously rejected Mr. Peña's proposal and told him and the other members of the Cuban delegation that for nearly half a century we have been a part of the A. F. of L., something of which we are very proud. Mr. Peña could not carry out his plan.

**Twelfth National Conference on Labor Legislation.** With the approval of our Executive Council the Governor of Puerto Rico appointed brother Nicolás Noguerras Rivera as one of the delegates to the Twelfth National Conference on Labor Legislation held in Washington in December, 1945. During his visit to Washington our Secretary-Treasurer had the opportunity to confer about Puerto Rican problems with A. F. of L. officials.

**Longshoremen Agreements.** Our longshoremen's unions, through united action, succeeded in negotiating an agreement with the shipping companies which gave the employees an increase of five cents (5¢) in the regular hourly rates, and ten cents (10¢) increase in the hourly rates in extra time. Other important improvements were made in previous agreements, the benefits of which are extended to over 7,000 stevedores, longshoremen, and other employees.

**Agreements in the Rum Industries.** The Rum Industry Workers Union



agreement fixing hourly rates between 50¢ and 60¢; three weeks paid vacations; union shop and medical assistance.

**Agreements in the Sugar Industry.** A. One of the most important achievements made by our Federation was the agreement negotiated by the Factory Workers Union of Arecibo with the Land Authority of Puerto Rico covering the first sugar mill acquired by the government of Puerto Rico. The agreement recognizes our union as the exclusive agent for bargaining collectively; establishes union shop; fixes the work day of eight hours with double rates in extra time; fixes hourly rates fluctuating between 40 cents an hour and \$45 a week; a scale of increases to cover the possible sugar price increases, a retirement system and an arrangement for profit-sharing of benefits among employees.

B. The Factory Workers Union of Arecibo also negotiated an agreement with the sugar Cooperative operated by the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration. This agreement provides wage increases, distribution of the subsidies between employers and employees and improvements in labor conditions. The agreement covers over 300 workers.

C. Another agreement has been entered into by agricultural and factory unions with the owners of other sugar mills.

**Foundry Industries.** The Mechanics and Auxiliaries Union renewed, with important amendments, the foundry agreement securing wage increases, closed union shop, medical assistance, check-off and other important clauses improving labor conditions. About 300 workers are covered.

The union negotiated an initial agreement with the Abarca warehouse, a subsidiary corporation of the Sucesores de Abarca, along the same lines.

**The Bakeries.** Due to the illegal reduction of 2 ounces in the loaf of bread ordered by the O.P.A. and authorized by the Public Service Commission of Puerto Rico, the Bakers Union of San Juan was forced to call a strike because the owners rejected the demand of the union for wage increase as a corresponding measure for the additional benefits employers were having. The strike lasted seventy-one days and finally ended with a decisive victory for the union. An agreement fixed the following hourly wage rates: master bakers—90 cents; first officers—74 cents; second officers—64 cents; third officers—57½ cents; and the auxiliaries or helpers—47½ cents. It establishes the workday of eight hours with double rates in extra time; closed shop and other important provisions beneficial to labor.

The Public Service Commission reversed the order declaring illegal the reduction of the two ounces in the loaf of bread.

**Agreement with the Water Resources Authority.** The greatest achievement of the year made by the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen in the field of agreements has been the Industrial Peace Treaty negotiated and signed by our Electrical Workers Union and the Water Resources Authority of Puerto Rico. The treaty is a peace truce for a period of four years up to June 30, 1950, establishing an increase of 10%



over actual wages, the freezing of the increased wages for the corresponding four years and the annual distribution among the employees of 50% or 75% of the year profits. The Treaty incorporates the collective agreement which provides for pensions; medical assistance and hospitalization; paid vacations covering 21 work-days; sick leave covering 15 work-days that may be accumulated up to sixty work-days; eight-hour work-day with double pay for time in addition; and forty-hour work week with time and a half for overtime; double rates during holidays, a seventh day rest and a free day with pay; union shop; check-off; adjustment committee; maternity leave with pay; per diems and other important provisions. The Industrial Peace Treaty provides for the appointment of an advisory board composed of five representatives of the Authority to carry on the purposes and dispositions of the Treaty and offer its advice to the Authority.

The Water Resources Authority which has a complete monopoly of electricity for the island, is a governmental agency. All the employees of the Authority (1,400 workers) are affiliated with the Electrical Workers Union, an affiliate of our Federation.

The Industrial Peace Treaty has been pointed out as the most important document signed by Management and Labor to assure industrial peace, labor stability and fair participation of employees of the annual profits of the employer.

**Agreement in Telephone Industry.** The Telephone Industry Workers Union has achieved great success in negotiating a new agreement with the Puerto Rico Telephone Company on an island-wide basis. The agreement provides a 15% increase in wages; union shop; 23 days vacation with pay; check-off; pension system; eight-hour work-day with double pay for extra time and forty hour work-week with time and a half for overtime; adjustment committee; per diems and other important provisions. The agreement covers all the employees of the Company throughout the island.

**Hair Net Industry.** The Hair Net Industry Workers Union renewed its agreement with increases: two weeks vacation with pay; increase in minimum hourly rates which range from 38 cents to 50 cents; closed shop; eight hour work-day with double pay for overtime and 40 hour work-week with time and a half for excess; maternity leave with pay and other important provisions.

**Other Agreements.** Other agreements have been negotiated in the ice industry, clinics and hospitals, ice cream industries, bakeries and confectioneries; laundry industries, tobacco stripping, which have improved the wages and labor conditions of employees.

**Workers Education Program.** By courtesy of the radio stations WKAQ, of San Juan and WKVM of Arecibo, workers education programs have been broadcast dealing with labor legislation and achievements, news and reports from the A. F. of L. and other educational matters.

**Legislative Committee.** Legislation affecting Labor presented in the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico and in the United States Congress has been followed by our Legislative Committee composed of brothers Prudencio Rivera Martínez, Francisco Pax Granela and Nicolás Nogueras Rivera. Hearings held upon said legislation were attended by members of the committee and other officers of the Free Federation. Cablegrams and messages have been sent to the United States Congress dealing with labor legislation for the island and the United States. The Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, Mr. Jesus T. Piñero, has given urgent and favorable attention to our requests.

**New Affiliations.** During this year we have affiliated new unions from the agricultural fields, bread industry, ice cream industry, confectioneries, sugar mills, rum industry and elevators.

**Legal Activities.** With the invaluable services of Hipolito Marcana, attorney-at-law, our federation has aided affiliated unions and members before the courts, the National Relations Board, Insular Labor Relations Board, the Public Service Commission and other governmental agencies.

**Industrial Commission.** The Industrial Commission of Puerto Rico is the only governmental organism where the Puerto Rico Free Federation has a direct representative. Brother Francisco Paz Granela, first vice-president of our organization is one of the three members composing the commission. He has served that office for over twelve years with a splendid record.

**Conclusion.** Notwithstanding the economic conditions of the Island due to the lack of industries and overpopulation and to the economic readjustments of the postwar period and other local factors, the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen has made substantial progress, has maintained the position of the outstanding labor organization of the Island, has conducted its social and educational campaign among the workers, has fought bravely to keep American institutions and ideals and the American flag in Puerto Rico, as well as the ideals and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

### CONCLUSION

The above report indicates the sustained gains of a sound disciplined organization that understands the functions and procedures of union organization.

The months ahead will hold many difficulties for the controls on wages are less flexible than those on commodities. There will be hardships of one kind or another until supplies are adequate and wartime controls can be eliminated and prices perform their normal function. Though we may have difficulties and hardships we still have freedom of action through our unions to correct injustices and we still have the civil liberties and the right of franchise which our democratic institutions assure us. We are fortunate indeed to live in a land which still affords opportunity for its

citizens to promote their own welfare and which is in the forefront of technical progress. Danger besets us on every side. We must preserve our freedom if we are to transmit this sacred heritage to future generations.

No group has more at stake when freedom is imperiled than the trade union movement. Let us resolve to do our part.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
*President.*

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,  
*First Vice President.*

MATTHEW WOLL,  
*Second Vice President.*

JOSEPH N. WEBER,  
*Third Vice President.*

G. M. BUGNIAZET,  
*Fourth Vice President.*

GEORGE M. HARRISON,  
*Fifth Vice President.*

DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
*Sixth Vice President.*

HARRY C. BATES,  
*Seventh Vice President.*

W. D. MAHON,  
*Eighth Vice President.*

FELIX H. KNIGHT,  
*Ninth Vice President.*

W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,  
*Tenth Vice President.*

W. C. DOHERTY,  
*Eleventh Vice President.*

DAVID DUBINSKY,  
*Twelfth Vice President.*

JOHN L. LEWIS,  
*Thirteenth Vice President.*

GEORGE MEANY,  
*Secretary-Treasurer.*

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF LABOR.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I now call upon Chairman Ornburn of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ORNBURN:** Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business is prepared to report, and Delegate Robinson, Secretary of the committee, will present the report.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Committee Secretary Robinson submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Chicago, October 7, 1946, begs leave to make the following report for your consideration.

##### Rules

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12 p. m., reconvene at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m. on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday of this week. The convention next week will be in session Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; and will meet on Saturday if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. A roll call on any motion shall be called at the request of 10 per cent of the delegates present.

Rule 11. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 12. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 13. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 14. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 15. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 16. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 17. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 18. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time to divide or amend, which motions shall have preference in the order named.

Rule 19. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

##### ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Reading of minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman,  
JOHN B. ROBINSON, Secretary,  
W. R. BROOKS,  
J. A. EVENSEN,  
R. J. PETRELE,  
JOHN C. MACDONALD,  
MARTIN LAWLOR,  
CHARLES AQUADRO,  
GEORGE HARDY,  
FRANK B. FIELD,  
RAYMOND LEVINGSTON,  
H. E. GREENWALD,  
GEORGE T. RICHARDSON,  
MICHAEL MASTRIAN,  
LOUIS NELSON,  
JOSEPH P. CLARK,  
PAULINE NEWMAN,  
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER,  
A. U. DARRUCQUE,  
R. L. SOULE,

GEORGE NOLAN,  
AL J. CLELAND,  
OMAR M. HOUSE,  
ROBERT MORGAN,  
LOUIS ROONEY

Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY ROBINSON: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ORNBURN: Mr. President, this report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business has been agreed to by all the members of the committee.

#### Committee to Escort General Spaatz

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee for the services you have rendered.

I now want to announce that Commanding General Carl Spaatz, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces, will attend and address the convention tomorrow morning at 10:30 o'clock. Please keep that in mind.

I will appoint Vice President Hutcheson, Vice President William Dougherty and Vice President Gus Bugniet as an escort committee to meet with General Spaatz and escort him to the hall tomorrow morning.

I now recognize Sister Nestor for an announcement that will be of interest to the ladies.

DELEGATE NESTOR: I just want to make a slight correction. This particular announcement is going to interest the men, too. We announced in the printed program that next

Tuesday there will be tickets for the very popular Don McNeil Breakfast Club broadcast. We have had so many demands for that and the tickets were so limited that we were able to get, that we have been able to secure an additional supply for every day beginning tomorrow—that is, every morning, because it is an early broadcast. It is from eight until nine o'clock, so it will not interfere with the duties of the convention. This is a popular broadcast with the men as well as the women, and anybody who would like tickets for that broadcast, beginning tomorrow morning, can get them at the desk where the reception committee is seated out in the Secretary-Treasurer's office.

Following the broadcast next week the women are going to have a breakfast, and the broadcast on Tuesday will be particularly for the women. But we do want the men to have advantage of this offer for the other days, so please take notice, and I would like to say to the women that any of you who haven't turned in the cards that we gave you for reservations for the particular things that you want to attend, please turn them in because we want to make arrangements for them.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further announcements? If not, the Chair will entertain a motion made by Brother Kovaleski that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn until tomorrow morning. All in favor of the motion say "aye"; opposed "no."

The motion was carried, and at 4:30 o'clock, p. m., the convention adjourned until 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 8th.

## RESOLUTIONS

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Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, all resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, **EXCEPTING** resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30-day period, by a convention of a national or international union or of a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to constitutional requirements:

### Forced Labor

Resolution No. 1—by Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Selective Service Act provides that conscientious objectors shall be either retained in work essential to the war effort, or sent to internment camps known as Civilian Public Service Camps, where they are compelled to work at whatever the Selective Service Directors order, without receiving any remuneration for their labor, and must either supply their own bedding, food, clothing, fuel for cooking and heating the camps, or have some friends supply these necessities of life, or starve to death, and

WHEREAS, Interned men working in the Civilian Public Service Camps are not covered by Workmen's Compensation, therefore, if in-

jured must pay for their own medical attention, or have friends take care of them while incapacitated. If killed while at work in the camp and leave dependents, the latter may become a burden on the common taxpayer, and

WHEREAS, If these men were sentenced to prison for violating a law, they would be fed, clothed, housed, and receive medical attention at the expense of the State, and

WHEREAS, These men are compelled to work in open competition with free labor, working as carpenters and joiners, driving trucks, operating power shovels and doing other manual labor—skilled and unskilled, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government and most States do not use convict labor in competition with free labor, as the conscientious objectors are forced to do in Civilian Public Service Camps, and

WHEREAS, Forcing conscientious objectors or any other person to work for nothing and in competition with free labor is involuntary servitude and in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The Selective Service Act has been amended to draft men up to forty-five years of age, which with the existence of the Civilian Public Service Camp will make it easy to further amend the Selective Service Act to draft workers, while on strike, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that we condemn this practice of forced labor in civilian service camps as a practice worthy only of Fascism and Nazism, as violative of every principle of democracy and Americanism, in direct violation of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and a violation of the very principles of liberty and freedom, which thousands of American soldiers have given their lives to preserve, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to amend the Selective Service Act to eliminate this violation of the Constitution of the United States, so that all Americans may again look humanity proudly in the face with the certain knowledge that the rights and liberties so grandiously claimed by our American declarations are not being violated by our own government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Conservation of Nation's Timber Lands

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, More than three-fourths of the nation's virgin commercial timber stands have been cut over at least once and in consequence there has developed in many parts of the United States a scarcity of sawlog, pulp and pole timber, and

WHEREAS, During the past thirty years the total volume of saw-timber in the United States was reduced by approximately 40 per cent, and

WHEREAS, We are still using timber faster than we are growing it and this downward trend in the depletion of the nation's timber supply still continues, and

WHEREAS, A part of this decrease is due to the ravages of fire, insects, and disease damage as well as to wasteful cutting and milling practices, and

WHEREAS, This situation is affecting the welfare of the people of Montana and will continue to do so, and

WHEREAS, Montana's 15 million acres of commercial timber lands containing 52½ billion board feet of standing saw-timber and 69

million cords of pole timber could, under proper management and utilization, sustain the lumber and wood using industries of the state on a permanent basis and even on a larger scale than they are operating today, and

WHEREAS, We believe that a national and state forestry program will contribute to increased and more stable employment in Montana, will make more lumber available to meet the present shortages, and will be a constructive move in the direction of assuring the future of the nation against a timber famine, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor immediate action in the development of a state and national program for all forest lands that will protect the forests from fire, insects, and disease damage; promote forestry practices that will result in full use of the productive capacity of these lands but not overuse which would bring exhaustion of usable timber at a later date; promote greater utilization of the wood products thereby eliminating waste and conserving timber supplies now available; and provide for an aggressive start on reforestation of lands now not producing anything of commercial value, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we specifically favor immediate action through the passage by Congress of a cooperative insect control law comparable to the cooperative fire control law which will provide for the protection of privately owned lands now threatened by outbreaks of destructive insect pests which each year destroy much valuable timber in northern Idaho and western Montana, and be it still further

RESOLVED, That we demand immediate action on an expanded federal forest road development program to open up inaccessible timber stands in the mountainous country most of which are within the boundaries of the National Forests and which roads are needed if overmature or diseased timber is to be salvaged and these back country timber stands put on a better managed basis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### War Shipping Administration's Trainees

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Maritime Commission has been operating schools for the purpose of training merchant seamen during the period of World War II, and

WHEREAS, There is no longer any need for the training of seamen since the ending of hostilities, and

WHEREAS, The War Shipping Administration has announced the purpose of training more merchant seamen for jobs that are now being filled by the unions without any trouble whatsoever, and

WHEREAS, The War Shipping Administration cannot find employment for the men they



have in the manning pool since the ending of hostilities and some of the men have been to the Seamen's Union Halls trying to find employment, and

WHEREAS, The only purpose these men can be used for would be to man the ships, in the event of a strike by the Seafaring Unions, and

WHEREAS, As long as the War Shipping Administration has these trainees in reserve, they will be a constant threat to the Seafaring Unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as favoring the abolition of the Recruitment and Manning Division of the War Shipping Administration as there is no further need for the services of this organization, causing a waste of the taxpayer's money and that the necessary appropriate steps be taken to effectuate this aim.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Pol Tax

Resolution 4—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record condemning the Poll Tax as undemocratic, un-American and unjust, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Illinois, October, 1946, go on record as reaffirming its opposition to the Poll Tax and supporting federal legislation for its abolition.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Abolishing Racial Discrimination in Trade Unions

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Discrimination on account of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry in the trade union movement makes for weakness and division makes for weakness which robs the workers of the power to protect and defend their interests and rights against the ruthless attacks of organized business, and

WHEREAS, Discrimination based on race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry has been used by Hitler in Nazi Germany to create scapegoatism for the victimization of the Jews which helped to lead to the Second World War, resulting in the destruction of billions of dollars of property and millions of human beings, and

WHEREAS, The American Labor movement must stand as the bulwark of democracy and freedom in the United States and give to America the spiritual and moral leadership of the democratic forces of the world, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn discrimination in all trade unions, international and local unions, central and state bodies, as a disruptive and destructive evil which gnaws at the heart of organized labor and go on record calling upon the international's locals and federal bodies to set up anti-discrimination committees for the purpose of teaching the membership, through discussion and the dissemination of literature, the dangers of discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin and ancestry to our American democratic system and world peace.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### White Primaries

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court went on record in the Texas Primaries case outlawing white primaries as an invasion of the constitutional rights of citizens set forth in the 15th Amendment of the Constitution, and

WHEREAS, This decision of the United States Supreme Court has been defied by Bilbo, Talmadge and other Southern political leaders, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the practice of certain Southern States designed to invalidate the constitutional rights of Negro citizens by intimidating them at the polls and by the employment of other deceptive and terroristic practices to prevent these citizens from exercising their right to vote as being un-American, undemocratic and unconstitutional and to support the fight now being waged by civic, religious and labor organizations, to uphold the decision of the United States Supreme Court against white primaries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Anti-Lynch Bill

Resolution No. 7—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Lynching stands as a grave disgrace and a blot upon the life and record of the United States of America because it is a shocking violation of human decency, justice and civilized society, and

WHEREAS, Lynchings have gripped the Southern section of this country, placing the

United States in an embarrassing and indefensible light before the nations of the world assembled in the United Nations Assembly and also before the Peace conference, and

WHEREAS, The States have shown by the five thousand or more persons lynched in them in the last fifty years, and without bringing many of the criminals to justice that they are wholly incapable of eliminating this assault upon Humanity, Christianity and Democracy, therefore be it,

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning lynchings and mob law and supporting federal legislation for the abolition of this social evil.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Outlawing the Klu Klux Klan

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Reliable reports in various parts of the country and especially the South show that the Knights of the Klu Klux Klan which rose in the Reconstruction period to nullify the Amendments to the federal Constitution giving citizenship to former slaves, is reviving and re-establishing its organization in different parts of the country for the avowed purpose of fomenting, engendering and inculcating hatred and carrying on persecution of Negroes, Catholics, Jews and foreigners in the United States of America and

WHEREAS, This sinister program of hate is in conflict with the basic principles of our American constitutional government and Christian ideals, and

WHEREAS, It will sow the seeds of whirlwinds of racial riots and color wars of devastating and destructive effect upon our country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 65th convention in Chicago go on record as condemning the Klu Klux Klan and calling upon the United States Department of Justice to take necessary action toward outlawing this nefarious movement in the interest of justice and peace for our country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Support Federal FEPC Legislation

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in several conventions has gone on record supporting federal legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission to eliminate discrimination in industry and labor organizations based upon color, creed, country and ancestry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor in Chicago go on record as reaffirming its position of supporting federal legislation for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission because it represents and expresses the basic democratic spirit of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Labor Day

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, at the request of organized labor, has set aside a national holiday known as Labor Day for the purpose of taking stock of the position of labor in society and giving recognition to the contribution that labor has made to the development of the country, the defending of its institutions, and the elevation of the standard of living of its citizens, and

WHEREAS, In most industrial localities, it is customary for the local central body to provide for a fitting observance of Labor's national holiday, and

WHEREAS, On such occasions, frequently, local unions fail to participate, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago urge that local central bodies conduct a fitting and proper celebration of Labor Day and that international unions be called upon to request of their local unions to participate in such observance and that federal local unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, be ordered to participate in such official Labor Day observances whenever and wherever such observances are held.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Income Tax

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, as a measure to raise funds to finance the war, instituted a payroll withholding tax as part of the income tax setup, which effectuated a 10% withholding on wages, and

WHEREAS, The 10% withholding was later increased to 20% taking a large share of the gross income of the wage worker for governmental purposes, and

WHEREAS, While taxes on industry were increased during the war, immediately upon its cessation, the Congress gave tax relief to industry which resulted in many cases of money that otherwise would have gone to the government now being used to fight organized

labor and to try to impose a lower standard of living in America, and

WHEREAS, The present income tax brackets on wage earners are imposing an unnecessary hardship, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in Chicago, demand of the United States Congress immediately upon its re-assembly that a reduction in income tax on wage workers be made that will effectuate at least a fifty percent reduction in the withholding tax.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Restoration of Sustenance Allowance for Veteran Apprentice Trainees

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The "G. I." Bill of Rights, as originally passed provided for \$50.00 a month for unmarried veterans and \$75.00 a month for married veterans, to supplement the lower wage that those who were enrolled in apprentice training to become journeymen draftsmen, etc. were compelled to accept, and

WHEREAS, At a later date, recognizing the inadequacy of this amount, the sustenance allowance was increased to \$65.00 and \$90.00 per month, and

WHEREAS, Many veterans, having faith in the commitments of the United States Government and a desire to equip themselves with the knowledge and skill to become journeymen craftsmen, engineers, architects, and etc., entered apprentice training feeling safe in assuming the responsibilities of adulthood, bought homes, got married, and made certain other commitments depending upon the pledge of the United States Government to see them through the period of training by supplementing their apprentice wage to bring it to journeymen standards, and

WHEREAS, A majority of the veterans, whose training was interrupted by their service to their country, would not ordinarily have entered an apprentice training program but would have sought employment at an occupation paying a higher wage but with less opportunity of learning a skilled trade or occupation and less earning capacity over a long period of time, and

WHEREAS, This pledge of the United States Government under the "G. I." Bill of Rights of an additional sustenance allowance was a contract under which many fine American young men assumed the above mentioned commitments, and

WHEREAS, Under ruling of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, the sustenance allowance has been reduced in such a manner as to cut to a maximum the combined earning

and sustenance to the sum of \$50.00 a week, and

WHEREAS, This amount is not sufficient for an adult who has been out of employment because of his service to his country in the armed forces, and the ever increasing cost of living, and it is a breach of faith on the part of the government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its convention in the city of Chicago hereby express its unalterable opposition to the action of the Federal Administrator of Veterans Affairs in causing the above mentioned reduction in sustenance allowance which will result in the lowering of the standards of apprentice trainees and tend to discourage them in continuing in their apprenticeship, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to demand with all the vigor at its command a restoration of those standards that were held out to the apprentice trainees upon their induction into the Apprentice Training Program, and that such standards be made uniform for all legitimate apprentice training programs conducted under the "G. I." Bill of Rights.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Machinists

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate A. J. Porth, Trades and Labor Assembly, Wichita, Kansas.

WHEREAS, By convention action of 1914 the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution outlining the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor Executive Council in February 1938 reaffirmed this resolution and ordered the President of the American Federation of Labor to send telegrams to any interested parties involved in a jurisdictional dispute, and

WHEREAS, A misunderstanding has existed between the American Federation of Labor and the International Association of Machinists, and

WHEREAS, This dispute is a result of action of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council whereby they have failed to comply with the terms of said resolution, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has held in escrow all per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has continued to cooperate with and respect the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor unions who do likewise respect their jurisdiction, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instruct-

ed to comply with the convention action of 1914, and the Executive Council action of February 1938, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the International Association of Machinists be allowed to pay per capita tax now due the American Federation of Labor and various subsidiary councils, become reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor as a union in good standing, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention reaffirm and approve the action of the 1914 convention and the Executive Council action of 1938 whereby the President of the American Federation of Labor shall give a letter outlining the jurisdiction of any organization upon request of the parties involved in a jurisdictional dispute.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Federal Reserve Act

**Resolution No. 14**—By Delegate A. J. Porth, Trades and Labor Assembly, Wichita, Kansas.

**WHEREAS**, The Constitution of the United States, Article 1, section 8 states emphatically: Congress shall have power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures," and

**WHEREAS**, Congress has demonstrated to us their lawful ability to provide us with a standard measurement of weights and measures as follows: ounce, pound, and ton; pint, quart, and gallon; inch, foot, and yard, and

**WHEREAS**, We can see the power and wisdom of Congress decreeing that weights, and measures should be standard and not be permitted to vary, and

**WHEREAS**, Congress according to the one and same Constitution, the same Article 1 and the same section 8 has the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof, yet it has not exercised this constitutional mandate, and

**WHEREAS**, Congress since 1776 has failed to carry out the mandate of our early forefathers who provided us with a most wonderful Magna Carta so empowered to provide us with a means of using a medium of exchange, and

**WHEREAS**, Our forefathers in their wisdom saw the advantage of providing us with a regulated money instead of continuing the cumbersome practice of barter, and

**WHEREAS**, Congress must be reminded of its obligation to provide for the general welfare so outstandingly mentioned in the Preamble of the Constitution, and

**WHEREAS**, Congress by delegating this power to a bureau known as the Federal Reserve Board, has placed in their hands subject to their discretion the power of providing federal reserve notes in a woefully inadequate

lot or supplying them in an over abundance, and

**WHEREAS**, More and more daily we can see the folly of Congress delegating the constitutional power which is theirs "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin," as compared to the wisdom and statesmanship declared by Congress when the law was given us regulating weights and measures, and

**WHEREAS**, Daily the oppression which is being forced upon us is becoming more burdensome and depriving us of our rightful lot by the tyranny of paying interest and dividends which are the two foes of a regulated money, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor favors the repeal of the Federal Reserve Act, the debauching of our present monetary system and the asserting by Congress of its power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Veterans' Subsistence Allowance

**Resolution No. 15**—By Delegate A. J. Porth, Trades and Labor Assembly, Wichita, Kansas.

**WHEREAS**, Congress in a sincere endeavor to provide war veterans with an opportunity to prepare themselves for a future of job security enacted Public Law 346, known as the G. I. Bill of Rights, and

**WHEREAS**, Through and by this law the government obligated itself to thousands of untrained veterans, who are now attaining skill through programs of apprenticeship training, and

**WHEREAS**, It can be assumed that while veterans entering apprenticeship training did so with the objective of gaining a skilled trade, many would have been unable to do so without the benefits accruing from the G. I. Bill, and

**WHEREAS**, Congress, in the last session, hastily passed Public Law 679, a provision of which limits the earnings plus subsistence allowance for single persons to \$175.00 and those with dependents to \$200.00, and

**WHEREAS**, This law will work a definite hardship on thousands of bonafide apprentices in skilled trade, and is also a breach of faith to our deserving veterans, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the delegates here assembled to memorialize Congress to speedily repeal the section of Public Law 679 which places a ceiling on veterans' earnings and subsistence, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That subsistence payments be fixed at a level in keeping with the present cost of living and which will enable war

veterans to continue their training without interruption.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Commercial Telegraphers' Jurisdiction**

**Resolution No. 16—**By Delegates W. L. Allen, George R. Pawson, John B. Alcorn, Harry S. Leimbach, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, There presently exists three directly chartered American Federation of Labor federal labor unions in Western Union, named and numbered as "Telegraph Employee's Federal Labor Union No. 22671, Telegraph Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 22679", and "Federal Labor Union No. 22780", and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union is a chartered international union, having jurisdiction in the communications industry, encompassing the workers in the Western Union Telegraph Company, and

WHEREAS, The federal labor unions herein named have failed to affiliate with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union in accordance with the prescriptions of the American Federation of Labor Constitution, and

WHEREAS, The collective bargaining power of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union and the American Federation of Labor has been and is materially weakened thereby, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of directly chartered federal labor unions in the Western Union Telegraph Company has caused and will continue to cause bitter jurisdictional fights within the American Federation of Labor to the detriment of the morale and welfare of the workers, and

WHEREAS, The Western Union Division of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union will not again sit at the bargaining table with the federal unions in bargaining a contract or wages with the Western Union Telegraph Company, which action necessarily will result in destroying the present contract and preventing the negotiating of a new contract, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of directly chartered federal labor unions in this industry violates the letter and intent of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article 9, Sections 3 and 11, and Article 14, Section 2, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention forthwith instruct the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, or the President of the American Federation of Labor, to order said named and numbered federal labor unions to affiliate with the Western Union Division of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union; or, failing to so affiliate that their charters be revoked.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Discrimination Against Union Teachers by the Department of State**

**Resolution No. 17—**By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma Borchardt, Arthur Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The United States Department of State in recent months has consistently favored and co-operated with non-union teachers organizations and has discriminated against the American Federation of Teachers, as a union organization, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers was denied representation at the San Francisco Conference of Educational organizations while teachers' organizations opposed to the teachers' union were strongly represented, at the invitation of the Department of State, and

WHEREAS, The Department of State appointed a number of professional functional committees and, only after formal frequent protest, was the teachers' union invited to any meetings except such meetings as were called to receive such information as the Department of State wishes to have the public have, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers was denied representation at the London Conference to draft the UNESCO charter and as a result the United States of America was the only nation supporting a free public school system which denied its classroom teachers any representation at the London conference, and

WHEREAS, The Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State has advised foreign governments to deal with non-union organizations to the exclusion of the American Federation of Teachers, and

WHEREAS, The Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State has set up an advisory committee on teacher exchange, and has excluded the American Federation of Teachers from this committee, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago in October 1946 protest to the President of the United States and to the Department of State this unjust and unfair discrimination against the union teachers of the nation and demand that the American Federation of Teachers as the largest voluntary organization of classroom teachers in the nation and as the educational union of an organization of more than seven million members be given fair and adequate representation in all phases of the educational programs of the Department of State.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Conservation of Nation's Timber Lands

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Dexter D. Clark, Central Labor Union, Marquette, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The timber supply of the United States of America has been subjected to abnormal inroads the past ten years, and

WHEREAS, The present housing program will increase the annual timber cut for the next several years, subjecting our national supply to still greater inroads, and

WHEREAS, This timber supply is one of our greatest national assets and of vital need in both peace and war, and

WHEREAS, Our timber is our only natural resource that can be made more or less eternal through reforestation, and

WHEREAS, State reforestation and federal reforestation has not as yet been promoted on a broad enough basis to come anywhere near compensating for the past or present demands, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use all its facilities to the end that, necessary Federal legislation is enacted to insure as large a timber supply as possible down through the years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## A. F. of L. Political Policy

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Walter O'Hagan, Federation of Labor, Auburn, New York.

WHEREAS, This year marks the 40th anniversary of the official adoption of two distinct types of political action by organized labor; the policy of independent political action adopted by the British Trades Union Congress when it launched the British Labor Party in 1906 and the policy officially adopted by the American Federation of Labor that same year of endorsing candidates of the major parties in an attempt to reward the friends and defeat the enemies of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The successful results of the policy of British Labor which won last year's general election by a 2 to 1 majority, stands in sharp contrast to the dismal political failure of 40 years time, money and effort of organized labor in the United States in futile attempts to win friends in congress by endorsing candidates of the major parties that are financially controlled by business interests, and

WHEREAS, The fact that the 79th Congress had one of the most anti-labor and anti-consumer records in the past 40 years and was "dominated by reactionaries" as charged by A. F. of L. President William Green, and

WHEREAS, The fact that only 13 congressmen out of 435 members of the House of Representatives could be depended upon to

vote against President Truman's bill to draft striking workers, and that Labor was saved not by its handful of friends but by disagreement among its enemies, proves beyond doubt the necessity of scrapping the outmoded and unsuccessful policy of the past, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommends the immediate abandonment of the traditional unsuccessful political policy pursued by organized labor in the United States for the past 40 years and urges the adoption of the proven effective policy of independent political action by the formation of an independent political party of Labor, Farmers and Consumers on a national scale such as the British Labor Party and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party of Canada, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor implement this resolution by electing a committee to lay the foundation for such a party on a national scale in 1947.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Communism

Resolution No. 20—Central Labor Council of San Pedro and Wilmington, San Pedro, California.

WHEREAS, The Communist Party is inimical to the principles of free collective bargaining between employers and representatives chosen democratically by the workers, and

WHEREAS, The Communist Party today is striving harder than ever before to spread its philosophy throughout the ranks of organized labor in order to gain control of the workers in key industries, looking forward to the day when Russia will attempt to spread the iron curtain throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, The Communist Party is attempting to gain control of our educational system, thus poisoning the minds of the adolescent, and

WHEREAS, The Communist Party is spreading lies, creating suspicion, advocating direct action and in general attempting to create chaos in order to bring nearer the day of revolution, and

WHEREAS, The Communist Party follows the teachings of Karl Marx, who stated that there exists in the world two directly opposing ideologies, Communism and Capitalism, that the two cannot exist together, that there must be a struggle to determine whether Capitalism or Communism shall prevail, and every sign points to the approach of that struggle, and

WHEREAS, A great number of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have written into their constitutions, clauses providing for the expulsion of communists from membership, however, these provisions in all cases have not been enforced and many known communists are still active within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor organizations today, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor go on record requesting all of its affiliates to hold meetings for the purpose of educating its membership of the evils of communism, such as was done at a mass meeting held in Wilmington, California, where 30,000 members of the American Federation of Labor attended one of the greatest meetings against communism ever held in America, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power thru propaganda, meetings and etc., to call to the attention of the American people, the menace of Communism and that this convention recommend to all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor to make a thorough search of their membership for all communists and upon their discovery, to expel them immediately from membership in the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Lowering Retirement Age Social Security Act**

**Resolution No. 21**—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Bernard M. Egan, John Forster, John W. Austin, Tillman K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, International Typographical Union.

**WHEREAS**, The Social Security Act of 1937, as it now stands, sets the age at sixty-five (65) years as the eligibility age for securing old-age retirement benefits, which is many years beyond a good and proper age for retirement, and

**WHEREAS**, The age of sixty-five (65) years defeats one of the great aims and purposes of the said Act—retiring older men from industry—thus making room for younger men, and

**WHEREAS**, The wife, being a dependent instead of an earner or bread-winner and in the great majority of cases she is several years the husband's junior, with the same set age of sixty-five (65) years as the time for receiving her social security benefits, and

**WHEREAS**, No right and proper provisions have been made for prior age disability benefits, through industrial accident or otherwise, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby urge members of Congress and the Senate of the Government of the United States to amend the Social Security Act, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Act be amended, lowering the retirement eligibility age from sixty-five (65) years to sixty (60) years, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Act be amended, setting the eligibility age for women and/or wife at fifty-five (55) years of age, this particularly in cases where the husband takes

retirement benefits on age eligibility, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Act be amended, making right and proper provisions for securing benefits on disability at any prior age after ten (10) years of Social Security Tax payments, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor request all international and national unions to urge through their local unions individual member action by contacting their Congressman and Senators by letter or telegram, urging and insisting upon the foregoing amendments to the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Labor Libraries**

**Resolution No. 22**—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Frank Evans, Peter G. Noll, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

**WHEREAS**, A majority of universities throughout the country have set up labor libraries, and

**WHEREAS**, Many of these universities conduct labor classes, and

**WHEREAS**, The labor libraries at these universities are at the disposal of the regular students as well as the students of labor, and

**WHEREAS**, We find that many brochures and pamphlets dealing with labor are passed out free to the students, and

**WHEREAS**, It has been the experience of the UAW-AFL that very few American Federation of Labor brochures and pamphlets appear in the libraries of these universities, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, convening in the city of Chicago on October 7, 1946, go on record as recommending to all of its affiliates that they supply the universities throughout the country, and particularly those who conduct labor classes, with adequate amounts of all literature and brochures which are available from time to time, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention instruct the incoming Executive Council immediately to forward to all universities an adequate number of copies of all brochures and literature which are available at this time, and to forward a sufficient number of copies of future literature, immediately upon release of same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Increase in Revenue to Workers Education Bureau**

**Resolution No. 23**—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria,



Frank Evans, Peter G. Noll, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America in April of this year celebrated its 25th anniversary with a convention and conference at the Hotel Commodore in New York City, and

WHEREAS, This convention and conference exemplified the splendid progress made by the Workers Education Bureau of America against tremendous odds, and

WHEREAS, Director John Connors and his staff should receive a citation for a job well done with very limited finances, and

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America is a definite asset to the American Federation of Labor and should be enlisted to the fullest extent in the American Federation of Labor Southern drive for a million new members, and

WHEREAS, It is evident that the function of the Workers Education Bureau of America must be enlarged to cover a wider scope of activities to compensate for the influx of members into the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor contribution to the Workers Education Bureau of America be increased to the sum of \$50,000 annually, effective as of the next contribution date.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Extension of Social Security Act

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Bernard M. Egan, John Forster, John W. Austin, Tillman K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Employees of competing non-profit-making religious, charitable and educational institutions are exempt from unemployment insurance laws, and

WHEREAS, Some of the work performed in these institutions is in direct competition with employers covered by the unemployment insurance provisions of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The employees of such institutions are subject to seasonal layoffs and are otherwise exposed to unemployment but are deprived of the benefits of unemployment relief, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act excludes old-age and survivors' benefits to employees of religious, educational and charitable agencies, and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned employees have no assurance of protection in their old age as a result of being excluded under the Act, and

WHEREAS, Certain religious organizations have submitted a program to the Ways and Means Committee of Congress that would permit employers to cover their employees under the law if such amendments were enacted into law, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as favoring amending of the Social Security Act to permit the coverage of these employees and institutions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor seek the cooperation of all labor organizations in support of these amendments, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to President Harry S. Truman.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Establishment of A. F. of L. Workers College

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Frank Evans, Peter G. Noll, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The lack of education, knowledge, and training in the field of labor for the past 65 years has been a serious detriment to organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The immortal Samuel Gompers once said, "Labor's salvation lies in education", and

WHEREAS, A few national and international unions have accepted the burden of promoting their own educational programs, and

WHEREAS, The activities of so few national and international unions who have sponsored their own educational programs have had no effect on the millions of organized workers who are members of other national and international unions, and

WHEREAS, The directors and faculty of some 68 universities throughout the country are now offering short term labor courses, and

WHEREAS, Although the courses offered by the various universities are in the right direction, they do not afford sufficient time nor the proper curriculum which might be most advantageous to certain groups of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The UAW-AFL has in the past two years conducted educational classes in collective bargaining throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, The UAW-AFL in conducting these classes has found a dire need for education in the field of labor, and

WHEREAS, The UAW-AFL seriously believes that labor must train and educate its own people, and that the instructors must come from the ranks of labor and be well versed and well seasoned in the field of organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor convening in Chicago on October 7, 1946, give due consideration to the setting up and sponsoring of a workers' college, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall be in full charge of and shall administer the affairs of the workers' college and shall assume all financial responsibilities and obligations, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the workers' college of the American Federation of Labor be staffed by a faculty well trained in all phases of organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the workers' college of the American Federation of Labor be centrally located in the United States in order to make the school readily accessible to all branches of the American Federation of Labor, and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its first meeting after adjournment of this convention, stand instructed to appoint a Board of Directors and faculty for the Workers' College of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Workers Education Bureau

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Frank Evans, Peter G. Noll, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America has for 25 years functioned as a separate entity from the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America has received its sole revenue from voluntary contributions and per capita tax, and

WHEREAS, The revenue received by the Workers Education Bureau of America is not at all in keeping with the expansion of the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Many national and international unions, due to their tremendous financial responsibilities find themselves in no position to burden their treasury further with additional per capita tax payments, and

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America, with its trained staff and personnel, could be used as a nucleus for the Workers' College of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, convening on the 7th day of October, 1946, in the city of Chicago, go on record as making the Workers' Education Bureau of America a part of the Workers College of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Cost of Living Bonus

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Joseph Wilke, Trades and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Prices control the value of wages, and

WHEREAS, Price controls are inadequate and ineffective, and

WHEREAS, Our veterans and workers are the victims of continuous rising prices, and

WHEREAS, Our agreements with employers extend over long periods of one year and more, and

WHEREAS, Prices increase from day to day, and week to week, and month to month, and

WHEREAS, Our present agreements or contracts are ineffective in keeping pace with the rising cost of living, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, seek through its affiliates and their employers or contractors, because of these circumstances, a monthly cost of living bonus, payable on or before the fifteenth of each month, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Honorable Harry S. Truman, President of the United States and to proper government officials urging them to take such action necessary for legalizing payment of such bonus.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Veteran Apprenticeship

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Joseph Wilke, Trades and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States of America enacted the G. I. Bill of Rights, and

WHEREAS, This bill when originally enacted provided subsistence pay for veterans over a four year apprentice training period, and

WHEREAS, This payment of subsistence coincides with the standards of apprenticeship practiced by all American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, During the last session of Congress, the subsistence pay of G. I.'s was reduced from four years to two years, and

WHEREAS, This will work an unjust and undue hardship upon all veterans seeking to avail themselves to our skills, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand of the Congress of the United States, to repeal this two year subsistence pay for G. I. veteran apprentices and restore the original four year subsistence.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Publicity

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge that a move be brought about through a concerted effort to establish news broadcasts by radio, radio commentators, columnists in as many daily papers as possible, and to work toward the establishment of more daily newspapers throughout the United States which will editorially espouse the cause of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Better Housing for Railroad Agents and Telegraphers

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers Regional Conference made up of members from the four railroads entering Portland has for the past two years been endeavoring to secure better housing for railroad agents and telegraphers in the isolated sections of these right-of-ways, and

WHEREAS, They have called attention and have had snap-shots made of existing housing conditions where railroad employees live on the deserts, mountainous sections, and other lonely places, hundreds of them having their offices and living quarters in one old discarded box car, many of these cars having first been brought into use for this purpose when the railroads were under construction, and have been used for that purpose ever since, and

WHEREAS, Complaints have been made to the employing carriers during the past fifty years to no avail, and

WHEREAS, All state laws and city ordinances exempt common carrier railroads because of being covered by the Interstate Commerce Law and Railroad Retirement Acts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record against allowing common carrier railroads from being exempt from

state and city health, sanitary, housing, and working conditions as prescribed by state laws and city ordinances, and will assist in every way possible to bring this body of workers under the provisions of these laws, in order that they may benefit therefrom the same as any other worker.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Infringement of Professional Societies on Jurisdiction of I.F.T.E.A. & D.U.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union.

WHEREAS, Many years ago the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, granted to the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions jurisdiction over the employees performing technical work, and

WHEREAS, This organization (I.F.T.E.A.-D.U.) has carried on an active effort throughout industry and Civil Service to organize the men and women employed who are performing technical work, and has spent large sums of money in our effort to organize these workers, and

WHEREAS, The CIO, through its activities has caused confusion in their attempt to organize these workers into dual organizations outside the American Federation of Labor, thereby seriously interfering with and encroaching upon the recognized rights and jurisdiction of the I.F.T.E.A.D.U., such encroachment including the building and construction projects, and

WHEREAS, Employer-dominated professional societies, like the American Society of Civil Engineers, during the past several years, have been organizing and spending large sums of money in the formation of so-called independent groups titled "Committees on Employment Conditions of Professional Engineering Employees," thereby not only seriously interfering and encroaching upon the recognized rights and jurisdiction of the I.F.T.E.A.D.U., but in preparing the rules and regulations under which these groups of professional employees (technical) shall operate (see official publication titled "Civil Engineering," May 1944) specifies that no agreement will be entered into which involves strikes, closed shops and permits such group committees to represent engineering employees in all conciliations, and negotiations short of active collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, Such American Society of Civil Engineers, in its official publication "Civil Engineering" for August 1944 tells these professional engineering employees (many of whom actually earn \$30 and \$35 per week) that professional employees are exempt from the overtime provisions of the law and therefore the correct professional attitude is for such employees to abide by the hours of work

established by the particular office in which he works or job on which he is engaged—thus tearing down the overtime payment practice for architectural and technical engineering, surveying and other technical and chemical engineering employees, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in 1946, does hereby condemn these unwarranted efforts of the many parties outside of the AFL in their interference with and obstruction of not only the organizing efforts of our I.F.T.E.A.-D.U., but in attempting to deprive the technical employees of economic benefits and security and that the convention pledge its support to the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions in their effort to organize such technical employees and to resist the encroachment upon their jurisdiction by the American Society of Civil Engineers and other professional societies, as well as by the dual organization established by the CIO, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That copies of this resolution be sent to all international unions, state federations of labor, all central bodies, all federal labor organizations for their information and guidance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Minimum Wages

**Resolution No. 32**—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, B. L. Eherts, Benjamin Haskell, United Textile Workers of America.

**WHEREAS**, The 79th Congress adjourned last summer, without any action whatsoever on pending legislation to raise the legal minimum wage, and after burying it for virtually the whole session in the files of the House Rules Committee, despite the protests of all organized labor, and

**WHEREAS**, Industries with substandard wages and working conditions, like the textile industry, are still providing their workers with standards far below the decent levels available to the bulk of American workers, and

**WHEREAS**, The cost of living, during the war years and in the period since the war, has risen inordinately and undermined the already insufficient legal minimum wage of 40¢ an hour, and

**WHEREAS**, A healthy and stable economy in the United States can only be based upon the vast market provided by a working population living at American standards, under a high wage economy rather than a poverty economy, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor demands that Congress pass the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act so as to establish a 65¢ minimum wage immediately and to raise it to 70¢ and 75¢ an hour within 1 year and 2 years, respectively.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Vacations for A. F. of L. Organizers

**Resolution No. 33**—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, It has become a national policy to grant to all regular employees a paid vacation, and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has been a leader in obtaining paid vacations for employees, and

**WHEREAS**, The organizers of the American Federation of Labor do not now receive vacations with pay, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Illinois, grant to all its organizers two (2) weeks vacation each year with full pay.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Federal Labor Unions in Metal Trades Councils

**Resolution No. 34**—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, As now constituted under the American Federation of Labor Metal Trades Department by-laws, federal labor unions and local trade unions, even though engaged in metal trades work, cannot obtain full-fledged membership in the American Federation of Labor metal trades councils, and

**WHEREAS**, This means that while they may be permitted to affiliate with a local council they cannot vote nor hold office in the council, and are only permitted to pay per capital tax and give cooperation, and

**WHEREAS**, This old rule of the Metal Trades Department not specifically adopted to bar federal labor unions and local trade unions, nevertheless it affects them adversely and keeps out the potential backbone or nucleus for any metal trades council, and

**WHEREAS**, The skilled trades in the metal industry are more or less now organized in their own particular district councils, and

**WHEREAS**, During the last three preceding A. F. of L. conventions a similar resolution has been introduced and adopted without any known action having been taken on this resolution during these years, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Illinois, goes on record urging the Metal Trades Department to amend its constitution and by-laws so as to permit full-fledged membership in metal trades councils to those federal labor unions and local trade unions engaged in the metal industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the international unions now affiliated or eligible to full-fledge membership in metal trades councils be requested to extend their aid and influence to the end that federal labor unions and local trade unions be granted full-fledged and bona fide membership in all metal trades councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Metal Trades Department and the Executive Council be called upon to immediately make known to the state federations of labor and city central bodies their action on this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Social Security Act

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The employees of certain non-profit organizations operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific or educational purposes, including hospitals, are denied the benefits of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, These same employees have been paid lower wages for the same work than are paid in other fields of employment, and

WHEREAS, These same employees have no opportunity to accumulate retirement funds and in old age become burdens upon their families or upon charity, and

WHEREAS, They are deserving of the benefits of the Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record favoring amendment of the Social Security Act to provide the benefits of the Act for employees of non-profit organizations operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, or educational purposes, including hospitals, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Chicago, Illinois, from October 7, 1946, until the conclusion of its business, instruct its legislative representatives at Washington to seek amendments to the federal social security legislation enabling the above named classes of employees to receive the benefits of the Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Lower Age for Social Security Retirement Benefits

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The worker and the employer each contribute a sum equal to 1% of the

employee's earnings into the social security fund, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Law presently provides that a worker is eligible to receive social security benefits at 65 years of age, and

WHEREAS, As a result of numerous inventions and mass production methods in industry, unless social security benefits are extended by lowering the eligible age for securing such benefits, there will not be enough jobs to employ all those seeking jobs, and

WHEREAS, It is in the best interest of the public to extend and increase social security benefits, and

WHEREAS, To do so of necessity requires greater contributions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled here in Chicago go on record favoring amendment of the Social Security Law to provide for immediate contributions of 3% (but not to exceed 3%) of the employees earnings by the employer and an equal amount by the worker and making workers eligible for the receipt of social security benefits at 55 years of age.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Jurisdiction

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor recognizes the necessity of providing procedures for the prompt and final settlement of jurisdictional disputes which arise from time to time among organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Chicago, instruct their Executive Council to study ways and means of establishing a position of a permanent arbiter not under the influence of any national or international union, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such arbiter shall have the full power and authority to hear and determine all jurisdictional disputes; that the arbiters decision shall be final and binding on every affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make a definite report to the 1947 convention of the American Federation of Labor, recommending a plan to carry into effect the intent and purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Cooperative Buying

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Clyde Foster, Central Labor Union, Miami, Florida.

WHEREAS, The cost of living continues to rise and wages have not as yet caught up with the cost of living and this indicates that it is not due to wage rates that the cost of living is increasing, and

WHEREAS, An article that costs 50¢ to produce will probably cost the consumer \$2.50 and this is caused by too many non-producer profits being added to the cost of production. We expect a reasonable handling cost, transportation and profit to be added to the cost of production, but it should not be of such great percentage, and

WHEREAS, We must be prepared to offer some form of relief to the high cost of living conditions of the present and there is but one answer, roll back prices. How? In any roll back price program, it will be necessary to consider the employees who make a living from the selected commodities, therefore, national buyers strikes, and the O.P.A. are not beneficial, and

WHEREAS, We believe the answer lies in a national cooperative marketing program, something as follows: The American Federation of Labor, all affiliated international unions, all state federations of labor, city central bodies, federal unions, local unions and their members enter into cooperative buying. A commissary to be run under the direct supervision of every central labor union in the United States. The American Federation of Labor and all affiliates will buy shares based on their ability in view of their membership. This will provide working capital. The American Federation of Labor to act as wholesaler and buy in large quantities for national distribution to the central bodies. Every member, in order to purchase from the cooperative, must be issued a cooperative card each month. No two cards to be issued to an immediate family. Food products only to be handled at first, since about half of the average workers salary is spent on food, therefore, the greatest benefit to the workers will come from that saving on food. Later, other items to be added, and

WHEREAS, The pattern for operation of a cooperative plan may easily be worked out by studying the plans of various cooperatives now in existence, and

WHEREAS, It is our belief that such a cooperative will eliminate many non-producing capitalists who are getting rich off the workers of this country and giving nothing in return, but only plan to keep the working class poor. It will also handle the government's failure to keep the price line as they did the wage line and also their failure to do anything about the black market operations, and

WHEREAS, National publicity should be planned well in advance of the operation. The threat of diverting such a tremendous portion of the national buying power from the usual retail market will also have its effect on prices

and local retailers will have to reduce their prices in order to compete with us, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give some thought and study to the cooperative retailing of consumer products.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Full Voting Rights for Puerto Ricans

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Nicolas N. Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, Hon. Harry S. Truman, appointed Hon. Jesus T. Pinero, a Puerto Rican born American citizen as Governor of Puerto Rico with the consent of the Senate of the United States, and

WHEREAS, This is the first time in our political history that a Puerto Rican has been selected for the governorship of the Island, and

WHEREAS, In the inaugural ceremonies the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Julius A. Krug read a message sent by President Truman offering his support and that of the nation to Governor Pinero, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has given constant support to the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen and the people of Puerto Rico in their demands, toward bettering the political conditions of the two million American citizens living on this Island, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Chicago, Illinois, expresses its satisfaction to the President of the United States for the appointment of Mr. Jesus T. Pinero for the governorship of Puerto Rico, a step which is considered as the initial one toward the strengthening of the local self-government of the Island, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends to the Congress of the United States that the Organic Act of Puerto Rico be amended to the effect of granting the people the right to elect their Governor at or before the general elections to be held in November 1948, consistent with the resolutions of previous conventions of the A. F. of L. and the demands of the people of Puerto Rico, and be it further

RESOLVED, That said Organic Law be liberalized to the extent that its provisions be in conformity with the rights that should be vested in the Puerto Ricans as American citizens and in accordance with the Treaty of Paris.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Lower Age for Social Security Retirement Benefits

**Resolution No. 40**—By Delegates Richard F. Walsh, William P. Racul, Thomas V. Green, Eugene J. Atkinson, Michael J. Mungovan, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The Federal Social Security Act is one of the most humane and progressive enactments of the Congress of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Such Act can best serve the interests of the peoples of this great democracy by periodic amendments to meet the exigencies of our advancing society, and

WHEREAS, The present Act provides for old age benefits to begin at the age of 65, and

WHEREAS, Experience has proven that because of the advanced age at which benefits commence, a substantial number of persons have been deprived of the benefits of the Act during their lifetime, and

WHEREAS, The reduction of the retirement age to age 60 would enable more people to enjoy the benefits during their lifetime; would alleviate the postwar problem of providing employment for veterans of World War II; and would further the best interests of all of the people of the United States and of labor, particularly, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby adopt, as a part of its legislative program, a proposal to amend the Federal Social Security Act so as to reduce from 65 to 60 the age at which payment of old age insurance benefits shall begin, and, in addition thereto, a proposal to include in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill now before Congress, a provision that, where applicable, the benefits accorded therein commence at age 60.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Wire Weavers Jurisdiction

**Resolution No. 41**—By American Wire Weavers Protective Association.

WHEREAS, By a charter issued by the American Federation of Labor, the American Wire Weavers Protective Association has exclusive and sole jurisdiction over the trade of fourdrinier wire weaving and the weaving of wire cloth used in the manufacture of paper and paper products, and

WHEREAS, On two separate occasions within the past eighteen months, the jurisdiction of the American Wire Weavers Protective Association has been ignored by organizers representing the American Federation of Labor, in that federal charters issued directly by the American Federation of Labor

have been granted to two small groups of workers operating as fourdrinier wire weavers, one located in the State of Massachusetts, and one located in Menasha, Wisconsin, and

WHEREAS, Upon the protest of the American Wire Weavers Protective Association, the federal charter granted in the State of Massachusetts was withdrawn, but the charter granted in Menasha, Wisconsin, has not been withdrawn and as a result, there exists a dual organization of fourdrinier wire weavers in competition with the American Wire Weavers Protective Association, working under a contract providing a scale of wage far lower than that provided by the general contract of the American Wire Weaving Protective Association, and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice and policy of the American Wire Weavers Protective Association throughout its more than fifty years of existence, to insist upon and secure uniform contracts throughout the United States, which established a uniform rate of wage and uniform conditions of work, and

WHEREAS, The granting of a federal charter to a local group of wire weavers has created in the City of Menasha, Wisconsin, a group of allegedly "union" men who are, in fact, operating at sub-standard wages and working conditions, threatening the jobs and security of the members of the American Wire Weavers Protective Association, and therefore, acting in the nature of "scabs" under the purported sanction of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby directed immediately to withdraw the federal charter issued to the group of fourdrinier wire weavers in Menasha, Wisconsin, and the director of organization of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to refrain in the future from granting charters to persons employed in the weaving of wire for the manufacture of paper or paper products, but to refer all such applications to the properly constituted national union, having jurisdiction in the trade, the American Wire Weavers Protective Association, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to all general organizers of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Handbag and Luggage Workers vs. Chemical Workers

**Resolution No. 42**—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Frank Albano, Louis Rooney, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The workers of the Buchsbaum plant were originally organized by the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union and remained organized for a



period of years in one of its locals known as Novelty Local, No. 44, and

WHEREAS, The said Buchsbaum plant has at all times manufactured and produced wallets, belts, suspenders, and various and sundry leather products and novelties, jurisdiction of which was granted by the American Federation of Labor to the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union, and

WHEREAS, The newly created Chemical Workers International Union has, without ever having made a jurisdictional claim over the said workers or the said shop, taken over the Buchsbaum plant and the workers who were members of Novelty Local No. 44 of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union, and

WHEREAS, Such action by the Chemical Workers International Union is contrary to and in violation of the established principles of the American Federation of Labor in honoring the jurisdiction of, and respecting, protecting and promoting harmony, prestige and growth of all affiliated international unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdiction over such workers has always been properly with the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union and such action of the Chemical Workers International Union has been in deliberate violation of its obligation to a sister international and in deliberate violation of such sister international's constitution and in deliberate violation of the American Federation of Labor constitution and its established principles, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we disapprove and deplore the action of the Chemical Workers International Union for disregarding and encroaching upon the rights, jurisdiction and prerogatives of its sister international, the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Chemical Workers International Union be and hereby is instructed to relinquish and turn over jurisdiction over the Buchsbaum plant to the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union, where it rightfully belongs, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and hereby is directed to take all necessary steps to give full force and effect to the foregoing.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Industrial Safety

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The alarming rate of industrial injuries has become a national scandal, and this is especially reprehensible in view of the fact that the causes for the almost unbelievably large number of accidents which maim workers can be eliminated, and

WHEREAS, One of the basic factors contributing to the repugnant state of affairs is the failure of a great many manufacturers to provide or install proper safeguards on the machines they produce. Exemplifying this failure is the absence of any guards on unit-contained transmission apparatus. This apparatus includes V-belts and pulleys, chains and sprockets, flat belts and pulleys, or gears on the outside of machines, completely exposed to contact by workers or any other persons passing them, and

WHEREAS, A solution of this serious problem cannot be expected to result from the efforts of one single state, since the problem is national in scope and not confined within the boundaries of any single state, dictating the need, therefore, for an organized national program directed toward improving the entire field of industrial machine guarding by manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, In the interest of safety for the millions of workers in A. F. of L. organizations and others, it is imperative that we unite our efforts to correct this practice of any and all manufacturers who fail to provide the necessary guards, and make a sustained and earnest effort to promote safeguarding of machines, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby goes on record to request that the Honorable Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Labor, institute a nation-wide program encompassing all manufacturers of industrial equipment and requiring them to install proper safeguards when the machines are manufactured.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### William H. Sommers

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is with a sincere feeling of sorrow and deep regret that the labor movement of Racine and of Wisconsin record the passing of William H. Sommers on June 6, last, and

WHEREAS, As one of the pioneers in the labor movement he actively, unselfishly and with no personal gain, participated in the formation of Wisconsin labor organization, and

WHEREAS, As one of the many hardy pioneers in the labor movement, he took unto himself, in spite of the bitter and sometimes dangerous opposition of the unenlightened employers of that day; the task of organizing the underprivileged and underpaid worker, and

WHEREAS, As president of Racine Trades and Labor Council, and member of the Iron Molders, and as a member of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor Executive Board, for many years, he sponsored many resolutions, demanding legislative action to protect the worker on his job. Many of these resolu-

tions have received legislative approval, and further have served as guide in other states, and

WHEREAS, He was one of those completely unselfish individuals whose life was devoted to the labor movement without thought of monetary gain, and

WHEREAS, He was a leader of labor, honest, able, and sincere, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Representation for Railway System Organizations in State Federations and Central Bodies**

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Oregon State Federation of Labor, in convention June 10, 1946, called upon the American Federation of Labor to devise ways to give representation to Railway System Organizations, and

WHEREAS, The structure of some railroad unions, built on rail systems or divisions of the different rail lines, find it difficult or impossible to affiliate with city central bodies and state federations of labor, and

WHEREAS, Some state federations and central councils have devised a plan to enable railroad labor unions that are organized on a system or district plan to become affiliated with central bodies for the number of members of the union residing or working in the area-jurisdiction of such central bodies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this convention instruct the Executive Council or some other appropriate committee to prepare and present an amendment to the Federation constitution which will require state federations and city central councils to admit to affiliation railroad unions of the system types in order to give to such railroad unions the right to representation and participation in the affairs of state and city central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Compensation for A. F. of L. Organizers**

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Oregon State Federation of Labor assembled in convention June 10,

1946 unanimously adopted a motion to call upon the American Federation of Labor to liberalize its policy of employment of organizers, and

WHEREAS, Any amount less than \$100 per week for salaries to organizers does not in our belief attract and hold the best qualified people to these positions, and

WHEREAS, Since the time wage schedules were adopted by the American Federation of Labor, prices of all merchandise have steadily increased, thereby constituting a cut in wages for these employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as declaring that all A. F. of L. organizers be paid not less than one hundred dollars (\$100.00) per week in salary.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Inter-Recognition of Union Memberships**

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The 1946 convention of the Oregon State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution favoring the interchange of union cards by all American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, The practice of interantional unions of requiring an applicant for membership in local unions to pay an initiation fee into each union, even if such applicant is a member of a union of another craft, is a hindrance to organization effort and may, in many cases, place an undue and difficult burden upon members of American Federation of Labor unions who desire to change from one craft to another, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appeals to the international unions to voluntarily consent to receiving, without exaction of an additional initiation fee, the application of anyone who presents evidence of his membership in good standing of another union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That no union under such circumstances shall be required to accept the application of a person unless he be qualified in the craft in which he seeks membership, and that in case a member of one craft seeks membership in a union of a craft having a higher initiation fee, and commanding a higher wage scale, the applicant may be required to pay as an initiation fee the difference between the higher fee of the union to which he seeks membership and the lower fee of the union in which he holds membership.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Organizers' Salaries, Expenses, Pensions

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor has had but one general increase since 1939 which amounted to approximately 16%, and

WHEREAS, The policy of the Wage Stabilization Board is 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ % above 1941 levels, and

WHEREAS, There has been a tremendous increase in the cost of living for those people who are compelled to travel; such as increased hotel meals, increased expenses to secure adequate transportation, etc., and

WHEREAS, The allowance of 5¢ per mile for operating an automobile is far below the actual cost of said operation, and

WHEREAS, Vacations with pay should be allowed as this is a standard pattern of all employers, and

WHEREAS, A pension plan should be established for men who have devoted the greater portion of their lives for the benefit of organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record in favor of granting an increase in salaries, increased per diem, and hotel allowance, increased automobile allowance, paid vacations and a pension plan established for the organizers who are directly on the staff of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Twenty-five Year Optional Retirement for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government

on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code, June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, 25 years of service, and with full credit for such service, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to present legislation which will provide for an earlier retirement age with full annuity for years of service for the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representations, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location, a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union, the government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the

Secretary of War, to provide that the chosen representative of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave or quarters status.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Compensation for Death or Injury in Line of Duty**

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States vetoed H. R. 1712 (A Bill to provide relief of families of two Government employees killed in line of duty because of the war effort), and

WHEREAS, The President in his veto message stated, "If it should be the feeling of Congress that additional benefits beyond those provided by the present Employees Compensation Act should be made available to civilian employees of the Federal Government who during the war were engaged in the performance of unusually hazardous duties, it would appear that these benefits should be provided by way of general legislation which would accord uniform treatment in this respect to all civilian employees", and

WHEREAS, It is to be expected that during the 80th session of Congress some legislation will be considered providing for the relief of families of government employees killed under unusually hazardous conditions in line of duty due to the war effort, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to take the necessary steps so that such legislation as may be enacted covers the families of government employees on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Extension of Existing 40-Hour Week Law**

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, There have been many reductions in force in the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad and military establishments on the Panama Canal, and

WHEREAS, It can be expected that during some future time we may be faced with a depression, during which millions will be out of work, and

WHEREAS, It is expected that the Metal Trades Department will initiate or support some sort of a reduced workweek, less than 40 hours per week, and

WHEREAS, It is likely that such action be completed through legislation in which the Canal Zone should be included, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, include the American employees of the Panama Canal, Panama Railroad and military establishments on the Isthmus of Panama in any proposed legislation which may be initiated to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Increasing Injury and Death Compensation for Government Employees**

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Injury and death compensation in government service is based on average earnings of government employees, and

WHEREAS, The Compensation Act was amended February 12, 1927, increasing the monthly compensation for total disability from \$66.66 to \$116.66, and

WHEREAS, Organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad believe that compensation for injury and death should follow the general trend of increases, both in wages and cost of living, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to secure the enactment of legislation which will follow out the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Ex-Servicemen's Rates in Government Hospitals Applied to Employees and Retired Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad and Their Dependents**

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company become ill from time to time while on vacation in the United States as is also true of dependent members of their families, and have been required to go to the expense of entering private hospitals for treatment, and

WHEREAS, Retired employees are receiving a pension sufficient to pay for nothing except living expenses but have had to meet large hospital bills, and

WHEREAS, All personnel of the military and naval services in the United States have

the privilege of enjoying hospitalization in the United States Government hospitals at greatly reduced rates, and

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company are engaged in service similar to that of the military and naval forces of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure proper legislation which will give employees and retired employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company and their dependents the same rates in Government hospitals in the United States as are enjoyed by military and naval personnel.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Ten Percent Night Differential and Holiday Leave Pay of the Downey Pay Acts, 1945 and 1946**

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, At the time of the enactment by Congress of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945 and 1946, Wage Board employees on an annual basis were excluded from these Acts except for the payment of time and one-half for overtime, and

WHEREAS, This has affected all the operating and maintenance, monthly and annually paid employees of the Canal Zone and Panama Railroad, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, request their legal department to draft an amendment to section 10 and section 11, of the 1946 Downey Pay Act so as to include monthly operating and maintenance employees on a definite basis, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the legal department of the American Federation of Labor familiarize themselves with the language of such legislation as the Downey Pay Act with a view to ascertaining if such language will, or will not apply to the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, this in an effort to improve working and pay conditions of monthly employees based on Wage Board adjustments.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Free Transportation for Canal Zone School Children**

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, General practice in the United States is to transport school children to and from their homes by bus without charge, and

WHEREAS, This particularly applies to rural areas for children traveling from 5 to 15 miles to and from schools, and

WHEREAS, A number of school children in the Canal Zone travel from 7 to 15 miles to school with the parents paying for such transportation, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal Metal Trades Council has tried for years to relieve this situation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, support any movement by the Metal Trades Council of the Canal Zone with a view to inaugurating such transportation on the basis of being furnished by the United States Government.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Free Entry for Distilled Beverages Into the Canal Zone**

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The treaty between the Republic of Panama and the United States provides for the sale of all commodities free of duty through government commissaries to the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, to enable such employees to live as nearly a normal life as possible as they would if they were residing in the United States, and

WHEREAS, These employees consider that anything necessary and convenient to such a normal life comes properly under the above whereas, and

WHEREAS, There is very high duty on distilled beverages in the Republic of Panama and all such beverages must be purchased in the Republic, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, assist the Legislative Representative of the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council in every possible way to effect the sale of such distilled beverages in the Canal Zone commissaries free of duty as is any other commodity.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Replacement of Aliens by American Citizens After the War**

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In Panama Canal, Panama Railroad, and allied positions on the Isthmus of Panama there are thousands of aliens holding positions in both "gold" and "silver"

categories (United States citizens and aliens), in skilled, semi-skilled, and office work, and

WHEREAS, Now that the war emergency is over a reduction of force has already taken place with more to follow, and

WHEREAS, A similar reduction in force will take place about the same time in government institutions in the United States, and

WHEREAS, There would be no object in sending personnel back to the United States from the Canal Zone to swell the unemployment lists in the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure enactment of legislation which will give United States citizens preference in all skilled, semi-skilled, and office positions on the Isthmus of Panama when the war emergency is over.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Standard Wage Rates for Substitute Supervisory Employees in Canal Zone

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Publicity of Full Facts in Labor Disputes

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John Forster, Bernard M. Egan, John W. Austin, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Several states have enacted legislation which compels employers, whose

employees are striking, locked out or engaged in a labor dispute, to insert such information in any advertisement seeking to obtain new employees, and

WHEREAS, Such legislation has been effective in preventing deception by employers in such condition and prevented them from recruiting strikebreakers, and

WHEREAS, Such legislation has assisted organized labor in increasing wages, reducing hours and improving conditions of employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor seek enactment of similar legislation in all states.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Hospitalization for Merchant Seamen

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, War veterans of the armed forces of the United States are given the most efficient and advanced medical care for the duration of their lives, being eligible for admission at any time to the numerous well-staffed veterans hospitals, and

WHEREAS, Merchant seamen are eligible for admission to Marine hospitals for only 60 days after the date of their last discharge, and

WHEREAS, The merchant seamen have performed miracles of heroism and self-sacrifice in this war, comparable in every respect with the armed forces, many hundreds of seamen having been injured and killed, and

WHEREAS, Because of the 60-day clause which the United States Public Health Service applies to merchant seamen, many bona fide seamen are walking the streets of every American seaport, who are suffering from shell shock and various ailments brought on through enemy attacks and continuous strains undergone through perilous voyages, forcing them to remain ashore indefinitely, and who are denied hospitalization and treatment at Marine hospitals, and

WHEREAS, This contention was formed solely for and by the Board of Administrators for the Marine hospital, and is not recognized by any official governmental department as authentic, and is especially against the belief and recognition of the merchant seamen, for and by whom the Marine hospitals have been established, and

WHEREAS, The difference in hospital treatment given the armed forces on one hand, and the merchant seamen on the other constitutes unjust discrimination against the merchant heroes, without whose services this war could not be won, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled

favor and work for its effectuation, making eligible for hospitalization for the rest of their lives, all merchant seamen who can show three years' peacetime discharges, or 12 months' wartime discharges or have been injured in wartime in the performance of their duty.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Hospitals for Merchant Seamen

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Marine Hospitals were originally set up as separate hospitals to provide medical aid and hospitalization for merchant seamen, and were established and maintained by certain compulsory deductions from the seamen's wages and from the shipowners, and

WHEREAS, Some years ago these hospitals were incorporated under the administration of the United States Public Health Service and were broadened to take care of various shore employees of the federal government, such as post office employees and their families, coast guard and their families, and employees of various other government agencies, and

WHEREAS, Under this set up the American merchant seamen find themselves in a secondary position as far as getting medical aid or needed hospitalization, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled introduce the necessary legislation in Congress which will restore to American merchant seamen, separate hospital and medical facilities as was originally established for them.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Servicemen's Readjustment Act

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Wm. Naegorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 was based on a recognition of the fact that, the majority of veterans whose training was interrupted by service in the military forces of the United States would now be journeymen, earning journeymen's wages, and

WHEREAS, Congress, therefore, provided in the Servicemen's Readjustment Act as originally amended that a veteran without dependents would be entitled to receive \$65.00 per month, and a veteran with dependents, \$90.00 per month, from the government, in addition to the wages earned while training to become a journeyman-craftsman, for a period not to exceed forty-eight (48) months, and

WHEREAS, The Act provided for equal subsidies for veterans engaged in on the job

training programs other than for highly skilled occupations, as well as for institutional training, such as attendance at a university, and

WHEREAS, In order to combat alleged abuses by unscrupulous employers, misguided veterans, and lax administrative agencies in approving training programs which sprung into being only to take advantage of the benefits under the Act, rather than established long term apprenticeships, Congress rushed through an amendment to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act known as Public Law 679 by which a ceiling was placed on the total amount to be earned and received as wages and subsistence payments of \$175.00 per month for veterans without dependents, and \$200.00 for veterans with dependents, while receiving on the job training, and

WHEREAS, Millions of veterans have entered into or are about to enter into apprenticeship programs for the more highly skilled occupations which require years of training before becoming a journeyman, and

WHEREAS, Prior to the enactment of Public Law 679 the government recognizing the desirability of having as many veterans as possible enter into apprenticeship programs in the more highly skilled trades, consistently encouraged veterans to enter into such programs, and

WHEREAS, It is desirable that the subsistence payments to veterans be fair and equitable whether the veteran chooses to attend a university, pursue an apprenticeship program for a highly skilled trade, or pursue a short training course, and

WHEREAS, The amendment to the Act instead of eliminating abuses which it sought to correct will only create greater abuses in that wages earned by a veteran over and above \$110.00 per month may leave him with less money, after the deduction of income taxes, than he would receive based on monthly earnings of \$110.00, and full subsistence, depending on the number of dependents, and the inevitable result is that instead of benefiting the veteran, the employer will, in effect, be receiving a subsidy from the government, and

WHEREAS, Numerous veterans relying upon the provisions of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 as it existed prior to the recent crippling amendments entered into contracts for long-term on the job apprenticeship programs, and for the purchase of homes, and for other long-term commitments, and

WHEREAS, With regard to long-term apprenticeship programs for training for the more highly skilled occupations, the approving agencies could effectively guard against any abuses by limiting the total earnings on the job plus subsistence allowance at a sum not to exceed the established journeymen's rate in the particular trade in the community where the trainee is employed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled goes on record deploring the action of Con-



gress and the President of the United States in passing Public Law 679, which amended the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 so as to take away from millions of veterans rights and benefits given to them by the Act which was passed while they were fighting World War II, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That this convention recognizes that veterans in entering into long-term apprenticeship programs, purchases of homes, and other commitments, had a right to rely on the promise of the government to give them subsistence payments in the amounts and for the periods stated in the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 before the recent crippling amendments, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That in the opinion of this convention the recent amendments to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 will make it possible for conniving employers to turn the subsistence pay for veterans into a subsidy for employers since wages received by the veteran over and above \$110.00 per month may leave him with less money after the deduction of income taxes than he would receive based on monthly earnings of \$110.00 and full tax free subsistence depending on the number of dependents, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, to each member of the House and Senate Committees on Veterans' Affairs, and to General Omar N. Bradley of the Veterans' Administration, and that said officers and Executive Council be directed to use all other efforts to obtain the repeal of the recent amendments to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, and to establish subsistence payments so that the veteran will have a total income not less than a journeyman's wages where a bona fide apprenticeship program has been set up and a net income geared to an adequate standard of living where no such program has been in effect.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Federal Aid to Education

**Resolution No. 64**—By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

**WHEREAS,** The American Federation of Labor for many years has advocated federal aid to provide better educational facilities for the children of the nation, and

**WHEREAS,** The largest and most comprehensive general federal aid bill in the history of American education has been introduced in Congress known as the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill, (S. 2499), and

**WHEREAS,** This bill embodies the general principles supported by the American Federation of Labor, and

**WHEREAS,** The general principles of this bill have been endorsed by the American Federation of Teachers, the educational union of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Illinois, October, 1946, reaffirm its traditional stand in favor of federal aid to education, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That this convention endorse the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill (S. 2499) subject to such changes and amendments as the permanent Committee on Education and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor may desire to recommend.

Referred to Committee on Education.

## Teacher Shortage

**Resolution No. 65**—By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

**WHEREAS,** The American Federation of Labor throughout its entire history has advocated adequate public schools as the indispensable foundation of a successful democratic society, and

**WHEREAS,** The present generation of children will be faced with the tremendous responsibility of re-building a war-torn world and should therefore have the best possible training for citizenship, and

**WHEREAS,** The success of our post-war society is threatened by an alarming shortage of teachers and overcrowded classes, and

**WHEREAS,** Thousands of classrooms have no teachers at all and many thousands more are occupied by teachers who are not properly trained and certificated for the teaching profession, and

**WHEREAS,** The nation is faced with an alarming increase in crime and child delinquency with the great majority of the arrests in the teen-age group, and

**WHEREAS,** In addition to the incalculable costs in the lives of children, the ultimate financial costs of child delinquency and crime are many times greater than the costs of adequate facilities for education and child care, and

**WHEREAS,** It is socially and economically unsound to sacrifice thousands of lives and to spend billions of dollars to save our democratic form of government and then jeopardize the future of the nation by inadequate educational facilities for the children who suffered from the war but were in no way responsible for it, and

**WHEREAS,** The total sum spent by the United States—the richest nation in the world—for the education and care of its children

is a disgracefully small fraction of the amount spent for luxuries, and

WHEREAS, These tragic conditions in the nation's school system have resulted largely from inadequate salaries, undemocratic administration in the schools and political exploitation in the school system, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Illinois, in October 1946, go on record urging all affiliated labor bodies to assist teachers in securing better salaries and better working conditions not only for the benefit of the teachers themselves but also in the interests of providing adequate educational facilities for the nation's children at this critical time in American history.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Labor Education in the Public Schools

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Anti-labor organizations are flooding the public schools with materials for use in the classroom which are clearly designed to prejudice the minds of the children of the nation against organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The most able speakers available are being employed by the anti-labor groups to address assemblies of high school and university students, and

WHEREAS, Certain powerful industrial organizations, which have traditionally opposed legislation for the protection and welfare of workers and have constantly battled against unions, are carrying on co-operative programs with non-union teachers' organizations throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, Recent publications of these organizations show clearly that this co-operative program is being used as a means of attacking the labor movement with subtle but effective propaganda in the public schools, and

WHEREAS, These industrial organizations which are using the public schools as an avenue for anti-labor propaganda have previously shown no interest in supporting and improving public education except to the extent to which the schools may be used as a propaganda medium, and

WHEREAS, The labor movement cannot hope to match the millions of dollars which industrial organizations are pouring into their educational and public relations programs, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Illinois, in October 1946, go on record in favor of a vigorous campaign on the part of all affiliated unions to promote teaching

the true facts in the public schools about the history, objectives and accomplishments of organized labor as an important part of the democratic structure of our nation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That central labor councils be urged to investigate the anti-labor materials used in local school systems and the co-operation of non-union teachers' organizations with anti-labor groups, and, if necessary, to send a committee to discuss this matter with the superintendent of schools and the board of education, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated local and state labor bodies be urged to co-operate in organizing the public school teachers in the labor movement as the most practical means of assuring that labor's point of view will be presented in a fair and unbiased manner and that teachers will be able to recognize propaganda materials which are intended to weaken or destroy the organized labor movement of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Newport News Shipbuilding Industry

Resolution No. 67—By Central Labor Union, Newport News, Va.

WHEREAS, The main industry and source of employment for the peoples of Newport News, Virginia, and vicinity is the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, and

WHEREAS, No real concerted effort has ever been made by the American Federation of Labor to organize the plant, despite the many letters, requests and personal contacts made to the A. F. of L., Metal Trades Department and other crafts involved by the Newport News Central Labor Union for many years, and

WHEREAS, Through this disinterest, lack of proper organizers or other reasons, failure to act at the proper time by the A. F. of L. has led to the growth of a strong independent union therein, and

WHEREAS, This independent union known as the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association has not been content to acquire bargaining rights in this large plant but has also branched out into other smaller industries that are locating on the peninsula, thus preventing local A. F. of L. unions from organizing and claiming their rightful jurisdictions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Newport News Central Labor Union petition the A. F. of L. in its convention October 7, 1946, to exert every effort possible to the end that this plant may be properly organized, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. bring pressure to bear on the international unions of the Metal Trades Department in an effort

to secure better co-operation in this matter, that the result may be a concerted large scale operation by all crafts concerned.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### Southern Textile Drive

**Resolution No. 68**—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, B. L. Eberts, Benjamin Haskell, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America are carrying on a vigorous and extensive drive throughout the southern textile industry to organize the vast mass of unorganized textile workers in the South into the protective folds of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, its officers, regional representatives and organizers have given substantial aid to the UTW drive and has made possible its extensive organizing activities, and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America have expressed appreciation and thanks for the generous encouragement and help—both moral and financial—given by the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor heartily approves the drive to organize the textile workers of the South; commends the officers and organizers of the A. F. of L. for their generous aid to the United Textile Workers; and records its support of continued assistance—moral, physical and financial—to organize all the textile workers throughout the South into the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### Organization Drive

**Resolution No. 69**—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Frank Albano, Louis Rooney, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The organization of unorganized workers is at all times the primary purpose of our existence, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has aggressively, forcefully and militantly engaged in a revival of organizing activities in all branches of the organized labor movement since the end of the war and has particularly prepared and inaugurated an organizational drive in the South, and

WHEREAS, The need for organizational work is nation wide and there are many yet to be organized in many of the industries we represent and the necessity for a joint co-operative and integrated plan of action is readily apparent, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor initiate an all inclusive nation wide drive and for this purpose set up a special organization department under the supervision of its most aggressive and militant Executive Council members, and that a fund of \$10,000,000 be established to carry this drive through to a speedy and successful conclusion and that all affiliated unions be requested to participate in such a drive and to contribute to the fund in accordance with their size and resources.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### Nationalization

**Resolution No. 70**—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Strikes in basic industries, transportation and public utilities are certain to lead to adverse labor legislation, note the recent coal and railroad strikes, and

WHEREAS, Under our present banking system we are faced with recurring booms and depressions which could be prevented, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record as favoring government ownership of all mines, transportation and public utilities, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention goes on record as favoring the nationalization of all banks.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Increased Compensation for Federal Employees

**Resolution No. 71**—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Injury and death compensation in government service is based on average earnings of government employees, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Employees Compensation Act of 1916 was amended February 12, 1927, increasing the monthly compensation from \$66.66 to \$116.66 for total disability per month, and

WHEREAS, The members of the Molders' Union who are employed in government foundries are subject to strict medical examinations believe that compensation should follow the general trend of increases both in wages and in cost of living, and

WHEREAS, This applies to all forms of retirement and compensation both in the federal government and in the state government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention now assembled, make every effort to secure legislation to provide increases in the Federal Employees Compensation Act and all other such state and federal retirement and compensation acts as are now in effect in the various states, and this increase should be in accordance with the increased cost of living since 1927.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Income Taxes

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor now assembled in convention petition the Congress of the United States through their legislative bodies to enact legislation to reduce federal income taxes and to exempt taxes on all incomes under \$5,000.00.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Increased Old Age Benefits Under Social Security

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The objective of the old-age benefit feature of the Social Security Act of 1935 was to provide economic security for workers who retired after attaining the age of 65 years, and

WHEREAS, It was the consensus that the amounts fixed for old-age pensions were inadequate and not realistically keyed to the cost of maintaining a person in even minimum comfort in the year 1935, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has soared since the inception of the Social Security Act in 1935 and is still rapidly mounting with the end not yet in sight; this makes it glaringly obvious that the recipients of old-age pensions are now face to face with the grim reality of living at the lowest of substandard levels, with their situation growing worse daily; the aim of the Social Security Act to provide economic security is defeated, and

WHEREAS, The United States and its citizens are meritoriously providing the peoples of the impoverished nations with foods and the essentials of life; the United States is contemplating making huge loans to foreign nations; according to the press, the United States

is spending large sums of money in building up and strengthening the military might of certain nations, and

WHEREAS, There is an extreme contrast between the liberality displayed on the one hand and the penuriousness exhibited on the other whereby old-age pensions are held at such a low level that the receivers, a segment of American citizens, the old and helpless ones are forced to live on what amounts at this time to a pittance that spells near starvation, and

WHEREAS, Those citizens receiving old-age pensions are unorganized and politically impotent; they are unable to form blocs; they are unable to send high-pressure lobbyists to Washington; accordingly their interests are callously disregarded by Congress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention records itself in favor of amending the Social Security Act of 1935 to provide that old-age benefits be increased in the amount of 50 per cent over present rates and, moreover, that employers' contributions to the old-age pension fund be increased from 1 per cent to 3 per cent, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers be directed to use their powers to achieve the fulfillment of the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Full Seniority for Government Workers

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The past and present policies of the U. S. Government with reference to its system of efficiency and reduction in force has always been a detriment and an injustice to its employees, and

WHEREAS, In various public hearings before Congress of the U. S., evidence was submitted to show that competent employees with long and many years of service have been discharged due to the unfairness of this system, and

WHEREAS, The seniority system has worked very effectively in the railroad and other industries, both in the interest of management and labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor now assembled in convention endorse and support any and all legislation now before Congress to establish full and strict seniority to the industrial workers of the U. S. Government.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Lowering Retirement Age Under Social Security

**Resolution No. 75**—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, In the Social Security Act of 1935 the age of sixty-five (65) years was fixed for eligibility for old-age pensions, and

WHEREAS, In normal times in the United States a considerable proportion of employable workers are unemployed due to the inability of industry to absorb them; these unemployed workers constitute the army of unemployed which is always with us in normal times; this condition has always been a blot on the economy of the nation, and

WHEREAS, The productivity of American workers has been steadily mounting; invention and technological improvements during World War II were responsible for an almost unbelievable jump being made in the productivity of American industrial workers, and

WHEREAS, This accelerated productivity of labor will reflect in fewer workers being required to carry on the work of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Older workers will find it increasingly difficult to maintain a place in American industry, and

WHEREAS, Experiences of the past clearly indicate that unless the eligibility for old-age pensions is reduced so that workers can retire at an earlier age than sixty-five (65) the armies of unemployed of the future will be greater than those of the past; besides it is unconscionable to force old workers to work when there is no need for it, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention goes on record in favor of an amendment to the Social Security Act of 1935 whereby the age of eligibility for old-age pensions will be reduced from sixty-five years of age to sixty years of age, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the incoming officers be directed to use every means at their command to achieve the fulfillment of the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Federal Employees Compensation Act

**Resolution No. 76**—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention now assembled, make every effort to secure legislation to provide

increases in the Federal Employees Compensation Act and all other such State and Federal Retirement and Compensation Acts as are now in effect in the various States, and this increase should be in accordance with the increased cost of living since 1927.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Annual Vacations

**Resolution No. 77**—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Technological progress was undoubtedly responsible for a large portion of pre-war unemployment, and

WHEREAS, It is reasonable to believe that this trend will be accelerated in the postwar period, and

WHEREAS, A 26-day vacation period would increase employment, both directly and indirectly, and

WHEREAS, Time and means for extended travel would create a more homogeneous nation, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention does hereby go on record as advocating the universal adoption of the 26-day annual vacation leave.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Molders vs. Auto Workers

**Resolution No. 78**—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The United Automobile Workers' Union, A. F. of L. was granted their charter to organize automobile workers, and

WHEREAS, They have invaded and taken over several of the foundries in Cleveland over which they have no jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, President Green of the A. F. of L., having had this matter brought before him several times, and no action being taken up to the present time, and

WHEREAS, The result of this condition has brought about the situation of our men having to pay dues into two A. F. of L. organizations, and causing considerable trouble and animosity between two unions, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The American Federation of Labor be instructed to demand the withdrawal of the U. A. W., A. F. of L. from the foundry industries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

Chicago, Ill., October 8, 1946

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:45 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Our good friend and co-worker, Delegate Charles Gramling, representing the Georgia State Federation of Labor and also the International Union of Operating Engineers, will pronounce the invocation this morning.

## INVOCATION

(Delegate Charles Gramling)

Most holy and glorious Lord God, it is in Thy name we have assembled and in Thy name we desire to proceed in all our undertakings. Grant that what we may do or say here today will meet with Thy divine blessing. Now, wilt Thou take charge of us, go with us through this day, and finally when Thou hast done with us on this earth receive us into Thy heavenly home. We ask these things in Thy name—Amen.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 7, 1946.

Wm. Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

The children of the nursery join in wishing you success in all your undertakings.

Douglas Park Day and Night Nursery,  
Mother Body.

LEAH OVITSKY,  
President.  
JESSIE L. DISKIN,  
Honorary President.

Stockholm, Sept. 20, 1946.

Wm. Green, President,  
A. F. of L. Convention,  
Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

Estonian Latvian Lithuanian trade unionists labor organizations send greetings best wishes success Congress A. F. of L.

MIHKELSON KALNINS BRIEDIS,  
Trafikvagen 7, Enskede, Stockholm.

October 3, 1946.

To the 65th Convention of the American Federation of Labor,  
Hotel Morrison, Chicago, Ill.  
Greetings:

The plight of over a million European displaced persons languishing without homes or countries is a challenge to the conscience of mankind. A great number of these persons are Jews who have already suffered more pain and tragedy than has ever been visited upon a people.

Clearly this situation is an emergency which exists in the wake of the war, and the responsibilities of the Allies demand that they continue in united effort until these victims of the defeated enemy are decently settled in countries which will afford them opportunity for freedom and security.

The leadership of the United States can show the way to all the world towards solution of this problem. If we wait for a solution to evolve of itself we shall have to answer to history for having failed to heed the cries of these many souls whose salvation was within our power. Surely the settlement of this number of persons among the democratic nations of the world can be accomplished if our country shows the way. Mr. Truman has already indicated his willingness to take steps towards securing special legislation to allow admittance of a portion of these displaced persons into the United States. If the American people show Mr. Truman that they actively support this humanitarian objective, it will be assured of success.

Reparations Ambassador Edwin A. Pauley, in his report to the President of the United States on his study of the condition of Jewish displaced persons, declares: "We have saved them from death—but we have not yet given them a chance to live." He recommends "An international agreement should be arrived at whereby each United Nation (with certain possible exceptions) agree to accept a certain quota of Jews and other refugees from Europe as immigrants into its territory and territory under its jurisdiction."

Whereas the American Federation of Labor has been cautious of the economic effects of mass immigration, it is yet the feeling heart of our country and will not fail to appreciate the displaced persons problem as an emergency of such magnitude and compulsion that all humanity must share in its solution.

As a fraternal order of 70,000 members, which has for half a century given full hearted support to, and been an active part of the labor movement, we respectfully petition the 65th Convention of the American Federation of Labor to declare itself in favor of absorption of European displaced persons by all countries which can properly receive them, including Palestine, and to acknowledge its support of the White House proposal of August 16, 1946, for permitting entry of a number of displaced persons into the United States.

To the President of the American Federation of Labor, the officers, the convention delegates, and to the members, we convey our fraternal greetings and our best wishes for a successful convention and a prosperous future.

With deep sincerity.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE.

EPHIM H. JESHURIN,  
President.  
JOSEPH BASKIN,  
General Secretary.

Washington 7, D. C., Oct. 7, 1946.

Hon. William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Convention headquarters, Morrison Hotel.

I respectfully request since AFL convention opens simultaneously with national observance of "National Employ-the-Physically-Handicapped Week" that you mention to the assembled officers and delegates the noble purposes of the week, and labor's participation therein. The week, hereafter, will be observed annually during the first week in October. Personal regards and best wishes for a successful convention.

PAUL A. STRACHAN, President,  
American Federation of the  
Physically Handicapped.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In connection with this message, it seems appropriate for me to refresh your memory. You all perhaps will recall that this week has been set aside by an Act of Congress, by a proclamation of the President of the United States, as "Physically Handicapped Week." The noble objective of this Act of Congress and the proclamation of the President is to serve and help in every possible way we can the physically handicapped in finding a place in our industrial life where they may work and serve in order to earn a decent living.

We are cooperating fully with the Government, with civic organizations, with the physically handicapped in a proper observance of "Physically Handicapped Week."

The officers of State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies are serving in a most valuable and heroic way. I know that it is the opinion and desire of all of us here to render all help and extend all assistance possible.

I am indeed pleased to present to you our distinguished visitor who is with us this morning. I know you have been waiting with a feeling of deep interest for the arrival of this morning's speaker and for the very wonderful address which I know he will deliver.

I esteem it an honor and a privilege to present to you this morning Commanding General Carl Spaatz, of the Army Air Forces.

### GENERAL CARL SPAATZ (Commanding General, Army Air Forces)

During the war there came oversens an unbroken flow of weapons and supplies. These were produced by American skill, muscles, and brains. The American arsenal sustained us in battle; it saved the cause of democracy; it gave the sinews of life to the United Nations. That was the impact of American free and highly skilled labor on our totalitarian enemies.

We had good reason to know you were then on the job, sharing in our country's defense. We were glad then to feel your presence in

every instrument, in every ton of war supply. And I am glad to be with you now.

The enemy, at the beginning of the war, was actually at our gates. That, we say, must never happen again. You have a right to know how we hope to prevent it happening again. We hope to prevent it by preventing war. For that we need strength, which is obvious to the world.

The Air Force has a three-fold mission:

First, we must insure our national security in the air.

Second, we must meet certain commitments in the occupied areas, until other arrangements may be made under peace settlements.

Third, we have obligations under the Charter of the United Nations to hold air units immediately available to carry out international decisions of that body.

All three tasks require Air Strength In Being.

After we were attacked out of the blue at Pearl Harbor, we had time to build up our Air Force to the strength necessary to win control of the air over Germany. That time was handed to us by our Allies, Britain and Russia, who maintained the battle while we trained personnel, made the weapons, and learned the new technique of strategic air war. It took two years to build that wartime Air Force.

When we finally had the required strength, in early 1944, it didn't take us long to win control of the air which was absolutely essential to freedom of action of all forces, land, sea, and air.

In the process two great industrial nations, Germany and Japan, were collapsed from within. Under the rain of bombs their economic life came to a stand still. Their "home fronts" dissolved into rubble. That was the penalty they paid for losing control of the air over their own lands.

The total expenditure of bombs on Germany and Japan, by the strategic air forces of Britain and America, was about two million tons. These bombs were relatively small, and carried conventional explosives. If they had been atomic bombs, only a small percentage of that total tonnage would have done the same work.

Next time, if it ever comes, there will not be two years to prepare the shattering blows, not even two months for build-up of strength. In fact, there will be no time at all—because of the new speed, extended range, and terrific augmentation of explosives. If ever again we reckon on time for a build-up of force to defend ourselves, there probably would be only one surprise—the first, which would also be the last.

There will be no time, because America is the richest nation. In two World Wars the American arsenal has come through with the weapons for the knockout blows. Any future aggressor would begin with America first.

Moreover, for the first time in history, America is immediately exposed to long range Air Power. Our industry is the lonrest assembly line in the world. It is also the most vulnerable to attack because of its concentration. The middle of our country, for the first time, is wide open to overwhelming surprise attack from the air.

To appreciate this new element of our de-



fense problem we must think in terms of the globe. The flat projection maps, used in schools in the past, are misleading. Only on a globe, or a polar projection, (such as this one) do we see the significance of distance as the crow flies. The shortest air distances in the northern hemisphere are over the Arctic regions.

The surface forces, Army and Navy, can not penetrate that region of perpetual ice. But the air is open. The airplane comes from anywhere; it goes everywhere.

That was demonstrated by the recent flight of the Dream Boat from Hawaii to Cairo, non-stop over the Polar Regions, a distance slightly less than 10,000 miles.

Across the Arctic, the industrial areas of Europe, Asia, and America, are within range of each other with airplanes now in operation. Our B-36 can carry a heavy bomb load 5,000 miles, and return to base. Any possible enemy, capable of developing Air Power, will have similar airplanes. Should there be another war it will be an air war, and it will open the whole Arctic as an arena of conflict.

There is only one deterrent to such surprise attack, and that is a Strategic Air Force. In being so strong that its power for split-second counter-measures insures an offensive-defense. Only Air Power can defend this country against attack through the Arctic. Any preparation which ignores this fact is sheer waste of American time and money.

To fulfill its mission in this new strategic situation, the Air Force has certain specific requirements.

First, we need a program of continuous research and development. Science has enormously increased man's power of mass destruction. The Germans, for instance, were ahead of us in jet propulsion and guided missiles. Fortunately for us they were too late. If they had had six months more for manufacture of these weapons in quantity, they might have prolonged the war for a year or more. We must keep abreast of science.

Second, we must have an expandable aviation industry that applies the advance of science to production. That also takes time. For instance, the B-29. Five years elapsed from the beginning of its development in 1939 to its first flight over Japan in 1944.

We must design machine tools and develop manufacturing techniques to produce new types of aircraft. We must maintain a working pool of skilled labor. All these must be expandable in an emergency.

There must be a strong civil air transport system, and an active program of civil aviation in addition to our military air force in order to maintain an adequate aviation industry.

Industry is not now being kept up to the capacity demanded by national security.

Meanwhile, the country's defenses are reduced in three categories,—modern aircraft on hand; manufacturing capacity; and skilled aviation labor. In an emergency that would count against us.

Push button warfare has not arrived, except in the headlines. Air Power is still the first, the main and the last element of defense. Air Power determines our country's position in

the Air Age. By its very existence it gains time for the world to settle down, and for the evolution of the international peace machinery. We must keep it efficient.

We all want peace. We want America to preserve her traditional freedom, while evolving into the new era on her own timetable.

But how to get peace? We know that weakness invites attack, especially if the weak are also rich. We know that freedom is preserved only through strength. We know that potential strength is not good enough. Over our heads hangs the contingency of some super-Pearl Harbor which would wipe out our industries. That contingency must be in our thoughts. We know it demands strength in being. The time for build-up, after hostilities begin, is gone forever.

Lastly, we know we have the sinews of strength. Our national backbone is our long assembly line, manned by the highest skilled and most patriotic workmen of the world. That assembly line licked Germany and Japan in war; it can lick the problems of peace.

Our principle of action in war was "Through Strength to Victory." Our principle now is "Through Strength to Peace," not "Through Weakness to Disaster."

That is the supreme lesson of the day for us all. As Americans we share this responsibility: Keep America strong. That is the only road to peace.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Commanding General Spaatz has brought to us a most illuminating message. We appreciate very greatly the facts and information he has submitted and the fine tribute he paid the great army of production represented in this convention.

He has frequently expressed himself as appreciating in a very deep way the excellent service rendered by the skilled workmen, the men who were moved by patriotic impulses who are members of the American Federation of Labor. It is these men who build the planes, who construct them, who turn them out in volume and in quantity, and he represents those who operated them so successfully during the great war.

I want to thank him in your name and in your behalf for his visit with us this morning and for the inspiring message which he brought to us. Thank you, General.

There are maps distributed by the Department of Government represented by General Spaatz which will be helpful to you. They have been distributed and are on the tables this morning.

A warm and cordial invitation was extended to the President of the United States to attend and address this historic convention of the American Federation of Labor. He expressed a keen desire and a sincere wish to respond favorably to the invitation extended him. He advised me that he would endeavor to come to Chicago and attend this convention, but would let me know at his earliest opportunity.

Unfortunately he found it impossible to come, but he has sent us a message. Secretary-Treasurer Meany will now read the message

of the President of the United States, addressed to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention:

Secretary Meany read the following message:

### MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 30, 1946.

Dear Mr. Green:

I very much regret that I cannot be with you on this most auspicious occasion, the Sixty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. This convention is of deep significance because the officers and members of the A. F. of L. are among the chief custodians of American democracy.

This enduring trusteeship has brought a long record of gains for those who labor. Many of these gains are measurable in economic terms, in better wages and working conditions, in improved living standards and greater security. Beyond these tangible benefits, which have been felt in millions of homes throughout the land, are other contributions, equally vital to the workings of democracy—the growth of social consciousness and respect for human values that is the true symbol of freedom.

But in offering congratulations to the American Federation of Labor my chief desire is to look ahead, to the immediate tasks and responsibilities that lie before you. This is a great moment in history and it is no accident that the members and leaders of organized labor now have such a decisive part to play—a long record of continuing service has earned them that solemn right.

Moreover, this obligation is laid upon you at a time when not only the welfare and security of the American people but the peace of the world may be at stake.

To me at least, the part that organized labor must play is definite and clear. Now, more than ever, organized labor must speak for and act in behalf of all who labor. You must demonstrate, as you did during the war, that the goals of organized labor are identical with the goals of our democratic Nation.

Today, no less than in wartime, our most compelling need is full, sustained production. Our demonstrated capacity holds out the promise of secure abundance for America's wage and salaried workers, as well as for our farmers and business and professional people. But to reach this goal we must use all of our resources in materials and men and we shall need the full cooperation of industry, labor and government.

By definition this goal precludes the payment of substandard wages, just as it precludes inflationary prices which eat away real purchasing power. It precludes oppressive child labor and discrimination against any group regardless of sex, race, color or creed.

There are those who doubt labor's motives and question labor's aims. Now, as always, the answer to that challenge must come from

within the ranks of labor. I am confident that the delegates to this great convention will be eager to reply.

Congratulations, and best wishes for a most successful convention.

Very sincerely yours,

(s) HARRY TRUMAN.

Honorable William Green,  
President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
901 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.,  
Washington 1, D. C.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Secretary will now submit the names of the convention committees. Please give this announcement your careful consideration so that each of you may know on what committee you will be serving.

### CONVENTION COMMITTEES

Secretary Meany read to the convention the Convention Committees as follows:

#### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Harry C. Bates, Robert Byron, F. A. Fitzgerald, Henry F. Schmal, Leo J. Buckley, George Q. Lynch, Charles M. Rau, Zera C. Wright, Frank J. Coleman, Irvin Barney, Matthew Burns, A. C. D'Andrea, Edgar S. Hurley, Selma Borchardt, M. J. Sexton, Charles S. Zimmerman, Harry Lemkuhl, Harry R. Lyons, Milton S. Maxwell, Leslie L. Myers, Harry Gunderson, J. A. Burks, Bernard M. Egan, John O'Hare, William Mitch.

#### RESOLUTIONS

Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, Chas. J. MacGowan, John F. English, William E. Maloney, P. J. Morrin, John B. Haggerty, L. P. Lindelof, R. G. Soderstrom, Thomas H. O'Donnell, Jonn J. Mara, John O'Leary, J. L. Reilly, M. A. Hutcheson, Arnold S. Zander, John E. Rooney, Joseph P. Ryan, Frank Kasten, Richard F. Walsh, Herman Winter, Max Zaritsky, Hugo Ernst, James F. Doyle, Woodruff Randolph, Paul R. Hutchings.

#### LAWS

Daniel J. Tobin, Joseph N. Weber, Patrick E. Gorman, R. J. Picard, J. J. Farnan, Robert Golden, James Killen, William Tracy, Jerome J. Keating, Edward J. Volz, John T. Driscoll, A. E. McCormick, Herbert Rivers, Jasper N. Davis, George C. Slater, Wil-

liam McCarthy, Martin Cahill, Anthony Matz, Sol Cilento, Anthony Valente, John P. Redmond, Sam J. Byers, Clement A. Clancy, John Forster, Percy Tetlow.

### ORGANIZATION

Wm. C. Doherty, Frank Duffy, G. E. Leighty, John P. Burke, Paul Dulzell, Patrick H. Reagan, David Sullivan, Raymond J. Meurer, Theodore Nischwitz, Leon Williams, John B. Prewitt, Earl W. Jimereson, A. Philip Randolph, Joseph Schmidt, W. J. Bassett, Joseph St. John, A. Shoemake, Wm. A. Lewis, Charles T. Lindgren, Lester Washburn, George T. Slocum, Tillman K. Garrison, Thomas Durian, George R. Pawson, Charles Sinnigan.

### LABELS

David Dubinsky, T. D. Harper, Anthony Merlino, Joseph Belsky, Herman Finkelstein, Anne Peterson, Toney Gallo, Joseph Addy, E. M. Weston, George Higgins, Edwin L. Wheatley, John Zitello, Mary G. Morley, William Williams, Charles E. Rohler, William Schoenberg, Robert Lester, James A. Suffridge, Benjamin Haskel, J. Earl Collins, Frank W. Anderson, Harold H. Clark, John Paris, R. E. Tomlinson, J. Howard Hicks, I. M. Ornburn.

### ADJUSTMENT

Felix H. Knight, Lee W. Minton, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Arnold R. Hokanson, T. L. Jones, Frank Brewster, Ed. J. Brown, E. J. Manion, Alfred Cook, George W. Lawson, Glenn R. Blake, L. M. Raftery, Harry Nacey, Joseph J. Delaney, Joseph O'Neill, Joseph P. McCurdy, Samuel R. Diskan, Wm. P. Raoul, Gordon Chapman, George Grisham, Martin F. Brennan, John H. Sylvester.

### LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

W. C. Birthright, C. C. Coulter, Joseph Marshall, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, Sam Bonansinga, A. F. Baker, Elmer Spahr, Alfred Rota, Wm. McGuern, J. W. Van Hook, Lloyd Klenert, Thomas C. Cashen, Arthur J. Strunk, Alex Rose, Thomas

A. Lenehan, Ben Gilbert, Michael J. Mungovan, John Hawk, Edward W. Kaiser, Gus Moline, John E. Briedenbach, Peter T. Schoemane, John V. Kearney, D. T. Johnstone.

### EDUCATION

George M. Harrison, E. E. Millman, Carl H. Mullen, Edward J. Hillock, Thomas H. Gerraty, William Biggadike, Kenneth J. Kelley, James Petrillo, A. L. Spradling, C. F. Strickland, William L. McFetridge, Harry H. Cook, Samuel Shore, Irvin Kuenzli, Harry Lundeberg, James J. Doyle, J. Duschak, W. L. Allen, Peter G. Noll, A. P. Bower, H. A. Bradley, Thos. Kennedy, H. L. Mitchell, G. A. Sackett, Frank P. Barry.

### STATE ORGANIZATIONS

G. M. Bugniet, H. W. Sullivan, George L. Googe, Joseph A. Mullaney, Robert J. Tormey, Berniece B. Heffner, Michael J. Lyden, Charles T. Crane, C. J. Haggerty, W. S. Gross, Thomas A. Murray, Phil E. Ziegler, Gust Anderson, John J. Guenther, Louis Koenig, Jack S. Smith, Bernard Quinn, James D. Graham, Claude O'Reilly, John J. Hauck, Harry W. Acreman, Walter Collins, E. A. Carter, Stewart Robinson, John F. Dunachie.

### INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

William L. Hutcheson, P. M. Payton, Frank P. Converse, Walter Matthews, Thomas Allen, John O'Rourke, Thomas Meany, Charles N. Paulsen, John R. Owens, Edward H. Weyler, Samuel Reinlib, George L. Warfel, Eugene J. Atkinson, James W. Close, James M. Kennedy, Harry S. Leimbach, Patrick Waldron, E. J. Plondke, Robert J. Watt, George Edgerton, Robert Lynch, Paul L. Phillips, Patrick McHugh, Wm. J. Buckley, Hugh White.

### BUILDING TRADES

Richard J. Gray, William J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, F. B. Comfort, Charles B. Gramling, John H. Lyons, Martin P. Durkin, Wm. J. Bowen, C. W. Sickles, Pete Yablonski, Rex Fransway, Homer J.

Myers, M. J. McDonough, John J. Conway, Ray Schoessling, James L. McDevitt, John L. McKinney, George Osterkamp, Laurence Foley, James J. Ryan, Paul A. Givens, Robert Buxbaum.

### SHORTER WORKDAY

Harry Stevenson, Henri Valliancourt, James P. Meehan, Chris Lane, John Pelkofer, William Cooper, Louis P. Marciante, Sal B. Hoffmann, William F. Bauers, Milton P. Webster, Harry J. Hagen, Elmer P. Meinz, T. J. Lloyd, Walter Lenox, A. C. Lawrence, Wm. Nagorsne, George W. Brayfield, Ray Kelsay, George E. Maguire, Morris Bialis, William Campbell, John M. Leary, John W. Austin, Frank Evans, Lincoln B. Snedden.

### LEGISLATION

Leo E. George, Emanuel Koveleski, Fred N. Aten, Foster J. Pratt, James M. Duffy, James T. Moriarty, John Donlin, James B. Burns, Joseph F. Landis, Thomas J. Quinlan, Thomas V. Green, Christian Madsen, Philip Bennett, James Mowatt, Roy W. Singer, Leo A. McCormick, Frank X. Martel, Barney B. Taylor, C. M. Harvey, David L. Behncke, Godfrey Rudlick, H. Z. Collier, John Kmetz, Sam Laderman, George Heller.

### INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Wm. J. McSorley, Matthew Woll, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Wm. J. Bowen, Albert Adamski, Joseph V. Moersch, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Milliman, Martin Lawlor, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Henry F. Schmal, W. C. Birthright, John B. Haggerty, P. J. Morrin, Felix H. Knight, Hugo Ernst, George Meany, W. C. Doherty.

Delegate Kovaleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved that the name of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Secretary will now read the assignment of subjects dealt with in the Executive Council's report to the different committees.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** Reference of sections of the Executive Council's Report to the various committees is indicated below:

#### Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report

Selection of Fraternal Delegates  
Government Employees Council  
Reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers of America  
Changes of Titles of International Unions

Dissociation of the International Association of Machinists from Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor

Formation of the Maritime Trades Department

New International Unions Chartered

Official Changes  
Trade Union Benefits  
Metal Trades Department  
Report of Railway Employees' Department to the American Federation of Labor

#### Referred to

### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Introduction  
The United Nations  
Toward World Order  
Advisers to the Economic and Social Council

Basic Principles of Representation  
Control of Atomic Research and Power

Peace Treaties  
Engineers—Firemen and Oilers  
Canadian Central Labor Unions  
A. F. of L. Employees Retirement Plan

Consumer Cooperatives and Credit Unions

American Federationist  
Labor's Monthly Survey  
North American Labor News  
Publicity, Radio, and the Free Labor Press

National Labor Policy  
 National War Labor Board  
 National Wage Stabilization Board  
 War and Reconversion Controls  
 Still in Effect  
 Principles of Repressive Labor  
 Legislation  
 National Labor Relations Board  
 Labor and the Courts  
 The Labor Department  
 Social Insurance Activities  
 Fair Labor Standards Act  
 Labor Standards on Government  
 Contracts  
 Wages  
 Breton Woods International Mon-  
 etary Agreement  
 United Nations Educational, Scien-  
 tific and Cultural Organization  
 Charter for a World Security Or-  
 ganization  
 British Loan  
 UNRRA  
 Pay Increase for Congressmen  
 Public Debt  
 Federal Appropriations  
 Speed-Up System  
 Military Conscription  
 Draft of Nurses  
 Postal Service Employees  
 Classified Employees Pay Increase  
 Retirement  
 Triple Taxation of Federal Em-  
 ployes  
 Health Program  
 D. C. Police and Firemen  
 Teachers' Pay Law  
 Banks  
 Fire Boat  
 Air Mail  
 Railroad Retirement Amendments  
 Bonneville Project Amendments  
 Highways  
 Reconversion Statistics  
 Taxation  
 Social Security  
 Rivers and Harbors  
 Full Employment  
 Price Control  
 Fair Employment Practices Com-  
 mittee  
 U. S. Employment Service  
 Interned Employees of Contractors  
 Naval and Military Personnel  
 Aid to States  
 Hospitals

Insurance  
 Children  
 Sale of Government-Owned Mer-  
 chant Vessels  
 Reemployment—Merchant Marine  
 Federal Judges (Retirement)  
 Government Employees Council of  
 the American Federation of Labor  
 The Puerto Rico Free Federation  
 of Workingmen  
 Conclusion

#### Referred to

#### COMMITTEE ON LAWS

A. F. of L. Revenue

#### Referred to

#### COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

The South Revives Organization  
 Work

#### Referred to

#### COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Union Label Trades Department

#### Referred to

#### COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Central Body and State Federation  
 Affiliations

#### Referred to

#### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Federal Aid for Education  
 Vocational Education  
 Workers Education Bureau  
 Workers' Education

#### Referred to

#### COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Housing Legislation  
 Building and Construction Trades  
 Department

#### Referred to

#### COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

State Labor Legislation  
 National Legislation  
 Anti-labor Legislation  
 Truman's Anti-Labor Bill  
 Anti-Closed Shop Amendment  
 National Labor Relations Board  
 War Labor Board Appropriation  
 Reduction in Statute of Limita-  
 tions

Gurney-Andrews Bill	Oleomargarine Tax
Peacetime Military Training	Aliens' Income Tax
Immigration and Naturalization	Education
Federal Employees	Federal Education Program
Repeal of Hatch Act	Health and Safety Working Condi-
Seniority of Mechanics-Govern-	tions in Industry
ment Establishments	Physically Handicapped
Government Employees Under	Blind
Wage Boards	Un-American Activities
Reorganization of Government De-	Prohibition
partments and Agencies	Seamen's Income Tax
Barbers	Equal Pay for Women
Puerto Rico	Equal Rights Amendment
Canal Zone	
Aviation	
Missouri Valley Authority	
Reconversion Unemployment Ben-	
efits	
Minimum Wages	
Anti-Lynch Bills	
Poll Tax	

### Referred to

### COMMITTEE ON INT. LABOR RELATIONS

International Labor Organization
Free Trade Unions in Europe
Our Responsibility for Free Trade Unions

### ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Subject	Committee
Introduction .....	Resolutions
The United Nations .....	Resolutions
Toward World Order .....	Resolutions
Advisers to the Economic and Social Council .....	Resolutions
Basic Principles of Representation .....	Resolutions
Control of Atomic Research and Power .....	Resolutions
International Labor Organization .....	International Labor Relations
Free Trade Unions in Europe .....	International Labor Relations
Our Responsibility for Free Trade Unions.....	International Labor Relations
Peace Treaties .....	Resolutions
Selection of Fraternal Delegates .....	Executive Council Report
Government Employees Council .....	Executive Council Report
Reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers .....	Executive Council Report
Engineers—Firemen and Oilers .....	Resolutions
Changes of Titles of International Unions .....	Executive Council Report
Dissociation of International Association of Machinists from Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor .....	Executive Council Report
Canadian Central Labor Unions .....	Resolutions
Formation of Maritime Trades Department .....	Executive Council Report
New International Unions Chartered .....	Executive Council Report
Official Changes .....	Executive Council Report
A. F. of L. Revenue .....	Laws
A. F. of L. Employees Retirement Plan .....	Resolutions
Trade Union Benefits .....	Executive Council Report
Consumer Cooperatives and Credit Unions .....	Resolutions
Central Body and State Federation Affiliations.....	Local and Federated Bodies
American Federationist .....	Resolutions
Labor's Monthly Survey .....	Resolutions
Noticiero Obrero Norte Americano .....	Resolutions
Publicity, Radio and the Free Labor Press .....	Resolutions
National Labor Policy .....	Resolutions

Subject	Committee
National War Labor Board .....	Resolutions
National Wage Stabilization Board .....	Resolutions
War and Reconversion Controls Still in Effect .....	Resolutions
Principles of Repressive Labor Legislation .....	Resolutions
National Labor Relations Board .....	Resolutions
Labor and the Courts .....	Resolutions
State Anti-Labor Legislation .....	Legislation
The Labor Department .....	Resolutions
Social Insurance Activities 1944-1946 .....	Resolutions
Fair Labor Standards Act .....	Resolutions
Labor Standards on Government Contracts .....	Resolutions
Housing Legislation .....	Building Trades
Federal Aid for Education .....	Education
Vocational Education .....	Education
Workers Education Bureau .....	Education
Workers Education .....	Education
Wages .....	Resolutions
The South Revives Organization Work .....	Organization
National Legislation .....	Legislation
Bretton Woods Monetary Agreement .....	Resolutions
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization .....	Resolutions
Charter for a World Security Organization .....	Resolutions
British Loan .....	Resolutions
UNRRA .....	Resolutions
Pay Increase for Congressmen .....	Resolutions
Public Debt .....	Resolutions
Federal Appropriations .....	Resolutions
Anti-Labor Legislation .....	Legislation
Truman's Anti-Labor Bill .....	Legislation
Anti-Closed Shop Amendment .....	Legislation
National Labor Relations Board .....	Legislation
War Labor Board Appropriation .....	Legislation
Speed-Up System .....	Resolutions
Reduction in Statute of Limitations .....	Legislation
Gurney-Andrews Bill .....	Legislation
Military Conscription .....	Resolutions
Peacetime Military Training .....	Legislation
Draft of Nurses .....	Resolutions
Immigration and Naturalization .....	Legislation
Federal Employees .....	Legislation
Retirement .....	Legislation
Postal Service Employees .....	Resolutions
Classified Employees Pay Increase .....	Resolutions
Retirement .....	Resolutions
Triple Taxation of Federal Employees .....	Resolutions
Health Program .....	Resolutions
Repeal of Hatch Act .....	Legislation
Seniority of Mechanics in Government Establishments .....	Legislation
Government Employees under Wage Boards .....	Legislation
Reorganization of Government Departments and Agencies .....	Legislation
District of Columbia	
Policemen and Firemen .....	Resolutions
Teachers' Pay Law .....	Resolutions
D. C. Banks .....	Resolutions



Subject	Committee
Fire Boat .....	Resolutions
Barbers .....	Legislation
Puerto Rico .....	Legislation
Canal Zone .....	Legislation
Aviation .....	Legislation
Air Mail .....	Resolutions
Railroad Retirement Amendments .....	Resolutions
Missouri Valley Authority .....	Legislation
Bonneville Project Amendments .....	Resolutions
Highways .....	Resolutions
Reconversion Unemployment Benefits .....	Legislation
Reconversion Statistics .....	Resolutions
Taxation .....	Resolutions
Social Security .....	Resolutions
Rivers and Harbors .....	Resolutions
Full Employment .....	Resolutions
Housing Legislation .....	Building Trades
Price Control .....	Resolutions
Minimum Wages .....	Legislation
Fair Employment Practices Committee .....	Resolutions
Anti-Lynch Bills .....	Legislation
Poll Tax .....	Legislation
United States Employment Service .....	Resolutions
Interned Employees of Contractors .....	Resolutions
Naval and Military Personnel .....	Resolutions
Oleomargarine Tax .....	Legislation
Aliens' Income Tax .....	Legislation
Education, Federal Aid .....	Legislation
Federal Education Program .....	Legislation
Aid to States .....	Resolutions
Health and Safety Working Conditions in Industry .....	Legislation
Hospitals .....	Resolutions
Physically Handicapped .....	Legislation
Blind .....	Legislation
Insurance .....	Resolutions
Children .....	Resolutions
Un-American Activities .....	Legislation
Prohibition .....	Legislation
Sale of Government-Owned Merchant Vessels .....	Resolutions
Seamen's Income Tax .....	Legislation
Re-employment—Merchant Marine .....	Resolutions
Equal Pay for Women .....	Legislation
Equal Rights Amendment .....	Legislation
Federal Judges .....	Resolutions
Government Employees Council, A. F. of L. ....	Resolutions
Building and Construction Trades Department .....	Bldg. Trades
Metal Trades Department .....	E. C. Report
Railway Employees Department .....	E. C. Report
Union Label Trades Department .....	Labels
Puerto Rico .....	Resolutions
Conclusion .....	Resolutions

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The associate fraternal delegate of Brother O'Brien, whom I introduced to you yesterday, from the British Trades Union Congress, is here this morning. We are all happy because he has safely arrived and is here to remain with us during the remainder of our convention.

I want you to know him, to be acquainted with him, to be able to meet and greet him while here in the city of Chicago as one of us and one with whom you are acquainted. So, I want to present him to you now just so that you may know him and become acquainted with him. Brother Samuel Watson, who is serving as the General Secretary of the Durham Miners Association, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress—Brother Watson.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Brother Watson and Brother O'Brien will present their messages to the officers and delegates at this convention at some later date when it will be convenient and accommodating.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Keenan of the Entertainment Committee for an announcement.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KEENAN:** I would like to announce that tomorrow in the Hollywood Room the Chicago Electrical Committee invites all of the members of the I. B. of E. W. here as delegates to a luncheon in the Hollywood Room at 12 o'clock. I would like to have you there with your wives.

Several committee chairmen made announcements as to time and location of various committee meetings.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

#### *Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials*

Delegate Guy E. Tipton, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

International Association of Fire Fighters—John P. Crane, 113 votes.

International Longshoremen's Association—August Wolf, 230 votes.

Trades and Labor Assembly, Alton & Vic., Ill.—Theo. C. Sheppard, 1 vote.

Central Trades and Labor Council, New Orleans, La.—Harvey Netters, 1 vote.

The National Association of Postal Supervisors—Michael Nave, 20 votes.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America—Thomas Flynn, 892 votes.

Your Committee on Credentials has also been requested to substitute the name of Edward H. Miller to represent the Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union in place of C. Ed-

win Miller, previously reported, and we recommend the seating of the delegate, with 1 vote.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted, and the delegates whose names were contained therein seated.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes the representative of the Entertainment Committee for an announcement.

**COMMITTEE MEMBER ATKINSON:** The sightseeing trip will start at 2:15 at the Madison Street entrance for a tour of the city and also a visit to WCFL, radio station. That will be at 2:15 this afternoon.

Today is also A. F. of L. Day at Hawthorne. It starts at 1:45. We have a special set-up out there for the delegates. I hope you will all have good seats and good luck.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Secretary Meany is recognized for an announcement.

### RESOLUTIONS

**SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY:** I wish to announce the receipt of the following resolutions which have been received within the time limit specified in the constitution and therefore do not require unanimous consent. From the Illinois State Federation of Labor: Monetary Legislation, Social Security Act, Extending Coverage of Social Security Act, Public Relations Campaign, Public Relations Bureau for Veterans, Political Action, 35-Hour Work Week, Hatch Act, Collective Bargaining, Mississippi Valley Parkway Program, Wage Adjustment Board, Safety Standards, Executive Order 9697, 30-Hour Week, Veterans' Housing.

From the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union: Nebraska Anti-Labor Amendment, Veterans' Subsistence Allowance, Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill.

From the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America: Hod Carriers Change of Title, Extension of Social Security Act.

From the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Automobile Safety Campaign, Lowering Age Limitations of Social Security Act, Veterans' Apprenticeship Training.

From the Kentucky State Federation of Labor: Labor Extension Service, Labor Standards Educational Program, Civil Service, Lowering Retirement Age Social Security Act.

From the International Association of Fire Fighters: 48-Hour Week for Fire Fighters, United Nations Security Council, Federal Aid for Veterans' Accrued Pension Payments During Period of Military Leave, Civil Service.

From the Metal Trades Department: H. R. 5626, Free Trade Unions in Europe, Los Angeles Aqueduct System, Revocation of Auto Workers' Charter, Building Service Employees' Jurisdiction, Importation of Labor.

From the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Association: Increased Old Age Benefits, A. F. of L. Housing Department.

From the Union Label Trades Department: Library Boards.

From the Building and Construction Trades Department: Extending Social Security Benefits.

From the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America: Lowering Age Limit Social Security Act, Veterans' Seniority, Apprenticeship Training Program, Social Security Act, Veterans' Allowance, Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill, Poll Tax, Spain, Palestine, Price Control, Fair Employment Practice Committee.

From the Railway Employees Department: Sleeping Car Porters.

The following resolutions requiring unanimous consent are presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for these resolutions by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council.

The resolutions are titled: International Relations Department, Veterans' Apprenticeship Training, Restoration of Subsistence Allowance to Veterans, Labor Extension Division in U. S. Department of Labor, Displaced Persons, Labor Attaches, Retirement Plan for Industrial Workers, American Book Company, Social Security Act, Jurisdictional Board, Advisory Council for Alaskan Organization, Missouri River Basin Project, Apprenticeship Training Program, Printing Trades, Foreign Policy, Collective Bargaining Rights of Fishermen, Extension of Social Benefits to Agricultural Workers, Agricultural Workers, Extending Social Benefits to Agricultural Workers, May Company, C. C. C. Cuban Sugar Contracts, Improved Working Conditions in Public Hospitals in States, Counties and Municipalities, Protection for U. S. Employment Personnel, Extension of Social Security, Legislative Program American Federation of Government Employees, Anti-Lynching Bill, Fair Employment Practices Commission, Study of Negro Workers, Equal Rights Amendment.

These resolutions require unanimous consent.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** You have heard the reading of this report by Secretary-Treasurer Meany. Are there any objections to the introduction and consideration of these resolutions referred to?

If there are no objections they will be accepted and referred to the appropriate and proper committees.

Hearing none, they are accepted and referred to the appropriate committees.

(The resolutions above referred to will be found at the end of this day's summary of proceedings.)

#### *Announcements*

**SECRETARY MEANY:** I wish to announce a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Education Bureau which will be held tonight, Tuesday, October 8, in Room 536 of this hotel at 7:30 P. M.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair wishes to announce that our General Counsel, Judge Padway, will address the delegates and officers of this convention tomorrow morning at 10:30 o'clock. I assure you he will bring to you a very important message. He will deal with the legal situation, legislation matters, and transmit to you an answer to many inquiries that are constantly arising in your mind.

I hope and trust you will all be present to hear what I know will be a most inspiring, educational and helpful address.

Now, you will recall that the local Entertainment Committee announced that they have provided a sightseeing trip for the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention this afternoon and also an opportunity for our delegates to either make some money or lose some money out at the Hawthorne track this afternoon.

That means, I presume, that we should suspend the rules and adjourn until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

On motion of Delegate Kovaleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the rules were suspended at 11:05 A. M. The convention adjourned until 9:30 o'clock, tomorrow morning, October 9.

## RESOLUTIONS

Additional resolutions, Nos. 79 to 160, inclusive, which were received within the time limit, and another group for which unanimous consent to their introduction was given, are as follows:

### International Relations Department

**Resolution No. 79**—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Blalis, **Louis Nelson**, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Our country and its democratic institutions are playing a greatly enhanced and ever-more active role in world affairs, and

WHEREAS, The problem of international relations and the winning of a just and lasting peace are the vital concern of the organizations representing the great mass of our people—the free and democratic trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, The above new situation and the complicated problems confronting our nation and the post-war world make it imperative that the American Federation of Labor prepare itself to meet the new tasks in the critical days ahead, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has shown increasing recognition of its new responsibilities by expanding its international work (enlarged moral and material solidarity with the genuine free trade unions and democratic elements in Europe, Asia and Latin-America; publication of a "Special Bulletin" on international problems; the preparation and submission of an International Bill of Rights to the United Nations Social and Economic Council; and timely contributions towards a vigorous democratic American foreign policy) therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to co-ordinate, intensify, and improve the greatly enlarged and varied international activities, the incoming Executive Council of the A. F. of L. establish an International Department headed by one of its members, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the tasks of this Department shall be: (a) to keep the membership of the trade union movement and the interested general public in our country adequately informed regarding the international policies of the A. F. of L.; (b) to provide the officers and membership of the A. F. of L. with authoritative information about the international labor movement and its problems; (c) to acquaint the labor movement abroad with the policies and practices of the A. F. of L. towards the vital problems of the day; (d) co-operate with

the democratic-minded European workers abroad and to help co-ordinate their activities in behalf of bona fide free trade unionism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Veterans Apprenticeship Training

**Resolution No. 80**—By Delegate Harry S. Jordan, Niagara Falls Federation of Labor, Niagara Falls, New York.

WHEREAS, Public Law No. 679 was passed and enacted by Congress on the last day of session of Congress without a hearing on due consideration of the apprenticeship training standards that have been set up for veterans, and

WHEREAS, Public Law No. 679 disrupts the subsistence program as given to the veteran by the previous legislation, and

WHEREAS, It limits the indentured apprentices to subsistence when earning more than \$175.00 per month for veteran without a dependent or \$200.00 per month if he has a dependent or dependents, and

WHEREAS, Many apprentices have purchased homes or remodeled their present homes with the promise of subsistence from the United States Government during the period of apprenticeship training, and

WHEREAS, Public Law No. 679 destroys the morale of the indentured apprentice and his opportunity of procuring a home, and

WHEREAS, The governmental agencies are asking the joint apprenticeship committees to provide apprentices, said law makes apprentice training less attractive, and

WHEREAS, The suggested apprenticeship training period if limited to two years when most craftsmen training periods are over four or five year period, and

WHEREAS, Apprenticeship training is a law that is set up to prevent the abuses which have come to the attention of the veteran association in the on the job training, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled at this convention, condemn the detrimental features of Public Law No. 679 effecting the apprenticeship training system now established throughout the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States be advised that the objectionable features in Public Law No. 679 be stricken out and a new bill be introduced allowing the veteran apprentice the benefits of \$65.00 a month plus his earnings, and \$90.00 a month if married, plus his earnings, but allowing the apprentice at no time to earn more than a journeyman during his period of apprenticeship.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Restoration of Subsistence Allowance to Veterans

**Resolution No. 81**—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Washington Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, When Congress enacted the G. I. Bill of Rights, Public Law No. 346, it provided that a veteran of World War II who took "on the job training" or attended school or college would be paid a subsistence allowance of \$65.00 per month if single, or \$90.00 per month if he had dependents to compensate him for loss of time from his work or studies while serving in the armed forces of this country. This subsistence allowance was necessary in order that many apprentices could finish their trades and at the same time support themselves or their families. During the last days of the 79th Congress, an Amendment was enacted to Public Law No. 346, which is known as Public Law S. 2477 which reduces this subsistence allowance to such an extent that many apprentices to skilled trades find themselves working in the fourth year of their apprenticeship for less salary than they received in their first year, when they were paid the original subsistence allowance, thus working an extreme hardship on these apprentices and discouraging them from finishing their apprenticeship, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to have legislation introduced in the early part of the 80th Congress restoring to the veterans of World War II the original amounts of subsistence allowance that was granted to them under the G. I. Bill of Rights, Public Law No. 346, and that these payments be made retroactive to July 1, 1946, when these reduced rates of subsistence allowance went into effect. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Automobile Safety Campaign

**Resolution No. 82**—By Delegates Ed J. Brown, G. M. Bugniatet, Charles M. Paulsen, Walter Lenox, Edgar S. Hurley, Rex Fransway, D. T. Johnstone, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, Accidents in the electrical industry for the past few years have been decreasing in number because the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers through their advocacy, teachings and legislative activities towards improved safety measures have been chiefly responsible in the lowering of industrial accidents, and

WHEREAS, While electrical accidents have been decreasing, automobile accidents have been increasing and from statistics, produced by the National Safety Council it is learned that almost 70% of all fatal accidents occur between dusk and 10:00 p. m. at night, and

WHEREAS, Many reasons have been attributed for this extraordinary condition but from tests actually made by organizations interested in accident prevention, we find that the chief cause of these accidents is lack of or improper street and highway lighting, and

WHEREAS, This condition can be corrected by proper legislation and allocation of sufficient funds to properly light the highways and the streets of the cities of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in the city of Chicago, Illinois, pledge itself to the work of reducing to the lowest possible minimum automobile accidents which have heretofore been caused from insufficient and improper lighting, and that we instruct our officers to use their influence to bring about and cause the proper lighting of the highway system and the streets of the cities of these United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our action and efforts in this behalf is one of safety alone, bearing in mind that for every two industrial workers killed on the job there are 17 killed on the highways and we feel the comparison is an odious one so far as safety is concerned. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Lowering Age Limitations Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 83**—By Delegates Ed J. Brown, G. M. Bugniatet, Charles M. Paulsen, Walter Lenox, Edgar S. Hurley, Rex Fransway, D. T. Johnstone, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The Federal Social Security Act is one of the most humane and progressive enactments of the Congress of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The present Act does not provide for old age and survivors insurance benefits to workers who have not reached the age of 65, and

WHEREAS, Experience has proven that because of the advanced age at which benefits commence, a substantial number of persons have been deprived of the benefits of the Act despite their inability to continue at work or to find employment, and

WHEREAS, The reduction of the retirement age to age 60 would alleviate the problem of providing employment for veterans of World War II; and would further the best interests of all of the people of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor's Legislative Committee urge Congress to amend the Federal Social Security Act reducing the age of payment of old age insurance benefits to begin at the age of 60 and to provide

for payments to disabled workers at any age, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council take the necessary steps to mobilize the active support of all American Federation of Labor organizations to bring about this necessary change in the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Labor Extension Division in U. S. Department of Labor**

**Resolution No. 84**—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, Workers' education is rapidly becoming one of the basic functions of the trade union movement, creating constructive labor awareness toward industrial relations, community problems and responsibilities and rights of citizenship, and

**WHEREAS**, The Labor Extension Act of 1946 (H.R. 7141) calls for the creation within the U. S. Department of Labor of a Labor Extension Division, establishing a National Labor Advisory Council on the matter of labor education, and authorizing the appropriation of fixed sums of money to be allotted annually to participating State universities, land-grant colleges and other educational institutions in return for which they would make available to workers everywhere their educational facilities and resources on a systematic and planned basis, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, go on record in support of the Labor Extension Act of 1946 (H.R. 7141) and instruct the Executive Council to work for its passage in the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Displaced Persons**

**Resolution No. 85**—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, President Truman, in a recent declaration, has gone on record in favor of admission into the United States, above the regular immigration quotas, of 50,000 displaced persons domiciled temporarily in various European camps, in addition to 40,000 to be granted under unfilled back quotas, and

**WHEREAS**, The President's humanitarian proposal deserves the support of all freedom-loving Americans because it embodies the principle that in calling upon other nations to open their gates to the uprooted sufferers of the war, our country, too, should contribute its share in a similar way toward their material and spiritual rehabilitation, and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has consistently and vigorously opposed Nazism, Fascism in all their manifestations, raising its voice in behalf of the oppressed and persecuted minorities the world over, regardless of creed, race, and national origins, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, lend its full support toward an early and practical application of the President's proposal that would alleviate the miseries and agonies of some of the victims of the cruellest persecutions in recorded history.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Labor Attaches**

**Resolution No. 86**—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, Our country is assuming an ever more pivotal role in world affairs, and

**WHEREAS**, The chances of the democratic forces winning the peace are increasingly dependent on America's pursuing an active and progressive policy in its international relations, and

**WHEREAS**, The importance of labor participating in the conduct of international affairs has grown during the war and is bound to become increasingly significant, and

**WHEREAS**, The growth of good will between nations can be greatly facilitated by the promotion of mutual understanding of the aims and activities of their labor movements, and

**WHEREAS**, the bona fide trade union movement can render inestimable services in strengthening the bonds between the truly democratic forces of our country and other nations, and

**WHEREAS**, In recognition of the above, the State Department has appointed labor attaches in several countries where the United States has diplomatic representation, and

**WHEREAS**, Recent international developments have accentuated the urgency of expanding the system of labor attaches, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor urge the creation, within the State Department, of an Under-Secretariat of Labor to organize and supervise the work of the labor attaches who, along with the head of the Secretariat, shall be chosen from the ranks of labor, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the above-mentioned Secretariat and labor attaches be granted statutory status through the enactment of appropriate legislation empowering them to act in a like manner as attaches in other fields.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.



## Retirement Plans for Industrial Workers

**Resolution No. 87**—By Delegate Joe Wilke, Trades and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Social security was intended to alleviate the economic hazards and hardships of old age, and

WHEREAS, Congress has retarded the benefits of this great social program by freezing the deductions at one percent, and

WHEREAS, By such action, Congress is invoking great hardships on our people, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, recommend to its affiliates, that they immediately seek through collective bargaining with their employers and contractors a "Retirement Plan" that will overcome this great loss, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor do everything within their power to obtain such government approval as necessary for such retirement plans.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## American Book Company

**Resolution No. 88**—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Frewitt, Mary Morley, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, publishers and manufacturers of school books, operating with its own plant, located in Cincinnati, Ohio, under non-union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades have, for many years, endeavored to organize the employees of this company and have always met with the direct opposition of the American Book Company and its agents, and

WHEREAS, The American Book Company through its agents have on numerous occasions misrepresented their attitude toward organized labor by making statements to the effect that they were fair to organized labor, thereby getting school book contracts from school boards who believed in this misrepresentation, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades are, at the present time, carrying on a campaign to organize the workers of the American Book Company and to enter into contractual relations with this company, and

WHEREAS, We believe that every effort should be made to bring about the unionization of this company's plant; in view of the fact that the school books sold by the American Book Company are in a large part paid for by taxes paid by members of organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as opposed to the American

Book Company and condemn their non-union policy as unfair to all members of organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various international unions, central trades and labor bodies be informed of the action taken at this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 89**—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Frewitt, Mary Morley, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act was enacted by the Federal Government to bring security to the aged and relief to the workers employed in industries engaged in interstate commerce, and

WHEREAS, A number of workers employed by religious and welfare organizations whose business is of a national scope are exempt from the benefits of this act, and

WHEREAS, The said religious and welfare organizations are engaged in part or in whole in commercialized industries and in some instances competing with private industries, yet through the exemptions in the Social Security Act, these organizations are exempt from providing the benefits which the Act intended for all workers in this and other industries, to wit: old age pensions and unemployment insurance, and

WHEREAS, This condition is discriminatory to this class of workers and is most unfair to the private employers engaged in similar industries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Chicago, go on record as sponsoring an amendment to the present Social Security Act to provide for the inclusion of workers employed in religious and welfare organizations whose products are sold to the public to insure such workers full protection under the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## A Jurisdictional Board

**Resolution No. 90**—By Waterloo Central Labor Union, Waterloo, Iowa.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes seem to be the greatest evil in the American Federation of Labor make-up, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes not only create public sentiment against organized labor, but also create dissension between our internationals and our local unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes give the C.I.O. and other alien labor organizations very strong talking points against the American Federation of Labor, and



for payments to disabled workers at any age, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council take the necessary steps to mobilize the active support of all American Federation of Labor organizations to bring about this necessary change in the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Labor Extension Division in U. S. Department of Labor**

**Resolution No. 84**—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, Workers' education is rapidly becoming one of the basic functions of the trade union movement, creating constructive labor awareness toward industrial relations, community problems and responsibilities and rights of citizenship, and

**WHEREAS**, The Labor Extension Act of 1946 (H.R. 7141) calls for the creation within the U. S. Department of Labor of a Labor Extension Division, establishing a National Labor Advisory Council on the matter of labor education, and authorizing the appropriation of fixed sums of money to be allotted annually to participating State universities, land-grant colleges and other educational institutions in return for which they would make available to workers everywhere their educational facilities and resources on a systematic and planned basis, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, go on record in support of the Labor Extension Act of 1946 (H.R. 7141) and instruct the Executive Council to work for its passage in the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Displaced Persons**

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**WHEREAS**, President Truman, in a recent declaration, has gone on record in favor of admission into the United States, above the regular immigration quotas, of 50,000 displaced persons domiciled temporarily in various European camps, in addition to 40,000 to be granted under unfilled back quotas, and

**WHEREAS**, The President's humanitarian proposal deserves the support of all freedom-loving Americans because it embodies the principle that in calling upon other nations to open their gates to the uprooted sufferers of the war, our country, too, should contribute its share in a similar way toward their material and spiritual rehabilitation, and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has consistently and vigorously opposed Nazism, Fascism in all their manifestations, raising its voice in behalf of the oppressed and persecuted minorities the world over, regardless of creed, race, and national origins, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, lend its full support toward an early and practical application of the President's proposal that would alleviate the miseries and agonies of some of the victims of the cruelist persecutions in recorded history.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Labor Attaches**

**Resolution No. 86**—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, Our country is assuming an ever more pivotal role in world affairs, and

**WHEREAS**, The chances of the democratic forces winning the peace are increasingly dependent on America's pursuing an active and progressive policy in its international relations, and

**WHEREAS**, The importance of labor participating in the conduct of international affairs has grown during the war and is bound to become increasingly significant, and

**WHEREAS**, The growth of good will between nations can be greatly facilitated by the promotion of mutual understanding of the aims and activities of their labor movements, and

**WHEREAS**, The bona fide trade union movement can render inestimable services in strengthening the bonds between the truly democratic forces of our country and other nations, and

**WHEREAS**, In recognition of the above, the State Department has appointed labor attaches in several countries where the United States has diplomatic representation, and

**WHEREAS**, Recent international developments have accentuated the urgency of expanding the system of labor attaches, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor urge the creation, within the State Department, of an Under-Secretariat of Labor to organize and supervise the work of the labor attaches who, along with the head of the Secretariat, shall be chosen from the ranks of labor, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the above-mentioned Secretariat and labor attaches be granted statutory status through the enactment of appropriate legislation empowering them to act in a like manner as attaches in other fields.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Retirement Plans for Industrial Workers

**Resolution No. 87**—By Delegate Joe Wilke, Trades and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Social security was intended to alleviate the economic hazards and hardships of old age, and

WHEREAS, Congress has retarded the benefits of this great social program by freezing the deductions at one percent, and

WHEREAS, By such action, Congress is invoking great hardships on our people, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, recommend to its affiliates, that they immediately seek through collective bargaining with their employers and contractors a "Retirement Plan" that will overcome this great loss, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor do everything within their power to obtain such government approval as necessary for such retirement plans.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## American Book Company

**Resolution No. 88**—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Mary Morley, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, publishers and manufacturers of school books, operating with its own plant, located in Cincinnati, Ohio, under non-union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades have, for many years, endeavored to organize the employees of this company and have always met with the direct opposition of the American Book Company and its agents, and

WHEREAS, The American Book Company through its agents have on numerous occasions misrepresented their attitude toward organized labor by making statements to the effect that they were fair to organized labor, thereby getting school book contracts from school boards who believed in this misrepresentation, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades are, at the present time, carrying on a campaign to organize the workers of the American Book Company and to enter into contractual relations with this company, and

WHEREAS, We believe that every effort should be made to bring about the unionization of this company's plant; in view of the fact that the school books sold by the American Book Company are in a large part paid for by taxes paid by members of organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as opposed to the American

Book Company and condemn their non-union policy as unfair to all members of organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various international unions, central trades and labor bodies be informed of the action taken at this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 89**—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Mary Morley, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act was enacted by the Federal Government to bring security to the aged and relief to the workers employed in industries engaged in interstate commerce, and

WHEREAS, A number of workers employed by religious and welfare organizations whose business is of a national scope are exempt from the benefits of this act, and

WHEREAS, The said religious and welfare organizations are engaged in part or in whole in commercialized industries and in some instances competing with private industries, yet through the exemptions in the Social Security Act, these organizations are exempt from providing the benefits which the Act intended for all workers in this and other industries, to-wit: old age pensions and unemployment insurance, and

WHEREAS, This condition is discriminatory to this class of workers and is most unfair to the private employers engaged in similar industries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Chicago, go on record as sponsoring an amendment to the present Social Security Act to provide for the inclusion of workers employed in religious and welfare organizations whose products are sold to the public to insure such workers full protection under the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## A Jurisdictional Board

**Resolution No. 90**—By Waterloo Central Labor Union, Waterloo, Iowa.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes seem to be the greatest evil in the American Federation of Labor make-up, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes not only create public sentiment against organized labor, but also create dissension between our internationals and our local unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes give the C.I.O. and other alien labor organizations very strong talking points against the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes have meant the losing of contracts by many American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes have caused a terrific loss of income to the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes can be averted by the setting up of a Jurisdictional Board with the power to determine the jurisdictional lines, and

WHEREAS, The sooner the American Federation of Labor takes such action and creates such a Jurisdictional Board, the sooner the American Federation of Labor will be able to put its own house in order, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor create a Jurisdictional Board, comprised of six members that are not officials or members of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council and not more than one member from the same craft and shall be chosen from the rank and file of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the term of office for members serving on the Jurisdictional Board shall be two years and members of the Board shall be elected by the convention; three members for the term of two years and three members for the term of one year, and at each succeeding convention there shall be elected three new members to replace the senior members of the Board. The chairman of the Board shall be elected by the members of the Board with no vote except in cases of a tie vote, and be it further

RESOLVED, That no member of the Jurisdictional Board shall serve for more than one term, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Board shall be on the permanent payroll of the American Federation of Labor with their office in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C., with the members receiving an adequate salary and expenses, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Board go to the scene of any jurisdictional disputes and all such disputes be decided on the basis of the merits of each case argued: all cases being presented in briefs or oral arguments before the Board and this Jurisdictional Board sit in judgment on all such disputes between any and all local unions or international unions and the decision of the Board will be binding on all local unions or international unions involved, and be it further

RESOLVED, That any international or local union desiring, may appeal their case at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Labor Extension Service

**Resolution No. 91**—By Delegate Edward H. Weyler, Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention at Toronto, Canada, October, 1942, adopted a resolution supporting a Labor Extension Service, through which, organized labor leaders and rank and file members may receive much needed educational advice and assistance; and which, service would parallel other U. S. governmental and educational services, and

WHEREAS, The Labor Legislative Conference held in Washington, D. C., December, 1945, adopted a resolution recognizing the need of development of an informed union membership and trained, competent union leaders, and supporting a Labor Education Service formulated and administered by the U. S. Department of Labor Education Advisory Committee, and

WHEREAS, The Ashville Conference composed of two thousand A. F. of L. delegates from the twelve south-eastern States, adopted a resolution supporting the above stated action of the American Federation of Labor and the Labor Legislative Conference, urging each of the twelve southern States to follow suit, and

WHEREAS, President William Green in the June 1946 issue of the Federationist, so splendidly and forcibly stated our A. F. of L. position on labor education in which he said, "In addition the Department of Labor should have a Labor Extension Service similar to the Extension Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture", and

WHEREAS, The Committee for the Extension of Labor Education, composed of approximately thirty outstanding national labor leaders, has drafted a bill to fully cover the amendments and proposals set forth above, and

WHEREAS, This bill was introduced in the Congress of the United States, by Congressman Andrew J. Blemler for himself and Congressman Kefauver, July 23, 1946, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor fully indorse the principles written in this bill, introduced by Congressmen Blemler and Kefauver, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention call upon President William Green of the American Federation of Labor to use every effort toward its speedy enactment into law, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to all State Federations of Labor urging adoption, and support, and that copies be sent to all Congressmen and Senators urging their support toward the passage of same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Labor Standards Educational Program

**Resolution No. 92**—By Delegate Edward H. Weyler, Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The principle of collective bargaining is now accepted as the basis of sound industrial relations, and

WHEREAS, The development of stable union organization is dependent upon the education of the membership in the principles and ideals of trade unions, and

WHEREAS, The successful practice of collective bargaining requires that the union leadership be fully informed and technically trained in the principles and procedures of collective bargaining as well as the many union and community problems with which they are confronted, and

WHEREAS, There is an urgent and immediate need for teaching materials, instruction outlines, and other educational aids which can be used by unions in establishing and conducting such educational programs, and

WHEREAS, The Division of Labor Standards of the United States Department of Labor has, during the past four years, made a significant beginning in attempting to meet this need by the preparation of teaching guides and union manuals, and by working with labor organizations in developing their own programs, and

WHEREAS, The United States Department of Labor will be requesting from Congress an additional appropriation for the Division of Labor Standards 1947-48 budget to expand such educational activities for and with unions, universities, and other labor educational agencies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention endorse fully the educational program of the Division of Labor Standards of the United States Department of Labor and the proposed expansion of these activities and request that the convention make known its views to the appropriate members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the Chairmen of the Senate and House Labor Committees, the Senate and House Appropriations Committees, to all members of the House Appropriations Subcommittee handling the Labor Department budget, and to heads of all State labor organizations.

Referred to Committee on Education.

## Civil Service

**Resolution No. 93**—By Delegate Edward H. Weyler, Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the city of Louisville, Kentucky the position of the Chief of

Police and the Chief of the Fire Department, also, the assistant chiefs of both departments had been covered, and

WHEREAS, In the 1946 session of the Kentucky Legislature a bill was introduced and enacted into law removing these offices from civil service in cities of first class in Kentucky, and

WHEREAS, The city of Louisville is the only first class city in Kentucky therefore, the committee of cities of first class of the Kentucky Legislature was composed exclusively of legislators from the city of Louisville, and

WHEREAS, Several members of this House Committee were members of organized labor and the chairman of the committee was the business agent to the Sheet Metal Workers Union, and

WHEREAS, In the absence of the chairman of the committee a vote to report the Ripper Bill favorable was tied, but was untied by the vote of the chairman upon his arrival at the Legislature, and

WHEREAS, The opponents of civil service and the proponents of the merit system as apparently concerning their activities to remove the offices of Chief and assistant chiefs of the Police and Fire Departments from all civil service laws in the nation, and

WHEREAS, This group is apparently attempting to replace civil service in these departments with a merit system, which is contrary to the basic principles of civil service and opposed by the International Association of Fire Fighters, A. F. of L., therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby reiterate its position of supporting the incorporation of Chiefs and assistant chiefs of the Fire Department and Police Department in civil service laws, and be it further

RESOLVED, That President William Green bring same to the attention of the president of every national and international union, urging that every said national and international union in their next convention amend their constitution to the extent that any State Legislator, and, who as such, violates the principles incorporated in this resolution, shall, when proven guilty be expelled from any local union of, and or the international union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Lowering Retirement Age—Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 94**—By Delegate Edward H. Weyler, Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Reconversion to production for civilian consumption will bring about a great and serious interruption of full scale employment in and among

labor of the several and different crafts, and

WHEREAS, It will be a great and serious economic strain upon the country as a whole affecting every man, woman, and child, nationally and internationally, and unless constructive thought and efforts are immediately employed to alleviate such harmful conditions, the situation will be not only aggravated but extended and prolonged, and

WHEREAS, It is the responsibility of both labor and industry, in cooperation with government, to do everything possible and within the power of the people to prevent if and as much as possible, unemployment and the resulting economic hardships, all of which tend to lower and destroy the standard of American living and wreck havoc and chaos among the members of common society, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is desirous of making some worthwhile contribution to the Four Freedoms in general and the cause of Freedom from Want in particular, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the membership of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the 65th convention that we propose an amendment to the Federal Social Security Act authorizing and/or requiring the retirement of all male employees after and upon reaching the age of 55 years, and all female employees after and upon reaching the age of 50 years, and further, that the social security tax be so adjusted as to the tax imposed upon both the employers and employees, so as to adequately and properly provide a schedule of pensions for all such employees upon retirement, adequate and sufficient for them and their legal dependents to maintain a standard of living proper, suitable and consistent with the American standard of living and the environment of an improved public society, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution, after and upon its adoption, be spread upon the minutes of this convention as a permanent record thereof, and in due course, to prevail upon the President of the United States and the proper officers of his Cabinet and particularly the Secretary of Labor, and to urge the United States Congress to give thorough and serious consideration to such amendment to the social security laws as will affect the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Forty-Eight Hour Week for Fire Fighters

**Resolution No. 95**—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George T. Slocum, George J. Richardson, John P. Crane, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, As we enter the economic phases of this postwar period, it should

be each municipality's perspective to display initiative in providing employment for its deserving citizens, particularly the honorably discharged veterans of World War II, and

WHEREAS, There is no better way to provide jobs for those deserving citizens than by creating a forty-eight hour week for paid firemen in such communities as are not already alert to this means of progressiveness, and

WHEREAS, Firemen restricted to a forty-eight hour work week, except in cases of emergencies, shall still be working more hours per week than are worked by the average municipal employee and workers in other industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago in October, 1946 go on record as recommending a work week, not exceeding forty-eight hours per week for fire fighters, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to urge all state federations of labor to assist in procuring legislation in each State that will provide for a work week not in excess of 48 hours for fire fighters, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Provincial Federations of Labor in Canada be requested to do likewise for the fire fighters in Canada.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### United Nations Security Council

**Resolution No. 96**—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George T. Slocum, George J. Richardson, John P. Crane, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The delegates to the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor feels that a third World War is inevitable unless positive action is taken at once. The United Nations Organization is at present inadequate and the major powers of the world have not reached agreement on vital issues that could prevent another war. Recent scientific developments make another war too horrible to contemplate and may set back immeasurably the progress of the human race. If courageous and effective action is taken now to strengthen the United Nations Organization, we believe that such a worldwide catastrophe can be prevented, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago urgently recommend the immediate strengthening of the United Nations Organization by the adoption of three amendments to the United Nations Charter to provide for:

1. Reorganization of the United Nations Security Council and the World Court to give fair representation to all nations and to decide by majority vote all matters involving aggression, preparation for aggression. There must be no veto to protect aggressors.

2. Delegation to the Security Council of the powers to suppress aggression and control heavy and scientific weapons. The powers to be delegated should be strictly limited and well defined and these powers must be interpreted by the World Court. Aggression should be defined as an attack with weapons of violence by a sovereign State or its citizens against the territory of another sovereign State, or the production of specified weapons of violence by any sovereign State beyond quotas set by the Security Council, or by refusal to permit inspection by duly authorized representatives of the Security Council.

3. Establishment of a strong International Police Force. Such a force must be established to impartially support the powers of the Security Council. The details of these amendments and the methods of procedure under them should be in accordance with the Quota Force Plan, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we urge the acceptance of the proposal of Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, United States Representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, for the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority. We further urge the incorporation of that proposal into the Quota Force Plan, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That until such time as the above measures, or similar ones, go into effect, we urge the maintenance of the armed forces of the United States at levels recommended by the Chief of Staff, United States Army and the Chief of Naval Operations, United States Navy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Federal Aid for Veterans' Accrued Pension Payments During Period of Military Leave**

**Resolution No. 97**—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George T. Slocum, George J. Richardson, John P. Crane, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, Many thousands of civil employees, the Federal Government, State Government and political subdivisions served this country in the armed forces during World War II, and

WHEREAS, These veterans are heavily indebted to various pension funds throughout the country for accrued pension premiums, and

WHEREAS, This indebtedness was accrued because these veterans were in the armed forces, during which service their civil service salaries on wages were suspended, and they are getting deeper and deeper into debt in order to meet ordinary expenses because of the high cost of living, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters in convention assembled in Toledo, Ohio went on record to petition the American Federation of

Labor to cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States having for its purpose the appropriation of sufficient funds to be contributed to the Federal pension systems and the pension systems of the various States and political subdivisions in order to defray the cost of these accumulated pension premiums, thereby exempting the individual civil employees from any liability or indebtedness in connection therewith, and

WHEREAS, This exemption should not apply to any member or members of the armed forces who received the difference between their military pay and former compensation as officers or employees of the Federal or State governments or any political subdivisions thereof; or whose military service pay equalled or exceeded their former compensation as civil employees, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates to this American Federation of Labor convention endorse this legislation and instruct its legislative committee to assist in securing the passage of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Civil Service**

**Resolution No. 98**—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George T. Slocum, George J. Richardson, John P. Crane, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, In the city of Louisville, Kentucky, the positions of Chief of Police and Chief of the Fire Department, also the assistant chiefs of both departments had been covered by civil service, and

WHEREAS, In the 1946 session of the Kentucky Legislature a bill was introduced and enacted into law removing these offices from civil service in cities of first class in Kentucky, and

WHEREAS, The city of Louisville is the only first class city in Kentucky, therefore, the committee of cities of first class of the Kentucky Legislature was composed exclusively of legislators from the city of Louisville, and

WHEREAS, Several members of this House Committee were members of organized labor, and the chairman of the committee was the business agent to the Sheet Metal Workers Union, and

WHEREAS, In the absence of the chairman of the committee a vote to report the Ripper Bill favorably was tied, but was untied by the vote of the chairman upon his arrival at the legislature, and

WHEREAS, The opponents of civil service and the proponents of the merit system are apparently concerting their activities to remove the offices of Chiefs and assistant chiefs of the Police and Fire Departments from all civil service laws in the nation, and

WHEREAS, This group is apparently attempting to replace civil service in these departments with a merit system, which



is contrary to the basic principles of civil service and opposed by the International Association of Fire Fighters, A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters in convention assembled, September 9th to 13th, 1946 in Toledo, Ohio, did reiterate its position of supporting the incorporation of Chiefs and assistant chiefs of the Fire Department and Police Department in civil service laws, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters is to bring this distasteful situation to the attention of President William Green and urge him to bring same to the attention of the president of every national and international union, urging that every said national and international union in their next convention amend their constitution to the extent that any State Legislator who is a member of a labor union and who, as such, violates the principles incorporated in this resolution, shall, when proved guilty, be expelled from any local union of, and, or the international union, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 1946 convention of the American Federation of Labor vigorously support the International Association of Fire Fighters in this fight, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its utmost efforts in the next Kentucky General Assembly to replace the positions of Chiefs and assistant chiefs of the Fire and Police Departments under the Civil Service Laws of Kentucky for cities of first class.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Thirty-Hour Week

**Resolution No. 99**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American trade union movement always mindful of the conditions of work as well as the health and welfare of the membership has established a record of incessant and unbroken struggle for the shorter workday; it being one of the main objects of every trade union organization as attested by their constitutions or declarations of aims and objectives, and

WHEREAS, During the period of the war the trade union movement in general did forego this aim, or at least held it in abeyance, some local unions even giving up the shorter workday previously obtained, and

WHEREAS, This emergency is now long past while all the hazards to the health of the worker increase more than proportionately with the longer workday, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand in favor of the six-hour day and five-day

week and to urge its affiliated organizations to secure the shorter workday for its members.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Veterans Housing

**Resolution No. 100**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Veterans of the armed forces have returned from World War II and, having fought for home and country, now have no home in which to live, and

WHEREAS, A housing program has been inaugurated to build one-family homes for these veterans, and

WHEREAS, A program of one-family homes of this magnitude will exclude a large number of our building trades workers an opportunity for employment, thus weakening the building trades unions and eventually the whole union movement, and

WHEREAS, These one-family homes will cost more than the average war veteran can pay for in his remaining years of life, thus causing foreclosure and the loss of his home, and

WHEREAS, That as the majority of veterans do not want to be tied to the responsibility of paying off a long term mortgage and do not wish to be forced to buy one of these homes in order to house himself and family, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Illinois also sponsor action that apartment type housing in central locations be constructed, thus employing all branches of the building industry, creating a living setup that will be within the veterans' spending means causing him more contentment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That as this is both a state issue as well as a national issue the American Federation of Labor convention in Chicago is urged to go on record insisting that National Housing Expediter, Mr. Wilson W. Wyatt, enter a program of this type in the Veterans Emergency Housing Program.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

### Monetary Legislation

**Resolution No. 101**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is an economic fact that the government should have sole power to create and regulate the value of the nation's money as provided for in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States, "to coin money, to regulate the value thereof," and



WHEREAS, It is a widely known fact that our government is compelled to borrow its own money from private institutions and pay interest to private banking institutions for use of its own money, and

WHEREAS, Even with a victorious end to the war there can never be a secure and lasting peace so long as a few ruthless private bankers have the power to bring on a condition of economic chaos, and

WHEREAS, Labor unions can never gain their goal by bargaining in the matter of hours, wages and general working conditions until Congress restores to itself the power to coin money and regulate the buying power of the wages bargained for, and

WHEREAS, An amazing revolution has taken place in the science of production no change in any way commensurate has taken place in the financial mechanism, and

WHEREAS, A government created money interest free at source of origin used scientifically would prevent inflation, deflation and make it possible for consumption to keep pace with production, and

WHEREAS, An honest, scientific, constitutional money system should have these essential principles:

1. It must be created and controlled by Congress.
2. It must be free from interference by politicians and private bankers.
3. It must be interest free at origin and based on the total wealth of the nation and not on bonds or basic metals.
4. It must have a 100% reserve requirement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled respectfully request the President of the United States to immediately call upon Congress to restore the powers vested in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That it go on record urging the Senate and House to seriously consider the monetary bills introduced by Congressman Jerry Voorhis, H.R. 42 and H.R. 153.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 102**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many members of the building trades unions are being deprived of the benefits accruing under the Social Security Act, while temporarily employed by various city, county, and state institutions thus reducing the computed yearly average income under the Act, resulting in lower retirement benefits,

also depriving them of unemployment compensation for the period thus employed, and

WHEREAS, Such employees cannot benefit by any pension plan established by civil service employees due to the temporary character of their employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the amending of the Social Security Act to cover such temporary employees and that such action be taken as is deemed advisable.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Extending Coverage of Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 103**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The much needed revision and extension of the Social Security Act has been long delayed, and

WHEREAS, Congress apparently is willing to make incidental changes and amendments to the Act while being unwilling to revise the entire Act, and

WHEREAS, Approximately two million persons now employed by charitable and so-called "non-profit institutions" are presently denied the benefit of the Act, and

WHEREAS, Experience in the past has shown that all attempts to extend coverage, which has included agricultural workers, have been unsuccessful, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the official policy of the A. F. of L. to work for a revision of the Act be modified to permit its representatives to actively support any campaign to secure coverage for a group of workers not now covered by social security or other public employee pension funds whenever such a campaign is likely to be successful.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Public Relations Campaign

**Resolution No. 104**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The forces of extreme wealth, spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers, have by their vicious and virulent campaign of vilification against organized labor created a monstrous libel on our traditionally democratic labor movement, and

WHEREAS, This campaign of attack against our movement is prosecuted through the medium of the radio, the controlled press, controlled periodicals, and other avenues and instruments operated by the National Association of Manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, The control of public opinion in our country is in the hands of an unscrupulous group of talented and efficient propagandists, and

WHEREAS, These people are in the employ of the most economically powerful and politically entrenched confederation of greed ever formed for so vile and reprehensible a purpose, and

WHEREAS, The effectiveness of this campaign, to remove organized labor from the economic scheme of things, is clearly demonstrated by the increasing number of anti-labor members of our national Congress, and not for their constituents who send them to our national Capitol, and

WHEREAS, To offset the distorted picture of labor-management controversy built up in the public mind, it now becomes a duty of public service incumbent upon organized labor to correct wrong impressions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its many powerful national and international brotherhoods and their thousands of affiliated local unions, seriously consider the necessity of launching a combined and intensive national educational campaign, and a public relations activity program in order that it may give labor's side of the story to a fair-minded, but ill-informed public.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Public Relations Bureau for Veterans

**Resolution No. 105**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There can be no doubt that one of the spearheads used by the National Association of Manufacturers against the organized labor movement is the veteran and veterans' organizations, and

WHEREAS, There is a definite move involving returning service men and women in labor disputes as part of this well-planned program, and

WHEREAS, There is already clear evidence that some so-called "veterans' organizations" have been created to sponsor and work for anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, There are many hundreds of thousands of A. F. of L. veterans within the locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. veterans have proven themselves loyal trade unionists, and are not in accord with any anti-labor legislation involving veterans against labor, and

WHEREAS, There is specific evidence that poisonous propaganda levelled against the labor movement was part of a program forced upon many veterans during their period of service in the armed forces, and

WHEREAS, This propaganda was well planned and was used as a base to get the veterans hostile to labor, and in particular to organized labor movement, and

WHEREAS, It is a most important phase in the trade union activity to correct this evil, and to educate the veteran along the educational lines of the labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring an intensified educational program for service men and women who have returned to civilian status in order to offset the vicious anti-labor propaganda which was given them while they were in the service, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Executive Council in its wisdom, take under advisement the necessity of this educational program and the establishment of a public relations bureau for veterans to offset all the unfair propaganda leveled at the organized labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Political Action

**Resolution No. 106**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its Chicago session characterized the record of the 79th Congress as a dismal one and condemned Congress for "its subservience to lobbyists for special interests, its legislative assaults against the American workers which constitutes a 'danger signal' to the American people", and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council called upon all affiliates to assert their full political power in elections this fall, and effect "a sweeping Congressional house cleaning", and

WHEREAS, In order to carry on effective political activity as described by the Executive Council it will be necessary to set up political campaign committees in all phases of the labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council for all out political action in the coming elections.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Thirty-Five Hour Work Week

**Resolution No. 107**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, About thirteen million workers were unemployed during the last depression in this United States, and

WHEREAS, At least eighteen million workers were engaged in the manufacture

of war essentials during the recent war period, and

WHEREAS, About eleven million men and women were serving in the armed forces of the United States of America during the last war, and

WHEREAS, In the early part of 1945 the production in these United States had increased about four hundred percent over that of the year 1939, and

WHEREAS, We are the best clothed, best housed and the best fed nation on this earth, and

WHEREAS, In this postwar period many of the workers who were engaged in the manufacture of war essentials and many of our returning service men and women will be faced with unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Our national debt before the Pearl Harbor attack was less than fifty billion dollars and now with the cessation of hostilities our national debt will be more than three hundred billion dollars, and

WHEREAS, Learned people have stated that if our national debt should reach three hundred billion dollars our nation would have to default on its obligation and therefore become insolvent, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the interest of national solvency and the orderly reduction of the national debt, wage levels should be raised and general working hours should be set at a maximum of thirty-five hours per week, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the fire-fighters of the State and Nation who now work as many as eighty-four hours each week should have their working hours reduced so as not to exceed eight hours per day and six days per week to be in keeping with the times, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as endorsing this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Advisory Council for Alaskan Organization**

**Resolution No. 108**—By Delegate Louise Collier, Ketchikan Central Labor Council, Ketchikan, Alaska.

WHEREAS, Its strategic geographical location has aroused acute interest in the Territory of Alaska, and

WHEREAS, The Alaska Development Board is now definitely promoting a planned program for the development of all its natural resources, to insure economic security for the continually increasing population, and

WHEREAS, Due to the consequent building program now under way members of outside unions are hired out-

side the territory and are sent to work on construction jobs, while bona fide residents of Alaska are often denied gainful occupation on territorial projects, and

WHEREAS, In order to secure jobs and earn their living by the industry of their own hands, Alaskan workers have repeatedly requested the granting of local union charters from international unions having jurisdiction over their various crafts, which requests have all too frequently been denied, and

WHEREAS, The bona fide resident workers of Alaska are fully aware of the recently renewed activity of dual unions and their encroaching claims in the field of Alaskan industry where division or non-organization exists, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to appoint an advisory committee of international representatives to confer with officials of the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor to help solve the organization problems now confronting the Alaskan workers, to secure greater economic freedom with true self-government for the resident workers of the future State of Alaska.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Missouri River Basin Project**

**Resolution No. 109**—By Delegate A. M. Whitzling, Omaha Central Labor Union, Omaha, Nebraska.

WHEREAS, A moratorium has been declared on federal construction throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, The development of the ten-State Missouri River Basin has been consummated after many years and will be of immense benefit to the entire area as well as to the entire nation, and

WHEREAS, If construction of projects in the Missouri River Basin is delayed it will cause serious obstruction to the desired safety and development of the Basin project, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use every effort to induce President Truman, the Congress and Director of Reconversion, John R. Steelman, to lift the moratorium on the Missouri River Basin Project.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Apprenticeship Training Program**

**Resolution No. 110**—By Delegate A. M. Whitzling, Omaha Central Labor Union, Omaha, Nebraska.

WHEREAS, The Apprentice Training Program was first adopted to provide training for apprentices in the various crafts, and

WHEREAS, The G. I. Bill of Rights, provided additional compensation and length of training period for veterans

of World War II under this program, and

WHEREAS, P. L. 679, amendment to Title II, P. L. 346 as passed by Congress and signed by the President of the United States discriminates between the veteran who takes college training and those who take apprenticeship training, and

WHEREAS, The facts are known that government subsidies paid to on the job trainees has created a deplorable condition in the various industries where such trainees are employed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does vigorously protest against P. L. 679, amendment to Title II, P. L. 346, which changes compensation and length of training period for veterans under this Apprenticeship Training Program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as opposing the practice now being used in various on the job training programs.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Hatch Act

**Resolution No. 111**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Paragraph "A" section 9, of the Hatch Act states "that no officer or employee in the executive branch of the Federal Government, or any agency or department thereof, shall take any active part in political management or in political campaigns", and

WHEREAS, The system of government by which we are governed calls for such political organization and action to perfect and perpetuate such institution of government for a democracy, and

WHEREAS, It is the right and duty of all citizens to have full voice in their government, to participate fully, and to perfect and perform in such organizations as would further their just aims as citizen workers, and

WHEREAS, Such right and duty is a vital part of our democratic way of life, and

WHEREAS, The above quoted part of the paragraph "A" section 9, of the Hatch Act imposes severe limitations regarding political action upon a large segment of American labor, namely the civil service employees, and

WHEREAS, This limitation prohibits these workers, under penalty of law, from entering into such political action to further their rights as workers, as should be the right of every citizen of these United States, and is very expressly guaranteed in our Constitution, and

WHEREAS, The Hatch Act was supposedly designed to protect the worker from the politician, but with its uses and its interpretations, rather protects the politicians from this class of workers and is especially used against the masses of these workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as instructing its Executive Council to use all of its great influence and power to prevail upon Congress to amend the Hatch Act, by the deletion of that part of paragraph "A", section 9, quoted above.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Collective Bargaining

**Resolution No. 112**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Collective bargaining has been accepted by employers and labor unions in the building industry as a practical means of reaching an agreement on wages, hours and working conditions satisfactory to both, and

WHEREAS, Collective bargaining has produced wage increases and improved working conditions for the members of labor unions, and

WHEREAS, The parties to negotiations are in a better position to judge the elements of a satisfactory agreement than any outside agency, and

WHEREAS, Agreements submitted to government agencies for approval under the provisions of the present Wage Stabilization Act, are often modified or amended by a board whose decisions are announced in such vague language as to leave the parties to a collective bargaining agreement without definite information on modifications involved in agency decisions, and

WHEREAS, The terms of an agreement, once established by the parties in negotiation, should not be disturbed by government agencies if the parties are to maintain confidence in the process of collective bargaining, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its good offices to the end that government agencies be relieved of any responsibility to approve, modify, or extend the terms of a collective bargaining agreement entered into by an employer and a union within the framework of established law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Mississippi Valley Parkway Program

**Resolution No. 113**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A concerted effort is being made by cities and counties of Illi-

nois bordering the Mississippi river to secure the construction of a federal parkway and highway from the source of the Mississippi river near Itasca, Minn., to the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of approximately 2,500 miles, and

WHEREAS, The Illinois routing offers splendid scenic and historical possibilities, and

WHEREAS, The Mississippi Valley at present has no important national parks for recreational purposes as do the western and eastern sections of the United States, and the proposed parkway, legislation for which has been approved by the House Committee on Public Lands, will afford an ideal vacation route to the northland in summer and the south in winter, and will provide abundant facilities for vacationists along its entire route, and

WHEREAS, Construction of the proposed parkway and highway will provide labor for thousands of men and payrolls of millions of dollars in Illinois and other States bordering the Mississippi, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the said Mississippi Valley parkway program, and urge approval of this project, enlisting the support of the program by all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Wage Adjustment Board

**Resolution No. 114**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The record of the Wage Adjustment Board, both during and after the war, shows a discriminatory, if not an outright antagonistic attitude toward the wage-earner by rejecting working agreements collectively arrived at between employers and employees, stipulating wage increases well within the "Little Steel Formula" as well as other methods of discrimination, and

WHEREAS, The increased cost of living necessitates increased earnings, and

WHEREAS, The continuation of the Wage Adjustment Board seems to be for the sole purpose of preventing such necessary wage increases even when the employer can afford and is willing to grant same, thus negating the legal right of the workers to benefits secured through collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, We have arrived at a sorry state of affairs when a government agency can decide that an employer cannot pay a wage he is willing to pay and the employee well deserves; a government agency endowed with dictatorial power to determine the wages of the American working man, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of

the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council endeavor to secure the removal of the Wage Adjustment Board.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Safety Standards

**Resolution No. 115**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The alarming rate of industrial injuries has become a national scandal, and this is especially reprehensible in view of the fact that the causes for almost unbelievably large numbers of accidents which maim workers can be eliminated, and

WHEREAS, One of the basic factors contributing to this repugnant state of affairs is the failure of a great many manufacturers to provide or install power safeguards on the machines they produce. Exemplifying this failure is the absence of any guards on unit contained transmission apparatus. This apparatus includes "V" belts and pulleys, chains and sprockets, flat belts and pulleys, or gears on the outside of machines completely exposed to contact by workers or any other persons passing them, and

WHEREAS, A solution of this serious problem cannot be expected to result from the efforts of one single State, since the problem is national in scope and not confined within the boundaries of any single State dictating the need, therefore an organized national program should be directed toward improving the entire field of industrial machine guarding by manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, In the interest of safety for millions of workers in the American Federation of Labor organizations and others, it is imperative that we unite our efforts to correct this practice of any and all manufacturers who fail to provide the necessary guards and make a sustained and earnest effort to promote safeguarding of machines, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record to request the Honorable Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Labor, to institute a nation-wide program encompassing all manufacturers of industrial equipment and requiring them to install proper safeguards when the machines are manufactured, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the 65th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor concur in this program and coordinate its implementation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Executive Order 9697

**Resolution No. 116**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, believes in free collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, The present wage stabilization policy, as established by Executive Order No. 9697 of the President of the United States, issued on February 14th, 1946, and administered by the National Wage Stabilization Board, by virtue of the authority granted in said Executive Order 9697, require bureaucratic approval for certain types of wage increases, which have been arrived at through free collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, Under these said resolutions of the National Wage Stabilization Board the terms and conditions of collective bargaining agreements, freely arrived at, may be negated because they exceed permissible limits established by bureaucratic regulations, and

WHEREAS, The basic theory of the said Executive Order No. 9697 and the regulations established under its authority is to tie wages to prices, and to permit wage increases only when no price increase is involved, to permit wage increases necessary to eliminate inequities, maladjustments or sub-standards, or to approve wage increases in conformance with a national pattern, and

WHEREAS, These regulations place an undue emphasis on the regulations of wages to prices, and neglect to take into account that wages may be frequently increased without the need to increase prices, because the wage cost may be only a small part of production costs, and because increased productivity of labor and improved techniques of production entitle labor to higher wages, and

WHEREAS, The policy of approving price increases, as a result of wage increases, is highly inflationary, and denies to the workers the benefits of wage increases, by causing higher living costs and a diminution of the real wages of the workers, and

WHEREAS, The said Executive Order No. 9697 and the aforementioned regulations, issued by the National Wage Stabilization Board, give employers an unfair advantage in collective bargaining, because it enables them to make collective bargaining agreements contingent upon receiving approval of price relief, and

WHEREAS, By approving wage increases, based upon wage patterns established by Presidential fact-finding boards, places a premium on strikes, because all such fact-finding boards are established because of strikes or threats of strikes, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its belief in collective bargaining, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to revoke Executive Order No. 9697 and thereby destroy this barrier to free collective bargaining, and remove the threat of inflation

caused by the wage policy of the National Wage Stabilization Board, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Honorable Harry S. Truman, the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable Lewis B. Schwellenbach and to the members of the National Wage Stabilization Board.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Printing Trades

**Resolution No. 117**—By Delegate A. J. Kilday, Central Labor Union, Minneapolis and Hennepin County, Minn.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through sound thinking, good judgment and unity, is the leader of the labor world today, and

WHEREAS, All A. F. of L. affiliated unions should co-operate and strive for greater unity, and

WHEREAS, In the printing industry, unity in many localities where strikes have been authorized, is found wanting, and

WHEREAS, On May 1 of this year Typographical Union No. 42 of Minneapolis, Minn., after negotiations had failed, were forced to strike, with the sanction of the international officers, and

WHEREAS, While strike was in progress, international officers of other A. F. of L. crafts within the printing industry ordered their members to ignore banners and cross our picket lines, and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union, as of this hour, is experiencing a disgraceful condition: that of having other A. F. of L. members within the printing industry, cross our lines, specifically at Trenton, N. J., and St. Petersburg, Fla., and

WHEREAS, When a strike by any local union has been called, and authorized by the international officers, it certainly should be the duty of all other A. F. of L. national and international officers to instruct their members NOT to cross any picket line, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention stress the need of unity among all A. F. of L. unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Executive Council invite the members of the International Allied Printing Trades Council to a conference, the purpose of which shall be to put an end to the deplorable condition which now exists, and to unify the crafts in the printing industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Nebraska Anti-Labor Amendment

**Resolution No. 118**—By Delegates Wm. J. Bowen, H. C. Bates, R. J. Gray, El-



mer Spahr, A. J. Cleland, T. H. O'Donnell, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, There is a concerted effort on the part of some small business men to try and create an open shop movement in the State of Nebraska and other States, and

WHEREAS, These small business men have been successful in securing enough signatures to have placed on the November ballot an amendment to the State constitution known as the right to work, and

WHEREAS, If this bill should pass it would create a condition that would paralyze the union movement in Nebraska and cause a breeding place for scabs, and

WHEREAS, If ratified by enough States could become a national law, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make a study of this situation and wherever possible contribute funds and talent to combat this movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Veterans Subsistence Allowance

**Resolution No. 119**—By Delegates Wm. J. Bowen, H. C. Bates, R. J. Gray, Elmer Spahr, A. J. Cleland, T. H. O'Donnell, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, At the adjourning session of Congress, Public Law 346 (G. I. Bill of Rights), was amended which included a sleeper in the amendments; That a veteran that was single could not receive any subsistence allowance if he received in wages \$175.00 a month, and a veteran that was married could not receive any subsistence allowance if he received in wages \$200.00, and

WHEREAS, The original law 346 provided, that a veteran that was single could receive \$65.00 a month until he earned the same as a journeyman, and a veteran that was married or who had dependents would receive \$90.00 a month, and

WHEREAS, This action of Congress was underhanded and unjust to the veteran who served in the Armed Forces; and is an apprentice, and being trained under the G. I. Bill of Rights, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in protest against the action of Congress, and that Congress be requested to restore the previous payment to the veterans who are apprentices.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill

**Resolution No. 120**—By Delegates Wm. J. Bowen, H. C. Bates, R. J. Gray, Elmer Spahr, A. J. Cleland, T. H. O'Donnell, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, through the failure of the House of Representatives to pass the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, S. 1592, which had been passed in the Senate by a large majority without party division, and

WHEREAS, In the United States more than one-third of the nation is ill-housed, and

WHEREAS, There exists in our cities large slum and blighted areas that are the source from which crime, juvenile delinquency and dependency spring, and which areas are revenue deficit areas impairing the financial structures of our cities and thus placing upon the owners of standard residential, commercial and industrial property excessive and economically wasteful tax burdens, which can only be cleared and redeveloped by the pooling of federal, state and local powers and resources as contemplated by the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, and

WHEREAS, The Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill S. 1592 was approved and supported by the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby endorse the provisions of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill S. 1592 and that the membership of the A. F. of L. be urged to contact their Congressional Representatives to secure the passage of this important legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the President of the United States to call a special session of the 79th Congress to enact into law this vital legislation and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to all members of the Banking and Currency Committee and the Chairman of the Rules Committee and the majority and minority leaders of both Houses.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

### Foreign Policy

**Resolution No. 121**—By Delegate Nicolas Noguera Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The effective and glorious intervention of the United States in the last war placed our nation in a leading position in creating the instrumentality for a permanent peace and for the international economic readjustments, and

WHEREAS, American organized labor was the fundamental factor which made possible the victorious termination of the war and



WHEREAS, The course of events shows that American organized labor should take an active part in building up world security through democratic principles and ideals, and

WHEREAS, This objective cannot be reached unless American organized labor is sincerely and solidly united behind a common foreign policy, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Ill., instruct and empower its Executive Council to invite the outstanding leaders of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and independent unions to a round-table conference to consider the advisability of working out a plan to carry on a common foreign policy of American organized labor as the best cooperation that could be given to the nation in its efforts to create world peace and social-economic stability.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Collective Bargaining Rights of Fishermen

**Resolution No. 122**—By Delegates Harry Lundberg, John Hawk, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Over twenty thousand fishermen, members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are employed by boat owners and operators on the Pacific Coast of these United States, and

WHEREAS, Such fishermen are as equally entitled to and dependent upon the benefits derived from collective bargaining as all other workers in order to guarantee reasonable compensation for their labors, and

WHEREAS, Reasonable compensation for their labors can be derived only if such fishermen are certain of obtaining a minimum fixed compensation based upon tonnage of fish caught, and

WHEREAS, Such minimum fixed compensation can reasonably be determined only if there exists an assured market with a fixed minimum sales price for such fish, and

WHEREAS, Agencies of the United States Government, including the Department of Justice, by pronouncements, publications and threats of legal action, both civil and criminal, have prohibited and precluded boat owners or operators and cannery owners or operators from agreeing to purchase specific species of fish caught by or for said boat owners or operators at a specified minimum price when, as and if caught, and

WHEREAS, Agencies of the United States Government, including the Department of Justice, by pronouncements, publications and threats of legal action, both civil and criminal, have prohibited and precluded such fishermen and boat owners and operators from agreeing to

pay such fishermen for specific species of fish caught by such fishermen a minimum wage per ton when, as and if caught, and

WHEREAS, Such coercive activity by the agencies of the United States Government, including the Department of Justice, evidences an apparent studied attempt to destroy the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of which over twenty thousand fishermen are members, by preventing such unions from performing one of their primary functions, namely, effective collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, Any such union-busting activity by any agencies of the United States Government is repugnant to the fundamental principles of democracy and repulsive to all reasonable people and is subject only to scorn and condemnation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record condemning such union-busting activities by agencies of the United States Government and if necessary, have introduced in Congress legislation which will guarantee to the workers employed as fishermen the same fundamental rights as those enjoyed by all workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Extension of Social Benefits to Agricultural Workers

**Resolution No. 123**—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, F. R. Bretton, E. E. Taylor, National Farm Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers have been systematically excluded from the benefits of the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The Congress, instead of further extending this beneficial legislation to agricultural workers and other excluded groups, seeks to exclude still additional groups, such as those in the food processing industries, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been totally unable to find any morally tenable reason whatsoever for the exclusion from legislation which should be for the benefit of all the people, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call on the 80th Congress of the United States to extend the benefits of the aforementioned Acts of Congress to workers in agriculture, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress should resist further attempts to exclude workers in the processing of agricultural products from the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Agricultural Workers

**Resolution No. 124**—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, F. R. Bretton, B. B. Taylor, National Farm Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are unprotected by any law which provides minimum wages and maximum hours, and

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are not covered by any law which protects them in their right to bargain collectively with employers to establish reasonable wages, hours and working conditions, and

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers, particularly those in the South, are the lowest paid and the most outrageously exploited, and

WHEREAS, The United States Department of Agriculture, in shameless collusion with the Farm Bureau Federation, which is dominated by the large commercial farming interests, has, through an unlawful and undemocratic system of so-called referenda in which the concerned workers are allowed no participation, imposed wage ceilings on workers who have no floor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, demand that this abominable practice of imposing wage ceilings, dictated by the employers' group, on defenseless, underprivileged and underpaid agricultural workers, cease at once, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor denounce and condemn Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson, the federal official allegedly having sole lawful power to impose and enforce wage ceilings, for having repeatedly imposed maximum wages that can by no stretch of the imagination be considered as a living wage, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution shall be sent to the President of the United States, the Congress, the Secretary of Agriculture and to the public press

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Hod Carriers Change of Title

**Resolution No. 125**—By Delegates Jos. V. Moreschi, Jos. Marshall, Herbert Rivers, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, T. Nischwitz, Patrick Waldron, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The name International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America is lengthy and the name Common Laborers is reflective and out of mode, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the name be changed to International Construction and General Laborers' Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Extension of Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 126**—By Delegates Joseph Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, Joseph B. Etchison, Anthony C. D'Andrea, Theodore Nischwitz, Patrick Waldron, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, Many members of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America are employed by the Federal Public Housing Authority throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, Said brothers are denied rights of benefits of the Federal Social Security Act, and the State Unemployment Insurance Act, in such States as State Unemployment Insurance is effective, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record instructing its legislative committee to sponsor and promote legislation through the members of Congress in Washington, D. C., to bring all the employees of the Federal Public Housing Authority under the scope of the Federal Social Security Act and the State Unemployment Insurance in such States as State Unemployment Insurance is effective.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Extending Social Benefits to Agricultural Workers

**Resolution No. 127**—By Delegate L. B. Schacter, Camden County Central Labor Union, Camden, New Jersey.

WHEREAS, In its present form, the National Labor Relations Act does not provide for the application of the benefits under that Act to workers engaged in agricultural pursuits, and

WHEREAS, The modern industrial type of farms hire many thousands of workers who are thus required to work under extremely unfavorable conditions, which they cannot seek to correct through organization and through trade unions, and

WHEREAS, Such great number of workers look to agriculture as a sole means of livelihood and are entitled to all of the benefits, as Americans, which are afforded to the great mass of our remaining wage earners, and

WHEREAS, The elimination from the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, known as the Wagner Act, of agricultural workers is a form of discrimination that is un-American and entirely uncalled for, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor do hereby urge that you and your associates exert every effort to make possible the appropriate legislation, if

necessary, for the elimination of the exemption from the National Labor Relations Act that presently precludes agricultural workers from the benefits of that law, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That each and every organization, both local, state and national, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, be made aware of the discriminatory circumstances under which agricultural workers are now placed and the aid of these organizations will be enlisted towards the obtaining of remedial legislation to the end that agricultural workers shall be permitted the full benefits of our national laws such as is presently afforded other industrial workers in this great American democracy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### May Company

**Resolution No. 128**—By Delegate George W. Brayfield, Colorado State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The dispute between Retail Clerks Union, Local No. 454 of Denver, Colorado, affiliated with the Retail Clerks International Association, and the May Company in Denver, has resulted in a strike of the employees of the May Company, members of the Retail Clerks Union, and

**WHEREAS**, The Retail Clerks Union has conducted its organization work and its negotiations according to the accepted principles of the American Federation of Labor, and in cooperation with all other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

**WHEREAS**, The May Company has consistently refused to bargain in good faith but instead has set out to destroy a labor union with which they have been under agreement for more than four years, and

**WHEREAS**, The May Company is engaged in a conspiracy with other employers' organizations in Denver to put into effect a "yellow dog" contract as a condition of employment, and

**WHEREAS**, Because of the unfair tactics of the May Company during several months of negotiations despite all attempts by the Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor, and the executive officers of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, to peaceably adjust the differences involved, it became necessary for Retail Clerks Union, Local No. 454 to call a strike, and

**WHEREAS**, The May Company has openly boasted that they have set aside a large sum of money with which to fight organized labor, and

**WHEREAS**, Their present anti-labor campaign in Denver is a serious threat to all American Federation of Labor unions, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we call upon all national and international unions, state fed-

erations, central bodies and local unions to give moral and financial assistance, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a progressive campaign be carried out against the May Company nationally, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor authorize full publicity on the unfair tactics of the May Company and enlist the full force of the American Federation of Labor against this unfair employer in order to compel them to enter immediately into fair collective bargaining and sign a collective bargaining agreement as requested by the Retail Clerks Union which these employees have freely chosen according to law as their representative.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### H. R. 5626

**Resolution No. 129**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

**WHEREAS**, The Civil Service Commission of the United States presently lending every effort in having established adequate registers from which all agencies of the Government may select suitable personnel, and

**WHEREAS**, The method of establishing employment registers is recognized as most fair and equitable, and

**WHEREAS**, Efforts are constantly being made to abridge the rules and regulations governing civil service in the United States Government, and

**WHEREAS**, H. R. 5626 has been determined as the latest instrument devised to break down the civil service system, allowing the Veterans Administration to employ in any civilian office or position any retired commissioned officer of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey and Public Health Service, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist in defeating the passage of H. R. 5626.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Free Trade Unions in Europe

**Resolution No. 130**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

**WHEREAS**, American occupation forces in Germany have interfered with the organization of a free trade union movement by the German workmen, and

**WHEREAS**, There exists in other countries what is apparently a well-balanced intention to prevent the organization of a free trade union movement, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their influence in every way

possible to prevent any further interference by American authorities with the right of workmen in other countries to the exercise of voluntary organization and the reorganization of the former free trade union movement existing in European countries which were affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That should the officers of the American Federation of Labor fail to secure a prompt compliance with the purpose of this resolution, that they request the appointment of a special committee of the Congress of the United States to investigate the interference of certain representatives of the United States government stationed in Europe with the rights of European workmen to the enjoyment of a free trade union movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Los Angeles Aqueduct System

**Resolution No. 131**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The city of Los Angeles, through its Department of Water and Power, has filed with the General Land Office for the approval of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior two applications and amendments thereto (Sacramento Nos. 036130 and 036149) to acquire certain public lands in Mono County, State of California, pursuant to an act of Congress adopted June 23, 1936, entitled "An Act authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to sell to the city of Los Angeles, California, certain public lands in California; and granting rights of way over public lands to the city of Los Angeles in Mono County in the State of California," said lands and rights of way being necessary in connection with the Mono Basin extension of the Los Angeles Aqueduct System, and

WHEREAS, There has been presented to, and considered by, the Los Angeles Metal Trades Council of the American Federation of Labor the facts concerning said applications, and

WHEREAS, It is of vital public interest to the people of Los Angeles that said applications be acted upon favorably in order that the city of Los Angeles may provide an adequate dependable water supply to meet the needs of its rapidly growing population and industrial development, and

WHEREAS, The public lands sought under said application to be acquired in said Mono County constitute approximately 24,000 acres, and it appears that no additional public lands will be required by said city under said Act, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to secure the approval of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior and the favorable action by the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior; and the Honorable

Secretary of Agriculture, to the said application for the purchase of public lands and rights of way in Mono County, California covered by said application, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to appear before Congress or any committee thereof, and to oppose any bills which will be introduced in Congress, the adoption of which may prevent the granting of said application, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior, and the Honorable Secretary of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Revocation of Auto Workers Charter

**Resolution No. 132**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of several international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department has been invaded by the United Auto Workers, A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, Conferences held in Washington with the president of that organization have failed to bring about any cessation of this invasion of their jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, These international unions can no longer remain passive under the circumstances, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor take immediate action to revoke the charter of the United Auto Workers, A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Building Service Employees Jurisdiction

**Resolution No. 133**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of the Metal Trades Council of Chicago, that the Building Service Employees Union, which organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is organizing plants which rightfully come under the jurisdiction of metal trades craft organizations, and

WHEREAS, The Pyle National Company of Chicago is a specific case where the employees are practically all mechanics and should belong to their several craft organizations, and

WHEREAS, The Building Service Employees Union has in the Pyle National Company case, taken into their organization men who should belong to the Foundry Workers; Blacksmiths; Electrical

Workers; Sheet Metal Workers; Metal Polishers; Carpenters, etc., and

WHEREAS, Should this practice be allowed to continue it will work a hardship on every organization affiliated with the Chicago Metal Trades Council, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up this situation with the Building Service Employees Union, to the end that this invasion of the Building Service Employees Union into the jurisdiction of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be brought to an end.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Importation of Labor

**Resolution No. 134**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, It has been called to the attention of the Metal Trades Department in convention assembled, that there has been an importation of foreign labor into several sections of our nation, and

WHEREAS, It is the invariable practice of those who employ these importees at wage rates considerably less than those in effect in the industries and areas where they are employed, and

WHEREAS, There is the constant danger of destruction of existing wage rates and standards as a result of the use of these importees under the conditions now prevalent, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor now in convention assembled that we go on record as opposing the importation of foreign labor and its use to the detriment of the welfare of American free labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every effort to oppose this misuse of imported labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### C.C.C. Cuban Sugar Contracts

**Resolution No. 135**—By Delegate Nicolas N. Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The Commodity Credit Corporation has entered into a contract with the sugar producers of Cuba which has resulted in an increase in the price of sugar being paid by the consumers of the United States and their territories, and

WHEREAS, The basic price of sugar as fixed in the contract is \$3.675 F.O.B. Cuba plus an additional increase in case the price index in the costs of foods goes over 140.27 which is the base figure in the escalator clause, and

WHEREAS, Sensible increases have been experimented in the food index which will result in supplementary payments to producers in Cuba, and

WHEREAS, The Commodity Credit Corporation cannot absorb any increase over the basic price of sugar fixed in the Cuban contract under the Act of Congress No. 548 extending the OPA and the Stabilization Act, and

WHEREAS, The OPA has increased the wholesale price of raw sugar (\$5.575) and that of the refined sugar (\$7.60) so that the CCC could absorb the increases to be paid to the Cuban producers under the privileged contract signed with them by the CCC, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the price of sugar by the OPA puts the burden of the subsidies upon the shoulders of the consumers in the United States and their territories who are largely working people, so that Cubans may have their increases, and

WHEREAS, Inasmuch as the contract signed by the CCC with the Cuban producers has a basic price of \$3.675 F.O.B. Cuba, the employers of Cuba are relieved from paying the 75¢ tariff now in effect, as well as the 43¢ ocean freight plus other port expenses, and

WHEREAS, The increase authorized by the OPA has determined a retail price of 9¢ a pound of refined sugar paid by labor without any increase in salaries, something which results practically in a tax in behalf of Cuba and detrimental to our people, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the price of sugar produces its effect on the general cost of living considering that sugar is a basic food-stuff the price of which is reflected in the prices of other staples, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the price of sugar will by itself bring an increase in the cost of living index thus enabling Cuban sugar producers to attain a higher price for their sugar under the terms of the purchase contract signed by the CCC, and

WHEREAS, Puerto Rico is a domestic sugar area which has not received such commendable contracts although Puerto Rico is a part of the United States the actual production of which amounts to one million tons of sugar and which could be raised to over one million and a half tons under proper stimulus on the part of the corresponding agencies, and

WHEREAS, The sugar industry is the basic one in Puerto Rico paying over thirty millions dollars in wages, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Ill., authorizes and empowers the Executive Council to make a thorough investigation and study of the sugar contracts entered into by the CCC with sugar producers of Cuba and how these affect the economic conditions of

the working people of the United States and their territories so as to denounce before Congress or the Federal Department of Agriculture or the corresponding bureau any situation that may result in extreme and unnecessary economic hardship to American labor and consumers in general and determine to what extent labor in Cuba has shared in the benefits of the aforementioned purchase contract of the CCC.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Increased Old Age Benefits

**Resolution No. 136**—By Delegates John E. Rooney, M. J. McDonough, J. J. Hauck, John Donlin, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association.

WHEREAS, In this country today the economic structure is such that consumer commodity prices have risen beyond all proper bounds, and

WHEREAS, This is more acutely felt by those who are dependent upon social security old age retirement payments, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appeal to the United States Congress to have the social security old age retirement payments increased to a reasonable monthly allotment in keeping with present-day economic conditions, and we also recommend that equal efforts be made to have a retired man permitted, to earn, if necessary, at least double the amount he is at present allowed to earn at his own trade or otherwise, monthly, without losing or having it deducted from his security pension for that month.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### AFL Housing Department

**Resolution No. 137**—By Delegates John E. Rooney, M. J. McDonough, J. J. Hauck, John Donlin, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association.

WHEREAS, It is being conceded by all thinking people in the United States that public participation in housing and public control in slum clearance is one of the most outstanding economic and social problems that confronts the nation as a whole today, and

WHEREAS, There seems to be an erroneous impression existing in the minds of the officials of the Federation that this business of housing is a building trades problem when as a matter of fact it is a consumer problem and should be treated as such, and

WHEREAS, Some of the largest educational institutions in the United States, such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University, Yale University, and many of the universities in New York City have established courses in this field of housing, and this should be an indication to us of the importance placed

upon this movement by the educators in our universities, and

WHEREAS, The broad economic and social phase of this problem and its influence upon the home life of the American people warrants the workers of America giving more serious thought and study to this great social movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor establish a Department of Housing in the American Federation of Labor comparable to that of other Departments now in existence.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

### Improved Working Conditions in Public Hospitals in States, Counties and Municipalities

**Resolution No. 138**—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, John M. Leary, George W. Thorpe, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, In the public hospitals and other institutions in the states, counties and municipalities for the care of the mentally deficient, the mentally ill, for orphaned minors and for correctional and other purposes the pay, the required work day and work week and the living and working conditions generally have been improved but slightly for more than a quarter century so that such conditions and standards today are woefully inadequate and no longer tolerable, and

WHEREAS, Employees, inmates and patients in most of such hospitals and other institutions have been neglected and by-passed by legislative and appropriating bodies for so long that only an aroused consciousness by the public generally will result in placing squarely before the responsible law-making bodies these conditions and in awakening them to their several and collective duties, and

WHEREAS, The benefits of organization and affiliation with union labor have been brought to the employees in a few public hospitals and other institutions with astonishingly satisfactory results in higher wages, better working conditions, shorter hours, upbuilt morale, improved care of inmates and patients and in greatly stepped-up efficiency, but the task of organizing the employees because of their isolation and other conditions under which they for long periods have lived make organization efforts difficult and expensive, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor fully cognizant of the conditions described in this resolution and conscious of the responsibility of labor to help to correct them urges all state federations of labor and all subordinate bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make special efforts during the ensuing year to organize and bring about the affiliation of employees in the public hospital and other institutional services and



thereafter to assist them in order thereby to finally establish such organizations firmly in the labor movement, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor through the state federations of labor and other affiliated labor organizations in the several states urges that active campaigns be instituted before the ensuing legislatures and before appropriating bodies of subordinate units of government in order to bring to the attention of such bodies the conditions herein described and to demand that adequate appropriations be made so that modernized employment standards and efficient public institutional and hospital service may result therefrom, and it is directed that copies of this resolution be sent to all state federations of labor and to all subordinate organizations of labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Protection for United States Employment Personnel

**Resolution No. 139**—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, J. M. Leary, George W. Thorpe, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has decreed that the United States Employment Services shall be returned to the several states and has by the language of the rider amendment to the Department of Labor appropriation act provided that the personnel in such services shall be placed in the state services of the several states in positions similar to those occupied in the federal service or in reasonably comparable positions and that those employees who have not had opportunity to qualify for their positions either under state or federal merit law shall be given opportunities to do so, and

WHEREAS, The act further provides that it shall be the obligation of the Secretary of Labor to deny certification of funds for a state system of public employment offices unless he finds that the state to which the funds are to be allocated has met the requirements of the transfer act and has or does in accordance with the provisions thereof, extend opportunity to all employees to qualify for their several positions under the merit standards prevailing in the state and consistent with the methods required pursuant to the social security act, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of the personnel to be so transferred from the federal government to the several states are members of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently in national convention assembled affirmed and reaffirmed its belief in and its demands for the extension and maintenance of merit in government, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Secretary of Labor and the Social Security Board be requested to do everything within the power to be exercised by their departments to see that the terms of the transfer law are completely complied with and that all employees of the United States Employment Services who are transferred to the states and who have not had opportunity because of war conditions to meet required merit standards be given such opportunity without the exercise from any level of government of political prejudice or political preference, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the opportunity to so qualify take the form of non-competitive examinations rather than open competitive ones whenever and wherever such methods are possible under the constitution and the laws of the several states in order thereby to permit such persons who have served faithfully during the strenuous war period to meet the new and special requirements now so heavily placed upon them.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Extension of Social Security

**Resolution No. 140**—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, J. M. Leary, George W. Thorpe, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, American labor is largely responsible for the passage of the federal social security law and has consistently supported its administration and demanded extension of its provisions to uncovered millions of American citizens, and

WHEREAS, During the Seventy-eighth and Seventy-ninth Congresses the American Federation of Labor obtained the introduction of and gave its whole support to bills which if enacted would have broadened the social security act, extended its provisions to large segments of the American people and made its old age and survivors benefits features effective in the states and in subordinate units of government, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor will continue to work for the extension of social security and will support members of the Eightieth Congress in their efforts to make effective this program, and

WHEREAS, Due to the fact that there are large numbers of members of the American Federation of Labor particularly seeking the extension to the state and municipal government levels of the old age and survivors benefits features of the federal social security act, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor continue its support without limitation to the extension of social security to the portions of American labor yet without coverage and in particular that it support the introduction and demand the passage of a bill



or bills which will provide for extending to the state and municipal governments optionally or by compacts therewith the old age and survivors benefits of social security, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That such bill or bills shall contain provisions that such extension of the old age and survivors benefits to the states and to municipal governments shall be made only and whenever a majority of the members of any existing state or municipal insurance or retirement plan by majority vote petition their respective state or local governments for or by majority vote support otherwise the adoption and the extension of such provisions to their unit of government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Legislative Program, American Federation of Government Employees**

**Resolution No. 141**—By Delegates James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees.

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program:

1. Increase immediately the present inadequate base pay of all Government employees so as to bring it into line with the rising cost of living and with the rates in private industry.

2. General revision of the salary schedules of the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and elimination of ceilings both as to base pay and overtime.

#### **3. Retirement:**

Preservation of the autonomy of the Civil Service Retirement System; Optional retirement on full annuity regardless of attained age (1) after 30 years of service; (2) after 25 years of service for employees engaged in hazardous occupations, or separated or demoted as a result of a reduction in force. Provision for retirement benefits for widows and dependents of employees dying in service. Elimination of tontine. Unqualified disability retirement regardless of age, and continuance on annuity roll until reinstatement. Relief for retired employees by increasing amount of and eliminating taxation on present annuities.

4. Elimination of personnel ceilings to prevent interference with necessary functions of Government; reduction in force in proportion to decreasing work load, rather than determination of any arbitrary standard; ample provision for reemployment and transfer; dismissal wage of not less than amounts paid private employees under Government unemployment insurance law.

5. Extension of the Classification Act to the Field Service; amendment of the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description there-

of when appeals for reallocation are pending; to afford employees unrestricted opportunity so to discuss their positions with a designated representative of the Government as will apprise him fully of their duties; to guarantee prompt adjudication of all appeals. Return to Classification schedules of all ungraded and per diem employees where desirable; application of the longevity pay principle to all Government positions, and affording employees under the Classification Act an opportunity to receive additional increments after attaining the top rate of their grade.

6. Perfection of the merit system and strengthening of the Civil Service system through adequate appropriations for the Civil Service Commission.

7. Establishment of a Board of Appeals with employee representation, to hear and render decisions on appeals and with authority to enforce its decisions so as to protect fully the rights of employees.

8. Promotion from within the Service wherever practicable and with general recognition of seniority in all personnel transactions; seniority being the determinant when other factors are equal.

9. A five-day, 35-hour work week at an early date, with a 30-hour week as the ultimate objective.

10. Greater participation in personnel matters by employees and employee organizations.

11. Provide the Civil Service Commission with sufficient personnel and funds to prevent employment or continuance in service of persons who are disloyal or otherwise unfit.

12. Improvement and extension of the uniform Classification Act efficiency rating system to the Field Service with adequate funds for its operation. Establishment of local efficiency rating committees with employee representation throughout the Field and Departmental service.

13. Amendment to the Hatch Act to permit the Civil Service Commission to fix penalties for violations of the Act commensurate with the gravity of such violations.

14. Provide employees of the Government with complete uniforms, accessories and equipment where required.

15. Elimination of multiple taxation on Government employees' incomes by States or subdivisions thereof.

16. Establishment of the United States Employment Service and the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as permanent Federal agencies, subject to the Federal Classification Act of 1923, as amended.

17. Increase the benefits granted under the United States Employees' Compensation Act.

18. Establishment of adequate transfer facilities to provide employees with employment opportunities in other localities or services.

19. Protection against loss of pay for employees suspended and later exonerated.

20. Payment for annual leave in excess of the authorized maximum accumulation when administrative orders would result in loss of leave.

21. Travel allowance of \$10 per day for employees in travel status.

22. Reclassification of Public Buildings Administration guards and change of name to U. S. Building Police.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention assembled at Chicago, Illinois, endorse aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Anti-Lynching Bill

**Resolution No. 142**—By Delegate Emanuel D. Williams, Richmond Central Labor Union, Richmond, Va.

WHEREAS, Due to uprisings, lynchings, wanton murder, and repressive restrictions occurring daily, civil rights are being increasingly violated throughout our Southern states, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as urging the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions be instructed to press for the introduction of such a measure in Congress at the earliest possible moment, and that an energetic campaign in support of such legislation be conducted among all international unions, their affiliated local unions, and through the affiliated central trades and labor councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be submitted to President Harry S. Truman.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Fair Employment Practices Commission

**Resolution No. 143**—By Delegate Emanuel D. Williams, Richmond Central Labor Union, Richmond, Va.

WHEREAS, The ending of the war years sees a reversal of many gains made by American workers to secure economic security through a fair opportunity for employment regardless of race, national origin, color or creed, and

WHEREAS, The 79th Congress refused to establish by law a national policy to promote fair employment practices, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its support of

legislation to bring about the enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor carry on an active program in support of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Study of Negro Workers

**Resolution No. 144**—By Delegate Emanuel D. Williams, Richmond Central Labor Union, Richmond, Va.

WHEREAS, The following discriminatory practices are known to exist within the American Federation of Labor: (1) restrictions excluding Negroes from membership, (2) limiting the right of Negroes to skilled trades, (3) preventing the fair upgrading of Negroes according to their seniority rights, (4) refusal of certain city central bodies to admit to membership locals composed of Negro members, (5) maintenance of separate seniority lists for members of different races, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor initiate immediately a study of the discriminatory practices of various unions for the purpose of abolishing such practices toward the ultimate end of breaking the pattern of separate unions for white and Negro members, and be it further

RESOLVED, That recommendations resulting from this study be presented to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Extending Social Security Benefits

**Resolution No. 145**—By Building and Construction Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Many members of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, are employed by the Federal Public Housing Authority throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, They are denied rights of benefits of the Federal Social Security Act and the State Unemployment Insurance Act, in such States as State Unemployment Insurance is effective, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor sponsor and promote legislation through the members of Congress in Washington, D. C., to bring all the employees of the Federal Public Housing Authority under the scope of the Federal Social Security Act and the State Unemployment Insurance in such States as State Unemployment Insurance is effective.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Library Boards

**Resolution No. 140**—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Public Library in a city, town or village is a public institution, supported by taxes, and

WHEREAS, Members of Library Boards are either appointed or elected, and

WHEREAS, Members of organized labor are not, as a rule, selected as members of such Boards, and

WHEREAS, Many or most of the books, magazines or pamphlets in public libraries do not bear the union label of the Allied Printing Trades, and

WHEREAS, If one or more members of such Boards were members of organized labor, such conditions would not prevail, and

WHEREAS, If union men were represented on such Boards, doubtless through their counsel, a just proportion of newly purchased books would be products of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Through this procedure and practice, more members of the AFL printing industry would be employed, and

WHEREAS, Also through the counsel of union labor representatives on such boards, books on labor economics would be specified, and

WHEREAS, Labor leaders and ambitious union men and women, if they wish to cope with difficult labor problems which constantly arise, must be as well informed on all national problems as well as on local conditions, as employers, executives, manufacturers and lawmakers, particularly if such groups are hostile to organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That organized labor use every means to have union men appointed as members of Library Boards, and be it further

RESOLVED, That organized labor notify officials and acquaint the public with the fact that such representation is expected, and be it further

RESOLVED, That where such members are elective, members of organized labor avail themselves of the privilege of the ballot.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Lowering Age Limit Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 147**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Under present conditions it

is impossible for the average worker to accumulate enough to enable him to live in comfort in his old age makes old age assistance a prime necessity, and

WHEREAS, The provisions for old age retirement benefits under the Social Security Act are woefully inadequate, and

WHEREAS, The age limit for such retirement should be lowered in order to be of any benefit to the average worker, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention go on record as favoring the amending of the Social Security Act, so as to provide retirement benefits sufficient for the maintenance of decent living conditions for old people, and lowering of the age limit from 65 years to 60 years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Veterans' Seniority

**Resolution No. 148**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Pete Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that a veteran is not entitled to a super-seniority and only to a seniority that he would have, had he remained at his job and not entered the armed forces, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department has, apparently with the consent of the United States Civil Service Commission overlooked or ignored the ruling of the Court in granting veterans preference in the reduction of force procedure, and

WHEREAS, Many loyal and competent Americans with permanent civil service status (employees with up to 28 and 30 years service) are being discharged and replaced with veterans with few years of service, and by others who were given a veterans preference, because of peace time service in some branch of the armed forces, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention does instruct the Executive Council to investigate and use every means within its power to have this unjust, unreasonable and un-American procedure stopped.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Apprenticeship Training Program

**Resolution No. 149**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been doing everything in its power to assist the returning veteran in adjusting himself to normal civilian life, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was highly gratified by the training provisions of Public Law 346, which enabled a veteran serving an apprenticeship to draw a training allowance from the Government until such time as he received the journeyman's scale, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of returning veterans have already availed themselves of the opportunity to enter bona fide apprentice programs established by various unions and the employers, and

WHEREAS, Many of these veterans, on the strength of receiving this training allowance, have taken on obligations such as purchasing homes, cars and household equipment, etc., and

WHEREAS, In the closing days of the recently adjourned 79th Congress there was passed Public Law 679 which, among other items, contained the provision that a ceiling of \$175.00 per month for single men and \$200.00 per month for married men was established as the total amount of wages and training allowance that a veteran could receive, and

WHEREAS, At the same time, the government is embarking on a tremendous building program and entreating all building trades crafts to go all out in their efforts to build homes for veterans, and

WHEREAS, There is and has been a serious shortage of highly skilled mechanics in all trades, and

WHEREAS, There is but one way to train these mechanics and that is through a bona fide apprenticeship system, and

WHEREAS, The ceiling provisions of Public Law 679 will, in most cases, cut off the training allowance of the single men at the end of the first year of their apprenticeship, and the married men at the end of a year and one half, and

WHEREAS, It is the considered opinion of this convention that the ceiling provisions of this bill were hastily conceived and passed without seeking information or consultation from those most vitally concerned, thereby perpetrating a rank injustice on these veterans who have served their country so well and to whom we owe so much, by taking away that which was already given and on which the veteran had built hopes, made plans and assumed responsibilities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being unanimously opposed to that section of Public Law 679 which places a ceiling on the amount of training allowance to be given to a returned veteran serving an apprenticeship and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention requests its Legislative Representatives to do all in their power to have restored the original provisions of Public Law 346, pertaining to apprenticeship and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Legion,

the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans and all other interested groups requesting them to assist in this worthy cause and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be published requesting all local unions to take this matter up with local groups and have them request their Congressman to take early and definite action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 150**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Many members of the Building Trades Unions are being deprived of the benefits accruing under the Social Security Act while temporarily employed by various city, county and state institutions, thus reducing the computed yearly average income under the Act, resulting in lower retirement benefits, also depriving them of unemployment compensation for the period thus employed, and

WHEREAS, Such employees cannot benefit by any pension plan established by civil service employees due to the temporary character of their employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, go on record as favoring the amending of the Social Security Act to cover such temporary employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Veterans' Allowance

**Resolution No. 151**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The veterans have made such great personal sacrifices to defeat world fascism, and

WHEREAS, The Government allowance for benefits given to our veterans is based on cost of living which has already risen 45%, and

WHEREAS, The veterans have been left stranded economically, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring legislation to raise all veterans' allowances in accordance with increases in the cost of living, and passage of the Lesinski Bonus Bill which is endorsed by most veterans' groups.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill

**Resolution No. 152**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council has gone on record time and again for the passage of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill SS. 1592, which is now bottled up in Committee, and

WHEREAS, Nothing has been done to insure the passage of this vital bill, and

WHEREAS, The passage of SS. 1592 would go a long way to stabilize our economy and provide jobs and security for millions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the best interests of our nation, that the American Federation of Labor go on record to request that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. initiate and promote activities in all communities and cities of our nation in support of the immediate enactment of General Housing Bill, S. 1592.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

## Poll Tax

**Resolution No. 153**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has time and again taken action against the insidious poll tax existing in many southern States, and

WHEREAS, Many of our Congressmen have made abolishment of the poll tax a political football, and

WHEREAS, There have been extended hearings in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate on Anti-Poll Tax Bills, and

WHEREAS, A Bill, H. R. 7, to abolish the poll tax is still in the hands of the Judiciary Committee, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates, assembled in convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record favoring speedy action by the Legislature to pass the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, H. R. 7, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on Senator Pat McCarran, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and all his committee members, to report favorably on this Bill, without further hearings, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request our Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to use its pressure on behalf of Anti-Poll Tax Legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we review the activities of our Legislators in the Halls of Congress which on other occasions can act very swiftly, but on the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, H. R. 7, have reacted very timidly and slowly.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Spain

**Resolution No. 154**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Dictator Franco has been put into power only through the military aid of Mussolini, and Hitler Fascist armies, and

WHEREAS, Rotting in Franco's prisons are representatives of the labor movement and all democratic forces that carried on the struggle against Fascism, and

WHEREAS, At the present moment Spain has become a haven of all fascist groups from Germany who have a great hold on its economy and research facilities working for a third world war, and

WHEREAS, The United Nations went on record not to recognize governments which were put in power through outside aid, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. as far back as 1937, went on record, at Miami, Fla., to sever diplomatic connections with Franco Spain, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates go on record to do all in our power to urge President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, to break relations with Franco Spain and recognize the Republican government-in-exile, and be it further,

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all our Legislators in Congress requesting them in the name of peace and democracy to lift their voices in Congress to break all relations with Fascist Spain.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Palestine

**Resolution No. 155**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, All over Palestine British military installations are increasing in number, and

WHEREAS, The latest speech of Ernest Bevin, speaking for the British Labor Government has been followed through by a wave of terror in the Jewish communities of Palestine, and

WHEREAS, The government of Great Britain has made it unlawful for the suffering European Jews to emigrate into Palestine, and

WHEREAS, Such action is in violation of the principles for which a great anti-fascist war was fought, a war in which six million Jewish people were annihilated, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates assembled in convention go on record to urge President Truman, on behalf of the American people, to (1) demand of the British Government, immediate cessation of the terror in Palestine and the release of the arrested Jewish leaders; (2) demand that British rule in Palestine be ended and a big 3 Trusteeship under the United Nations be established in Palestine to encourage Arab and Jewish unity for the establishment of a free and democratic Palestine.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Price Control

**Resolution No. 154**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Monopoly capital, properly called by F. D. Roosevelt, "Economic Royalists," has started a campaign to weaken labor by abolishing price control and introducing anti-labor legislation in Congress, and

WHEREAS, Their lobbyists have made many gains with our Congressmen who have done the bidding of the National Association of Manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, The N. A. M. is trying to bring about an economy or restriction of production and unlimited profits through inflation, driving our country into economic ruin, unemployment and social chaos, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates assembled in convention, go on record to remember, in November, the record of every Congressman and Senator who voted against O. P. A. and for the Hobbs, Case and other anti-labor bills, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on the A. F. of L. to use the tremendous organizational power of the A. F. of L. unions to encourage demonstrations against runaway prices, for a strong price control bill, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Committee to adhere to our long-time position of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies," not to endorse any candidate who voted against continuation of O. P. A. and for the anti-labor bills.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Fair Employment Practice Committee

**Resolution No. 157**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Fair Employment Practice Committee has done more to extend our democracy than any piece of legislation in our country, and

WHEREAS, There are powerful forces in and out of Congress and State Legislative Halls who seek to undermine the Fair Employment Practice Committee, and

WHEREAS, Such a measure as the FEPC is not just a war measure, but must continue in peace time, and

WHEREAS, The FEPC has been greatly weakened through legislative action thus encouraging a growth of discrimination, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates assembled in convention go on record in favor of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee and call on our Legislatures throughout the country to work for legislation which would make the Fair Employment Practice Committee a permanent structure in extending and protecting democracy for all people, regardless of race, color or creed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Sleeping Car Porters

**Resolution No. 158**—By Delegate F. N. Aten, Railway Employees' Department.

WHEREAS, All organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are required to respect the jurisdictional rights of other affiliates, but the Sleeping Car Porters are, notwithstanding the regulations, raiding the jurisdiction of the Shop Craft Organizations composing the Railway Employees' Department, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as all efforts to adjust this dispute by President Green, meeting with President Randolph, President Knight of the Railway Carmen representing the Shop Craft Organizations meeting with President Randolph and the Sleeping Car Porters being summoned to appear before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, August 1945, and they did appear but nothing was accomplished in any of these



efforts, the Pullman porters stating their position quite clearly that they intended to go through with their efforts to organize mechanics, helpers, apprentices, coach cleaners, and laborers of the Shop Craft Organizations, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Sleeping Car Porters be suspended unless they immediately cease and desist from their raiding of the jurisdiction of the Shop Craft Organizations and notify the Pullman Yard and Terminal employees of their withdrawal from the Pullman campaign.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Veterans Apprenticeship Training**

**Resolution No. 150**—By Delegates Ed J. Brown, G. M. Bugniet, Charles M. Paulsen, Walter Lenox, Edgar S. Hurley, Rex Fransway, D. T. Johnstone, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, Public Law 679 relating to Veterans Apprenticeship Training was recently passed and enacted by Congress at the last week of its recent session without a hearing or due consideration and deliberation, and

WHEREAS, The said Public Law 679 in its present form imposes a hardship upon trainees because it fails to adequately compensate trainees and their dependents during their training periods, and

WHEREAS, Public Law 679 presently tends to discourage eligible veterans from accepting the advantages of apprentice training and on the job training programs to which benefits veterans are

entitled and which they rightfully receive the benefits of, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the A. F. of L. request and instruct our Legislative Committee to take all necessary action to induce Congress at its next session to restore to veterans all the benefits which they received prior to the passage of Public Law 679.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Equal Rights Amendment**

**Resolution No. 160**—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, Margaret Mahr, Herman Finkelstein, Martin Lawlor, Alex Rose, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The so called "Equal Rights" Amendment defeated in the Senate near the close of the 79th Congress would, if adopted, destroy the labor laws and other protective legislation for women enacted in our several States after years of struggle, and

WHEREAS, Sponsors of this legislation will continue to press for passage of this amendment and are trying to win the support of some of our labor organizations, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor at its sixty-fifth convention meeting in Chicago reaffirm its opposition to this Equal Rights Amendment, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor advise its affiliated local unions of the dangers of this proposed amendment and urge them to oppose it and do all they can to bring about its defeat.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.



## THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

Chicago, Illinois, October 9, 1946

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:45 o'clock A.M.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The invocation will be given this morning by Rev. John W. Harms, Executive Secretary of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago.

**REVEREND JOHN W. HARMS**  
(Executive Secretary of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago)

Let us pray. Our Father, Who art in Heaven, we come to Thee in this morning hour, grateful for the rest of the night and for the new strength of mind and body which is ours. We thank Thee from the depths of our hearts for the many expressions of Thy love, for each of us and for mankind as a whole. We pray for strength to do the day's work. We pray for insight into Thy purpose for mankind and especially for this great organization.

Help us to bless the common good above all individual or group interests. Let our decisions be acceptable in Thy sight because they contribute to a fair realization of Thy Kingdom of God on earth.

Let Thy blessing rest upon our loved ones at home, and grant that the hungry and naked victims of the pestilence of war wherever they may be shall be comforted and fed and clothed.

Bless the efforts of this great movement among labor and citizens in general, and may its influence be mighty on behalf of righteousness and justice and brotherhood in our own beloved nation and in the whole wide world.

These prayers we offer in the name of our Lord and for the sake of His Kingdom, first in our hearts and in the hearts of Thy people everywhere. Amen.

**Committee Re-assignments**

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair desires to announce the transfer of Brother Robert J. Tormey, Firemen and Oilers, from the Committee on State Organizations to the Committee on Resolutions.

The transfer of Delegate Paul R. Hutchings, representing the Office Workers Union, from the Committee on Resolutions to the Committee on State Organization.

The transfer of William Schoenberg, Cement Workers, from the Committee on Labels to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

**Re-Assignment of Resolution No. 42**

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I also wish to refer Resolution No. 42, previously assigned to the Committee on Resolutions, to the Committee on Adjustment.

**COMMUNICATIONS**

Secretary Meany read the following message:

Telaviv via RCA October 6, 1946

William Green, President  
AFL 65 Convention Morrison Hotel  
Chicago

Dear President Green, Associates and Delegates:

May your conference further your endeavors for social economic progress and international solidarity American labor in best tradition AFL and American democracy. We hope millions brothers AFL will succeed bring more peace, freedom, justice for suffering postwar world. Palestine Histadruths 162,000 members greet you, President Green, with deepest feelings. We will never forget your devotion to great national and social cause represented by pioneering Histadruth which building new free life based on self labor, self-defense colonization of neglected uncultivated land of Zion while constantly endeavoring raise of standard of living in whole Palestine. We are proud of your devoted efforts assist us and homeseeking remnants of Israel by your moral, political, organizational power. Permit us to express our feelings by quoting your words June 22, 1944, pronounced during days when six million Jewish lives were being destroyed. "We intend press with all our power and influence at Peace Conference for permanent establishment Palestine as Jewish national homeland." Now time has come when our nation under pressure of labor and its friends must say to Great Britain "You must now open the door of Palestine wide open not for 30, 60, 90 days out of year but for 365 days." We appreciate your tireless efforts for fulfillment of your own desire, which must be supported by labor and democracy everywhere. We appreciate your and AFL's staunch friendship during these black days of sending Jews back from shores of homeland, of searches and detentions, of abuse international mandatory obligations and reiterated obligations of British labor. We pray for success your domestic program and fulfillment aspiration American labor and common man. We pray for your success in abolishing White Paper regime. We are certain as in past you, together with our oppressed people and pioneers in Palestine, will jointly appeal and press until doors are opened wide for Jewish immigration until waste land is free for our resettlement until

Jewish homeland established basis social justice which prophets announced to humanity and which our pioneers trying fulfill in their lives. Shalom umoledet lakol. Peace and a homeland for all.

Histadruth executive,  
Sprinzak Mereminski

**The Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of  
Denver, Colorado**

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

I deem it a privilege to extend fraternal greetings and all good wishes to President William Green, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, all Vice-Presidents, and Delegates assembled at this convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Chicago, Illinois, on October 7, 1946.

We want to express our deep appreciation to the A. F. of L. and all its affiliated internationals, the New York State Federation of Labor, the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, the United Hebrew Trades of New York, and all City Central Bodies and Locals affiliated with the A. F. of L. You are helping our institution both morally and financially, thereby giving health, happiness and life itself to those tuberculous men and women who come to us from the ranks of labor, in their great hour of trial and need as your guests.

Wishing you a most successful convention, and may all your deliberations be crowned with success, I remain,

Sincerely and fraternally yours,  
R. Schwartz, National Supervisor

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I am pleased to present you this morning Sister Agnes Nestor, who represents the organizations here in Chicago, and in addition is a fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League at this convention. All of you know her, I am sure. She has been a regular attendant at conventions of the American Federation of Labor and has served the labor movement with distinction in various ways, particularly the Glove Workers International Union. I know she has a most interesting message for us this morning. I am pleased to present to you now Miss Agnes Nestor, fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League.

**MISS AGNES NESTOR  
(Fraternal Delegate, National Women's Trade Union League)**

Thank you, President Green.

As a delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League I bring you greetings from its members and affiliated members. Our National League was organized in Boston during the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1904—which we reminded you of on our 40th Anniversary when you again met in Boston. Coming here as your fraternal delegate I want to report briefly on

some of the work the League has been doing since your last convention, for the past two years,—and one of the years was a war-time year.

We have been concerned about women in the reconversion period. As you know during the war years the employment of women went from 13 million to 19 million, over a third of all civilian workers. Women's factory employment began to decline even before the close of the war but the sharp decrease came after V.J. day.

You may be interested to know what the employment picture is now, the changes from August 1945 to August 1946.

Factories lost more than 1½ million women since the war peak, but they still employ 620,000 more women than before the war, according to last spring's report. The employment losses for women included 236,000 from iron and steel factories, 166,000 from electrical machinery, 134,000 from other machinery, 396,000 from transportation equipment (largely aircraft and parts) and 116,000 from chemical plants—much of this for munitions.

In spite of all the women these industries had to let go, every one of them still employed, in April 1946, considerably larger numbers of women than before the war, although most of those have been thought of as largely men industries.

While women were being laid off in war industries there were renewed demands for their work in the usual women employments such as textiles, apparel and leather. These industries added more than 85,000 women to their work force from the spring of 1945 to the spring of 1946, and in April, 1946 they were employing over 120,000 more women than before the war.

Of course, most women leaving the war-industry jobs had to seek others. Frequently they did not find work as skilled as their war-time work. It was less skilled and did not offer as good wages as they received in war work.

For instance, in the first six months of 1946 more than 40 per cent of the placements of women through the USES were in various service occupations, another 20 per cent to 24 per cent in unskilled work, more than 20 per cent in clerical and sales jobs, and 12 per cent to 15 per cent in so-called semi-skilled jobs. The greatest demands are in those occupations and for operatives in consumer industries that long have been large employers of women such as textiles, apparel, shoes and electrical manufacturing, the factory occupations for which women are wanted.

The employer will be seeking women under 30 for clerical and sales work and we will have to meet all over again that problem of jobs for the older workers.

The employers must realize the capabilities of the older women workers. More of these

need jobs now, too. Women 35 and over constitute a larger proportion of the population than formerly—in fact by 1944 half of the female population of working age was over 37 years old. These women went into war work in increased proportions and at least many of the 35-50 bracket will remain women workers and even in the older age brackets.

Our League is concerned about the post-war period. There are the wage standards and many of the gains we have made to protect, and only through organization are our women members going to secure and maintain these things. The organizations represented here with women members know that only too well. Emphasis must be placed on organizing women; we want them to share in the responsibilities of their organizations and we are doing what we can to arouse them to do it.

The work of the Women's Trade Union League has shifted somewhat with the time. Many organizations here represented at one time were not able to carry their organization work among the women in their trade, and we did our part in aiding in that work. Most of these are well organized today and can carry on their work, but there will be other organizations who will need our assistance.

We feel one important role we play is in the field of public relations. We do this through our two-fold membership. We can reach out into other fields and interpret some of the issues that may not be understood by groups not directly related to our movement. It is important that these groups do understand, and that is a part of our work. The National League has as one of its channels its Monthly Bulletin, which has a wide circulation throughout the country and goes into many diverse groups. It does analyze, in a way needed, many of the issues we have from time to time that are so much misunderstood, and other information important to circulate.

Appearing before women's organizations and meeting with their representatives, as we do in so many joint committees, our public relations work is extended. This is not only through our National League but through our Local Leagues throughout the country.

Legislative work has been a large part of our work and we not only work for the laws of particular interest to women workers, but for a broad program affecting all workers. The laws for women we stress and sponsor, such as the Equal Pay Bills, and now we have one to press through Congress. In the States where we have Leagues they have done excellent work. New York pioneered in having domestic workers covered by the state compensation law. These workers have been, up to now, left out of all legislation and their need for protection is greatest. We have worked to have them covered under

social security as well as others not now covered.

The Middle West Conference of Women Trade Unionists called by our Leagues in Illinois and Wisconsin a few years ago, sent the first request to Washington for reducing the age of women to 60, or to five years younger than husbands, so that these women would not have to wait until reaching 65 to secure their share of social security benefits when their husbands retire, because so many are usually five or more years younger than their husbands. Now that provision has been accepted by all groups and has been one of the provisions in the bills in Congress to improve the Social Security Act.

I need not talk about the changes needed in that act, but it is imperative that we rally public support to increase the benefits and extend coverage as one of the prime needs today. We are no longer thinking in terms of just a change in the formula of figuring benefits so that we will have about \$8.00 a month increase in retirement benefits but in terms of real retirement benefits in line with those the railroad retirement act give to their workers.

Some of the legislation the National League has worked hard for and in some instances has been represented on joint committees to press for it has been: the National Health Bill, the Housing Bills, the bill to increase the minimum wage from 40 to 65 cents, Federal Aid to Education, Suffrage for the District of Columbia, Full Employment Bill, Fair Employment Practice Commission, the Poll Tax, Re-organization of Congress, O. P. A. continued while scarcity continues, Food for Freedom, Civilian Control of Atomic Energy, the British Loan and the Joint Resolution authorizing the membership of the United States in the Nation's Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on August 1.

This sounds very much like the program of the A. F. of L. and it does contain their major bills that we have worked together on with them. Besides working for bills, many of them not passed, we also had to put our efforts in opposing certain legislation. Outstanding in the bills we opposed were the Case Bill and the Equal Rights Amendment.

We are glad to be able to report that the Equal Rights Amendment was defeated at the close of the 79th Congress. While it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate the fight on that issue is by no means over. This amendment, if adopted, would destroy the labor laws and other protective legislation for women. The sponsors will continue their efforts, so we ask you again to reaffirm your opposition, because they are trying to wedge into the labor movement for support. We must not let any of our organizations be confused or misled into giving them any support. We do gratefully

acknowledge the fine support given us throughout this fight by the officers and legislative representatives of the A. F. of L. and its affiliates. This helped to defeat it.

We soon face another legislative struggle with a new Congress, all very uncertain now with our Congressional elections ahead. We have their legislative records, and by their deeds we shall know them. There will be new members, and their educational work has to be done again. It should start now with our special measures as issues in their elections.

I appreciate this opportunity of reporting to you and assure you of our continued cooperation in the big job ahead that we all have to work hard to do.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Thank you very much, Sister Nestor, for your address.

Now, we have a very interesting visitor here from abroad. I am glad to present him to you this morning. We have with us Brother G. Joustra of the Dutch Railwaymen's Union.

Brother Joustra was born in 1885 in Friesland-Holland. He entered the railway service in 1906 as a fireman. He was General Secretary of the Union of Locomotive Men until 1913. After fusion of this Union with the All-Grades Dutch Union of Railway and Tramway Men in April of 1918 he became Vice-President of this Union, and since 1940 has been the President.

He has been a member of the Railway Staff Council since 1926, and has been President of that organization since 1940. He is a member of the Executive Council of the International Transport Workers Federation. He is also a member of the General Council of the Dutch TUC.

That is a very fine record. I am pleased to present our visitor to you this morning who will speak, I know, in a most interesting and educational way.

Brother Joustra, please address the delegation now at this convention.

### **MR. G. JOUSTRA** (President, Dutch Union of Railway and Tramway Men)

Mr. Chairman and Friends:

The opportunity I had to visit this, your great land—the kind invitation from your side to attend this convention is indeed an honor for me and I would like to express myself in a few words.

I do this in behalf of all my fellow workers in The Netherlands, to bring first and to all a word of unlimited thanks from our side, for your heroic efforts and most helpful support during our mutual struggle against the most inhuman tactics of the Hitler regime and the days which followed.

Without that example of solidarity, it would have been, for instance, impossible for our railroad workers in The Netherlands to con-

duct a strike which began September 17, 1944, and which lasted for eight months—during the Nazi occupation.

That is all in the past, almost one year and a half ago, but still at the present time all over the world, labor has its serious difficulties to face.

It is certain we can't make a heaven in our own country and let the rest of the world shift for themselves.

The various sources of production are too closely interwoven, and six years of destructive war has left in all branches her deepest imprint.

As a result, it has brought labor in The Netherlands a clear vision and we came to the realization that only well-organized and international labor cooperation will be the way toward our common goal, to make this a better world to live in.

We, and among them American labor, as well as my fellow workers in The Netherlands, have within us that feeling for independent liberty which gives proof that we can't tolerate and cooperate with those who act in a dictatorial manner.

Your representative, Brother Irving Brown, who the first of July of this year visited the convention of our General Democratic Netherlands Trade Union, must and will admit that the above statement is deeply in earnest with us.

At this moment a delegation of the International Transport Workers is visiting the United States. The purpose of that visit is to try to convince workers in the field of transportation to join in the important work of the International Transportation Workers Federation, which always has been and remains a vigorous democratic institution.

Today, distance is absolutely no predominant obstacle any more against regular cooperation, and the economic as well as social problems more and more become mutual. The recognition of this becomes a necessary factor and we vigorously appeal for your complete and organized cooperation with us.

In conclusion, my best wishes for the success of this convention. May it also lead to our goal, namely, the full cooperation between trade unions in the New and Old World so as to preserve and enlarge the democratic rights and liberties for which we fought and won the war.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Thank you, Brother Joustra, for your visit with us this morning and for this most interesting address. I hope that you may find it possible to visit with us for as long a period as possible.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements.

### **RESOLUTIONS**

**SECRETARY MEANY:** I wish to announce the receipt of the following resolutions which have been received and which do not require unanimous consent. From the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Auxiliary Unions, Labor Relations Workers, Amnesty for Conscientious Objectors. From the Metal Trades Department: Stove Mounters International Union.

The following resolutions requiring unani-

mous consent are presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for these resolutions by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council.

The resolutions are titled: Palestine, Civil Rights, Pipe-Fitting Trades, Jurisdictional Board, Eliminate Communists from Government Service, Government Employees Extend Thanks to the American Federation of Labor, United States Civil Service Commission, Application of Seniority Principles to all Federal Employees, Indiscriminate Governmental Firing, Abuse of Government Personnel, Multiplicity of Taxation, Modernization of Compensation Act, Postal Rural Carrier Allowance Increase, Postal Rural Carrier Substitute Status, 25-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees, Higher Standards in Government Employment, Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service, Salary Increase for Government Employees, Increase for Federal Annuitants, Discrimination Against Minorities, Food for Freedom.

If there is no objection from the floor, the resolutions will be introduced and referred to the appropriate committees.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Are there any objections to concurrence in the recommendations made that these resolutions be considered by the convention?

Hearing no objection, the resolutions will be referred to the appropriate committees and acted upon by this convention.

(The resolutions above referred to are found at the end of this day's proceedings.)

### Announcement

The Chair desires to announce the appointment of Delegate John F. Griner of the American Federation of Government Employees to the Committee on Education.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany for an announcement.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** I have been requested to remind you to listen to the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers regular weekly "Manpower" radio program on Thursday night over Radio Station WCFL at 9:15. These programs are doing a splendid job for the American Federation of Labor movement, and are well worth your listening—you'll find it highly entertaining dramatic entertainment. Be sure and hear it, and tell your friends to tune in also. The program is "Manpower"—the station is WCFL here in Chicago—and the time is Thursday nights at 9:15.

I wish to announce, at the request of the representative of the Post Office Department, that there is quite a good deal of mail out here for the various delegates at this convention. Those of you who have any reason to believe that you would receive mail here at the hotel would do well to stop at the post office and inquire.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now, in conformity with an announcement I made on yesterday, we will be privileged to listen to what I know will be a highly educational and interesting address from the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor, Judge Joseph A. Padway.

He has been living with our difficult legislative problems for a great length of time, and I am sure I am not making an exaggerated statement when I say that there is no attorney, in my judgment, in our entire country who possesses a keener understanding of our problems and the legislation and the statutes which affect the activities and the standing of organized labor. He has made a wonderful record for us, has succeeded in winning favorable decisions for labor continuously in the courts of the nation. We will always be under everlasting obligation to our friend, Judge Padway, for the excellent legal service he has rendered labor throughout the United States of America.

I am pleased to present to you this morning our General Counsel, Judge Padway.

### ADDRESS OF JUDGE JOSEPH A. PADWAY

(General Counsel of American Federation of Labor)

President Green, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It has been my custom during the last several years in addressing this convention to give you a review of the highlight developments in labor law; to discuss the impact of labor legislation that has been enacted or proposed and to talk over with you the significance and implications of important decisions by influential courts.

I should like somewhat to modify my customary approach today. I should like to begin my remarks with, and to emphasize throughout this discussion, an elementary and fundamental proposition—the basic right to strike.

#### Basic Right to Strike

I do this because there is a lot of palaver being spread about the right to strike, and it is eminently dangerous palaver that must be seen in its true light and effectively checked unless great and vicious harm be done to our trade union movement and unless the freedom upon which all American workers and all American citizens flourish be destroyed.

I cannot emphasize too greatly either the extent of the danger that confronts us or its viciously fraudulent substance. Part of the danger lies in the devilishly clever technique that has been recently adopted. No longer do the enemies of trade unionism use persons known as reactionaries publicly to mouth their opposition to the rights and gains of labor. Instead, they put to the forefront men who have won distinction and acclaim as broad-minded and progressive liberals. These men appear at public forums, over the radio and elsewhere and make loud protestations against

labor's aims and labor's methods, but superficially clothe their anti-labor designs in the language of liberalism. They hide behind that language and behind reputations they have attained as friends of laboring people to destroy liberalism and to demolish the rights of labor. For example, only a few weeks ago a man who had achieved notable distinction as a fighting and effective progressive some years ago, but who has since completely reversed his liberal outlook and approach—I refer to Mr. Donald R. Richberg—was one of the guest speakers at the Atlantic City meeting of the National Petroleum Association, where he delivered himself of remarks that must indeed have pleased and received the enthusiastic endorsement of his distinguished audience. He told them that "unless legal limitations are imposed on the right to strike, the constitutional, democratically-controlled Government of the United States will become subservient to an unconstitutional, undemocratic, irresponsible government by organized labor." But lest he be thought an enemy of labor for using such severe and harsh language, lest he thereby would seem to have shed his liberal cloak, he made sure to throw a sop to the lenders of labor. He graciously added in his speech, "Most of these labor leaders are quite sincere. They simply do not understand that legalized labor monopolies are . . . destructive of a free economy. . . . They simply do not understand that a ruling class of labor bosses is just as undemocratic as a ruling class of feudal lords or business barons."

I am here to say that it ill behooves Mr. Richberg even to mention the sincerity of others and I am here to say, and I say it proudly and with the utmost conviction, that most labor leaders have a far greater understanding of the actual facts of our economy and its relationship to the elements of justice and fair play than all the anti-labor leaders who have chosen Donald R. Richberg as their heroic champion.

How can I adequately describe and castigate the ironic inconsistency of Donald R. Richberg saying in one breath that we must preserve democracy and in the next breath that democracy will be preserved by limiting or abolishing the most democratic right known to man, the right to quit one's work when one feels unjustly or unfairly treated, the right to strike?

No matter how fancy or learned the language that they employ, no matter how distinguished the reputation of those they employ to employ that language, it is still palaver, and it is urgently important that you, the representatives of the strongest and freest trade union movement known in the history of man, recognize and publish that plain and simple fact throughout the world.

Freedom is not a new word; freedom is not a new ideal to challenge courageous, imaginative and stout hearts; freedom is something that brave men have sought from the earliest beginnings of recorded history.

To this day the dramatic biblical story of Exodus remains an inspiration to men the world over. The enslaved children of Israel struck a mighty blow for freedom when they rose up in unity against Pharaoh, their oppressive master. Theirs was the first great strike in history, and from that day on the

right to strike has been synonymous with freedom in the minds of men everywhere.

Throughout the dark Middle Ages, throughout the cruel and harsh period of the industrial revolution men strove and yearned and even died for the right to be free, the right to seek their happiness in their own way, the right to work for persons of their own choice, and the right to work under conditions they found acceptable to them. And their striving, yearning and sacrifices were not in vain. With the advance and expansion of the great ideas and institutions of Christianity and democracy, freedom and the right to strike were realized in many places and enjoyed by many men, and nowhere more so than in this blessed and beloved country. But freedom attained is not, unfortunately, self-perpetuating. We have learned, at most grievous cost, that our heritage of freedom would be violently snatched from us and lost unless, with the same militant spirit that actuated those who first won freedom, we ourselves vigorously maintained it and jealously and continuously guarded it against its dangerous enemies who, at the first sign of weakness, are prepared to take and destroy it. When Adolph Hitler let loose his black and evil fury on the world, the American Federation of Labor was among the first to recognize that as a supreme challenge to freedom. President Green, thinking and speaking on behalf of the millions of members of the American Federation of Labor, stated the truth in stirring words. He told us what the war really meant. He said that it was "a mortal contest between forced labor and free labor," and in those discouraging days following Pearl Harbor he confidently assured the world that the American worker—fully aware of the vital importance of that contest to himself and to his posterity—would conclusively show his devotion to freedom.

I need hardly tell this audience that the American worker came through with flying colors. Unstintedly, he gave his blood, his skill and his energy. He met and overcame every obstacle, no matter how imposing and how difficult. Daily he made heroic sacrifices and he did so willingly and smilingly. All this he did and more, so that the freedom he cherished would remain intact and unswayed.

Having thus been gloriously triumphant, the American worker does not now seek the plaudits and laurels of military victory. But this he does demand, on this he will insist with the same valiant determination with which he fought and won the war, namely, that his right to live and breathe and work as a free man shall remain completely inviolate.

I speak these elemental and self-evident truths as your general counsel because the signs are many—all too many—that the freedoms American labor has preserved against the military onslaught of Hitler and Tojo are now being subtly invaded by those who pretend to be friends and who speak and act in the name of law and order.

#### Governor Tuck and the Militia

One of the first disquieting signs was the unprecedented action of the tyrannical Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Governor William M. Tuck. There, the employees of the Virginia Electric and Power Company,



all members of a local of the IBEW, had been in long negotiations with their employer. The company had made a firm commitment respecting the payment of back wages and then sought to back down on its promise, thereby precipitating the possibility of strike action. Instead of denouncing the company for welching on its own commitment, Governor Tuck publicly launched a bitter attack on the workers and their leaders, raised the childish and unfounded bogeyman that the Commonwealth of Virginia was being invaded by "ruthless labor dictators from the North," and then took the drastic measure of drafting every employee of the company into the so-called unorganized militia of the State so that they would be compelled to work for the private profit of others under threat of military bayonet and court-martial. Had the vicious maneuver on the part of Governor Tuck proved successful, then he would have forged an anti-labor weapon compared to which the company union, the "yellow dog" contract, the sweat shop and the industrial spy would have seemed mild and ineffective indeed. More than that, he would have restored the very condition of military tyranny which brought on the great American Revolution. I have every reason to believe that the workers of Virginia would not have been cowed by this vicious attempt at military dictatorship. I have every reason to believe that the federal courts, to which I was fully prepared to go, would have stayed the aggressive hand of Governor Tuck had he attempted to go through with his ill-conceived plan. However, in spite of this unfair impending threat, the union patiently continued its negotiations and at the last moment the company yielded and agreed to live up to its promise, thereby avoiding a strike. But it remained overwhelmingly significant, something of which we must take alert notice, that in this day and age the chief executive of one of the United States of America should even attempt a move so arrogantly and flagrantly in conflict with democracy and freedom, and we must and shall resist such attempts with the same fervor and success that characterized our recent war effort.

Unfortunately, Governor Tuck's action was not an isolated instance of efforts to limit or destroy the right to strike.

The judiciary which was responsible for the evil of "government by injunction," and which had to be and was curbed by federal and state anti-injunction acts, has recently shown a strong tendency to restrain peaceful quitting of work by the issuance of drastic injunctions against striking.

#### Pittsburgh Light Company Injunction

The most recent and dramatic example is the case involving the employees of the Duquesne Light Company of Pittsburgh. An independent union was having difficulty with the light company, which is a private utility corporation, over a demand for wage increases and a revision of a pension plan. The controversy led to a strike; whereupon the city, on the claim of public welfare, applied to the state courts for an injunction and obtained it, commanding that the strike be called off and prohibiting striking and picketing. When the president of the independent union refused to call off the strike and apologize to the

court for referring to the injunction as a "scrap of paper," he was adjudged in contempt and sentenced to jail for one year. The court later dissolved the injunction and released the president of the union.

What else was this but strike-breaking by judicial decree and the imposition of involuntary servitude? It was the return to the good old days of "government by injunction." Pennsylvania has a state anti-injunction act patterned after the federal Norris-LaGuardia Act. Yet the court issued this injunction *ex parte*, that is, without a hearing, solely on the basis of one-sided affidavits by representatives of the company. The president of the union was haled before the judges who issued the injunction, and without jury trial he was committed to jail for contempt of court. These anti-injunction acts have frequently been construed by various courts, and if one thing is clear, it is this: that the courts have been deprived of jurisdiction to issue injunctions in these labor disputes. The injunction in this case prohibited even peaceful picketing; yet in the case of *Thornhill v. Alabama* and in the case of *Carlson v. California* the United States Supreme Court stated most clearly that peaceful picketing was merely the exercise of freedom of speech and constitutionally protected.

The precise language of the United States Supreme Court in the *Thornhill* case is:

"Freedom of discussion, if it would fulfill its historic function in this nation, must embrace all issues about which information is needed or appropriate to enable the members of society to cope with the exigencies of their period.

"In the circumstances of our times the dissemination of information concerning the facts of a labor union dispute must be regarded as within that area of free discussion that is guaranteed by the Constitution. *Hague v. C. I. O.*, 307 U. S. 496; *Schneider v. State*, 308 U. S. 147, 155, 162-63. See *Senn v. Tile Layers Union*, 301 U. S. 468, 478. It is recognized now that satisfactory hours and wages and working conditions in industry and a bargaining position which makes these possible have an importance which is not less than the interests of those in the business or industry directly concerned. The health of the present generation and of those as yet unborn may depend on these matters, and the practices in a single factory may have economic repercussions upon a whole region and affect widespread systems of marketing. The merest glance at state and federal legislation on the subject demonstrates the force of the argument that labor relations are not matters of mere local or private concern. Free discussion concerning the conditions in industry and the causes of labor disputes appear to us indispensable to the effective and intelligent use of the processes of popular government to shape the destiny of modern industrial society. The issues raised by regulations, such as are challenged here, infringing upon the right of employees effectively to inform the public of the facts of a labor dispute are part of this larger problem. We concur in the observation of Mr. Justice Brandeis, speaking for the court in *Senn's* case (301 U. S. at 478): 'Mem-



bers of a union might, without special statutory authorization, by a State, make known the facts of a labor dispute, for freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Federal Constitution."

And in the *Carlson* case the court said:

"... publicizing the facts of a labor dispute in a peaceful way through appropriate means, whether by pamphlet, by word of mouth or by banner, must now be regarded as within that liberty of communication which is secured to every person by the Fourteenth Amendment against abridgment by a state."

It is fortunate for labor, and for the citizenry as a whole, that this Pittsburgh injunction was dissolved, for I cannot conceive that labor and the people of this Nation would accept, without a vigorous struggle, this autocratic and tyrannical invasion of fundamental constitutional rights by judges.

But as I have pointed out, this tendency now prevails among a number of judges and, unless checked immediately, will be the means of bringing back "government by injunction."

#### Labor Legislation

Most disheartening, too, is the fact that the last Congress and many state legislatures have considered a host of anti-strike proposals and actually passed several, which would seem to give encouragement to reactionaries, such as Governor Tuck of Virginia and judges such as those who issued the injunction in the *Duquesne Light Company* case. For that reason I now address myself to the subject of recent labor legislation.

I cannot recall any previous two-year period in congressional history where so many anti-labor measures were brought before Congress as were brought during the last Congress. I am informed by the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor that there were pending in the last Congress over 160 bills adversely affecting the interests of labor. The question immediately arises—why were there so many anti-labor bills introduced in Congress, and why did so many of them seek to destroy fundamental and constitutionally guaranteed rights of labor? To properly understand the situation and to obtain a correct answer, we must delve somewhat into past history; particularly is it necessary to make comparison between the industrial situation during World War I and World War II.

It will be recalled that during World War I hundreds of thousands of the workers of the Nation became union-conscious. They decided that their welfare could be improved only by forming and joining unions of their choice, and they did form and join uncontrolled, non-employer-dominated trade unions. Membership in the American Federation of Labor grew in excess of four million. Employers whose workers had never before been unionized became alarmed. Employers sought to combat this surge toward unionization. They, too, increased and strengthened their own organizations for the purpose of combatting this union growth. Employers and their organizations decided that, since their workers wanted unions, they (the employers) would give them unions. And thus there was

established on a large scale the company union, dominated and controlled by the employer.

The employers gave these organizations very catchy names. Some were known as "Employee Mutual Benefit Associations"; others were designated as "Athletic Associations," but their main object was bargaining; and many were wrapped up in the flag and given high-sounding patriotic designations; in fact, the company union came to be known as "The American Plan." Employers found that these high-sounding names appealed to employees. Somehow, Americans, with their fine sense of humor, take kindly to slogans, as, for instance, "two cars in every garage"—"a chicken in every pot"—"he kept us out of war." In the city I come from, a slogan has contributed greatly to its fame—it is "the beer that made Milwaukee famous."

During World War I employers had other means for destroying trade unions or their effectiveness. The employer had as an ally the reactionary judge who was always ready to issue an ex parte injunction to prevent striking, picketing, boycotting, and so forth, when their employees found these means necessary to obtain just working conditions. It will be recalled that in the great railroad strike of 1922, over 350 ex parte injunctions were issued upon the application of railroads. The injunction enabled the employer to proceed against his employees with contempt proceedings for alleged violations, and thus subject workers to trial and punishment without a jury. Likewise during World War I, it was lawful for employers to refuse to employ workers, and to discharge or otherwise discriminate against them on the sole ground that they were members of a union. The employers also had the advantage of the so-called "yellow-dog" contract by which workers were made to agree that during the term of their employment they would not join or become a member of a non-employer-dominated union.

Labor was thus exposed to the onslaughts of anti-labor employers, Chambers of Commerce, Merchants and Manufacturers Associations, all of whom preached the open-shop philosophy. It was easy, therefore, for these reactionary forces, during and immediately following World War I, to prevent workers from joining unions of their choice. Likewise, they were able to destroy or render ineffective existing unions. This onslaught upon labor reduced the A. F. of L. membership by two million of the wartime figure.

But labor girded its forces and became particularly active in the political field. It elected representatives favorable to its cause, and through this method it was able to propose to Congress and to many state legislatures measures which sought to protect the fundamental rights of the workers of the Nation. Labor realized that it must first secure laws protecting it against the destructive devices of court injunctions; it realized that it must secure through legislation guarantee of the right to organize free from coercive practices of employers. Thus, two outstanding federal acts, embracing these and other fundamental rights of labor, were presented to Congress.

#### Passage of Norris-LaGuardia Act

First came the Norris-LaGuardia Act. That act had for its purpose the abolition of the

labor injunction. It accomplished this by depriving federal courts of equity jurisdiction to issue injunctions in labor disputes unless certain conditions precedent were complied with. For instance, hearings in open court were required before an injunction could be issued, thus doing away with the *ex parte* injunction. It required all judges to make certain findings of fact and to weigh the equities of the dispute before they could acquire jurisdiction to issue injunctions. It did not permit the court to act as a police club on the theory that an injunction was necessary to maintain peace. That, the act said, is the duty of the police department. Above all, it defined a "labor dispute" in terms that protected the rights of all workers involved or interested in the dispute regardless of whether they stood in the proximate relation of employer and employee. Previously, courts had issued injunctions against employees who were not in the direct employ of the employer on the theory that these persons were not parties to the labor dispute. The Norris-LaGuardia Act is a great and just law, for it removed the fear and the jail sentences for contempt which continually hung over the heads of workers when they were in controversy with employers over wages, hours and working conditions.

#### Passage of National Labor Relations Act

But the anti-injunction act was not sufficient to afford labor its full rights of organization. Even with the Norris-LaGuardia Act employers were within their lawful rights to conduct open shops and to discharge and discriminate against employees for mere membership in a union. Employers were within their rights in refusing to bargain with their employees. They could exercise coercion in many other ways to prevent employees from joining unions of their choice. Once again labor appealed to Congress to remove these injustices, and Congress did, in 1935, pass the second great labor law—the National Labor Relations Act. This act guarantees to employees the right to be free from coercion of the employer in the matter of unionizing. If an employer now threatens or coerces employees with loss of jobs, demotion, or other loss of rights because the employee joins a union, the employer is guilty of unfair labor practices and can be ordered to cease. Employers are now obliged to bargain in good faith with their employees. Thus, the law now guarantees to employees the right to organize and freely join unions of their choice. These two fundamental laws which I have referred to also wiped out the "yellow dog" contract and restored workers to a free, uncontrolled status of employment.

#### Attack Upon Labor By Anti-Trust Laws

With these restrictions placed upon employers, they began thinking of how to overcome them. They knew that it would be impossible to effectuate the repeal of them at that time, so they decided to induce the government, through the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, to institute anti-trust suits against labor unions for the purpose of outlawing well-recognized and protected rights of American workers. They were able to induce the then Assistant Attorney General, head of the Anti-Trust Divi-

sion, Mr. Thurman Arnold, to institute a flood of civil and criminal suits against unions. Mr. Arnold fought the unions vigorously but, fortunately for our unions, the United States Supreme Court rejected his wild economic theories and decided in favor of the unions. The Carpenters, the Teamsters and the Painters International Unions were all prosecuted under the anti-trust laws, and I am happy to say Mr. Arnold lost out in all. The court refused to remove from the anti-trust laws the protective exemptions in favor of labor's rights. The court gave full weight to the opening phrase in Section 6 of the Clayton Act, which says "that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

#### Attack Upon Labor By State Legislation

Employers, being defeated in this attempt to deprive labor of its fundamental rights, thought of another plan—the introduction of new legislation to remove the protection labor had achieved through existing federal legislation. Here again, employers sensed that it would be impossible to repeal existing beneficial laws while the then federal administration was in office, so they organized a number of fake state associations like the Associated Farmers, the Christian American Association, and others, and had these organizations foster a slew of anti-labor laws in state legislatures. Farm representatives were the ones generally chosen to introduce and sponsor these anti-labor bills. In 1943, such laws were introduced in 22 states, and about 12 of them, in one form or another, were passed.

These state anti-labor laws had a basic plan. The theory was to accomplish four objectives:

1. To compel incorporation or licensing or registration of unions and their business agents.
2. To set up codes for the regulation of the internal affairs of unions by the state.
3. To make striking dependent on a majority vote of all the employees of an employer.
4. To amend state constitutions so as to outlaw the closed shop.

It will be observed that the basic concept of the foregoing plan as a whole was to destroy unions through government control. First, the idea of incorporating or licensing unions and their business agents was to permit the state to refuse a license whenever it felt so disposed, and secondly, to revoke licenses after they had been issued when it felt so disposed. Thus, by this control exercised by the state, unions could be denied existence or put out of existence, and the same with respect to their business agents and representatives. I believe that two years ago I discussed with you in some detail this employer plan of setting up codes regulating the internal affairs of unions by the state. You will recall that these codes contained dozens of "do's" and "don'ts" which it would be difficult for any union to comply with. These codes, among other things, fixed the amount of initiation fees that could be charged by a union; the dues that might be charged; the monies that could be spent; they required the filing of detailed financial accounts for public inspection; disciplinary action taken by the unions against members was subject

to complete court supervision; meetings and conventions had to be held as fixed by state laws (generally it provided that a convention had to be held each year). The third part of the plan—making a strike dependent upon a majority vote of all the employees—was adopted for the purpose of making strikes difficult, and in many instances impossible. This provision in the laws denied to a minority who had a just grievance the right to strike in furtherance of such grievance. Further, the wording of this clause in most of the laws would have meant that the employees working for the Standard Oil Company in Los Angeles, and having a grievance for which they desired to strike, would have to secure the consent not only of a majority of Los Angeles employees of the company, but a majority of those working all over the United States and in other countries in order to go on strike. The fourth element of the plan was to outlaw the all-union-shop contract erroneously termed the "closed-shop" contract. These were to be outlawed even though the employer and the union desired voluntarily to enter into such contract.

With respect to the all-union-shop contract, laws outlawing the same have been adopted by referendum vote in Florida and Arkansas and by legislative action in South Dakota. The Florida law is now in litigation and will ultimately be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the final decision will have to be made. Arkansas has not passed an enabling act, and thus the constitutional amendment is not being enforced. With respect to South Dakota, the unions there are awaiting the outcome in the Florida case before deciding on a course of attack on this law. It is my own opinion that the United States Supreme Court will declare these so-called "anti-closed-shop" laws unconstitutional, because it seems to me that it is a constitutional right of an employer and a union voluntarily to enter into a closed-shop agreement and any law which denies that right is arbitrary and unreasonable. Only last week we argued the constitutional questions involved in the Florida law before Circuit Judge Parks at Tampa, and we are awaiting his decision.

Since my report on the status of state anti-labor legislation two years ago, I have this to add—that the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with many State Federations of Labor, has litigated many of these state laws, and that the outcome has resulted in a tremendous success for the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates. The Colorado law was defeated practically in its entirety. The major provisions of the Alabama law were invalidated by the Supreme Court of Alabama. The same is true of Texas, and Texas did have a most vicious law. The Kansas law was stricken down in its major provisions; the laws of Idaho and South Dakota likewise were held to be invalid. Such portions of the Florida general anti-labor law (this does not include the anti-closed-shop constitutional amendment) as have been tested have likewise been invalidated by the Supreme Court of the United States—I am referring to the licensing and registration provisions. These state anti-labor laws involved the American Federation of Labor in a costly, prolonged legal fight, and in some respects it is

still continuing, but, as I have said, up to the present time we have been very successful and the outcome is most gratifying.

The employers and their associations, having failed to destroy labor in their efforts until then, were greatly disheartened; however, they decided to put into force their most recent attempt to destroy the trade union movement of the country. This they have sought to do and are seeking to do by the enactment of national legislation; and this brings me to the most important part of my talk, namely, recent national legislation affecting the trade union movement of the country, and it is from this last plan that we can readily make comparison with the employers' anti-labor plans of World War I, and we will discern the similarity in technique for the same ultimate objective—the weakening and destruction of the trade union movement in this country.

#### Attack Upon Labor in Congress

Earlier in my talk I stated that never before in the history of this Nation has any Congress considered so many anti-labor bills. It would indeed be most interesting to discuss many of them, but this is impossible. Some, however, proved more vicious than others. For instance, among them were:

1. The Ahrens Bill which sought to repeal the Smith-Connally Act and substitute a new bill containing many worse features than the Smith-Connally Act.
2. The much-discussed Hatch-Ball-Burton Bill.
3. The wicked Hobbs Bill.
4. The Norton Anti-Labor Bill.
5. The Case Bill.
6. The Lea Bill.
7. The President's Emergency Draft Bill.

I cannot discuss in detail even the bills I have just referred to, but two or three are of such vital importance to labor that I shall endeavor to explain the effect of these upon the labor movement.

The reason I class this portion of my talk as the most important is because, regardless of the fact that some of these bills were defeated, they are still of great concern to labor, for each and every day Congressmen opposed to labor have, through the press and speeches, announced their intention to reintroduce these bills in the next Congress. Likewise, many state legislatures will meet in January, and you can expect these and similar bills to be introduced in the state legislatures. It behooves us, therefore, to thoroughly understand the import of these measures and to be on the alert respecting them.

#### The Ahrens Bill

The Ahrens Bill seeks to repeal the Smith-Connally Act. As organized labor well knows, the Smith-Connally Act was intended as a willful and malicious insult to labor. That was vigorously pointed out by President Roosevelt when he vetoed the bill. It was premised on the false implication that labor was unpatriotic and had to be compelled by law to work during wartime. The sponsors of the bill have since admitted that it was unnecessary and useless; these same sponsors introduced, through Representative Ahrens,

another bill to repeal the Smith-Connally Act. But even after realizing that the original bill was contrary to the best interests of the Nation, they wanted to use the repealer as a vehicle for the passage of a substitute which, though dealing with other subjects, was equally wicked, unjust and intended to hamstring labor. The repeal bill provides, among other things, that unions shall be responsible for alleged breaches of contract. Much has been said about union responsibility and union liability for breach of agreement. There is a distinction between union responsibility and union liability. It is the responsibility of a union to make all endeavor to see that its members live up to the agreement that the union has made on behalf of the members. Unions are the agents of their membership in negotiating and concluding collective-bargaining agreements. The membership constitutes the "principal" in the transaction. The collective-bargaining agreement differs from other agreements. So long as the workers are members of the union and in the employ of the employer with whom the contract is made, it is their duty to honor the contract and not violate it. But the employees may leave and others may take their place, which gives the contract a peculiar and different status. It is not my purpose to dwell on the legal phases in this talk. Regardless of the legal liabilities for breach, the Ahrens Bill provided some unique penalties. For instance, if the union breached its agreement, it lost its status as a bargaining agent. In other words, the union was practically out of business; and this was in addition to the liability for money damages on account of the breach. The employer suffered no similar loss of business; he would merely be liable for damages, but he did not lose his business. Then the provision was so worded that not only would damages accrue to the particular employer with whom the union had the agreement in event of breach, but any other persons who, indirectly, might have suffered damage by virtue of the breach could likewise recover damages. Thus, an endless chain of suits for claims and damages could be imposed upon the union, with the inevitable result that the union would thereby be wrecked. The bill also contains a clause prohibiting political contributions on the part of unions. This clause is so broad that unions could very well be prohibited from endeavoring to prevent the election of Congressmen or other federal officials who were responsible for bills which would destroy and outlaw labor unions. All in all, it was a bad bill, and we may be gratified that it died with the adjournment of Congress.

#### The Hatch-Ball-Burton Bill

Much has been said and written concerning the Hatch-Ball-Burton Bill. One fine morning the people of the country awoke to newspaper headlines informing the Nation that Senators Hatch, Ball and Burton had sponsored a bill dealing with industrial relations. A mere hasty reading of the bill caused great alarm, particularly among the workers of the Nation. The bill was supposed to be the product of an impartial study made by a committee of experts. On investigation it was found that the persons who composed the

Committee were far from impartial individuals. Some were, but the majority had special clients and interests whom they were serving. Mr. Donald Richberg, who claimed to be the chief advisor on draftsmanship and policy, is known to be the attorney for many large corporations. True, he was also counsel for some of the railroad unions at one time, but his major connections are with large industry. It is a complex bill consisting of 59 printed pages. It would be impossible to discuss it in detail. It contains many of the bad provisions which have been included in state enactments and which I discussed with you two years ago and briefly today. Some of the outstanding bad features of the bill were "compulsory arbitration" of labor disputes and the establishment of "cooling-off" periods of long duration before workers could quit work or strike over grievances. The bill was so bad that, as I am informed, several of Mr. Richberg's industrial clients opposed it, as did other large industrialists and their lawyers. Certainly, they did not want compulsory arbitration. As a result of this pressure, Senators Hatch and Ball introduced a new Hatch-Ball Bill eliminating those features which may have proved detrimental to industry, but retained all of the bad features affecting labor.

#### The Hobbs Bill

This bill has plagued labor for over four years. Representative Hobbs kept on introducing and revising this bill until it was passed by the last Congress. The first draft of the bill was extremely vicious and would have made criminal many lawful and peaceful practices engaged in by labor in furtherance of legitimate labor disputes. Hobbs and the sponsors of the bill claimed that it sought to make robbery and extortion, when committed in interstate commerce criminal acts. One must inquire why was it necessary to have a federal law respecting robbery and extortion when every State in the Union has statutes making robbery and extortion crimes. The malice inherent in the bill is manifest when the debates showed conclusively that it was intended to apply only to labor, and that it was an amendment of the so-called anti-racketeering act. The malice behind the bill is further emphasized by the fact that the crimes as defined are made felonies, with penalties for violation of the law consisting of imprisonment up to 20 years, a fine of \$10,000, and both may be imposed in the discretion of the judge. Labor has never condoned robbery and extortion, but it is quite clear from the activities and statements of those who sponsored this bill that their real purpose is to hamstring lawful activities on the part of labor when it is engaged in labor disputes. This bill also makes certain classes of assaults, which ordinarily are disposed of in Police Courts with a five dollar fine, to constitute felonies with the same penalties I have referred to. Here again, every State has laws against fraud, force or violence, and in that respect the bill is wholly unnecessary.

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliates sought to defeat this measure and were able for four years to prevent its passage. But on a certain day, when there were very few Senators present in the Senate and a lull had taken place, and the friends of

labor were not present, the bill was called up and passed. Fortunately for labor, during the pendency of the bill, the American Federation of Labor had prepared an amendment, which had previously been made part of the bill. This amendment, to quite a degree, lessened the harmfulness of the bill. The amendment provided, among other things, that all protective rights as found in the Railway Labor Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Anti-Trust Act and the National Labor Relations Act, are preserved to labor. The President, in signing the bill, submitted an explanatory statement, quoting the Attorney General to the effect that the bill as amended would not deprive labor of its previous and existing legitimate rights in furtherance of labor disputes. This construction will, to quite a degree, prevent courts from perverting the law so as to deprive workers of rights which the original Hobbs Bill sought to take away from them. But even in its amended form the Hobbs Bill is a bad bill. It, too, may be characterized as an implied insult to labor, and the Executive Council's report states that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates will work for its repeal.

#### The Norton Anti-Labor Bill

This bill was a keen disappointment to labor because it had the backing of the President. Never was a President more imposed upon than was Mr. Truman when he was induced to sponsor a bill of this sort. It might be well to relate a little of the history which caused the President to suggest a bill of this kind. In November, 1945, the President called, and there was held in Washington, a Management-Labor Conference. It lasted about three weeks. Its purpose was to bring about an agreement between management and labor on certain fundamental principles which would eliminate labor strife. The Conference was not an entire success; it was productive of some good, but not as much as the President expected. As advisors to the Conference there were several professors who felt that one of the best means of eliminating labor strife would be to set up fact-finding boards in labor disputes. It is my opinion that these professors were the most potent force in selling the President on the idea of so-called "fact-finding boards." Much can be said pro and con with respect to fact-finding boards if confined only to fact-finding as an aid to the settlement of labor disputes. However, what was proposed to go with fact-finding when the actual bill was presented made of it an entirely different thing. Those who framed the Norton Bill actually adopted some of the major objectionable principles which were included in the Hatch-Ball-Burton Bill. Two of the most destructive principles of labor's rights which were found in the Hatch-Ball-Burton Bill were the provisions for "cooling-off" periods, and virtual repeal of the Norris-LaGuardia Act so as to reinvest the courts with the right to issue injunctions in labor disputes, thus bringing back the evil of "government by injunction." While the bill confined the fact-finding boards to disputes involving the national public interest, there was no definition of this term, and numerous disputes, some of an inconsequential nature, could very well be designated as in-

volving public interest. Once a dispute was so designated, and referred to a Board, workers were deprived of the right to strike for a period of 30 days. This is the so-called "cooling-off" period, but whether it is designated "cooling-off" or given some other term or designation it amounts to the same thing, and that is, involuntary servitude. Its effect would be to compel employees to work against their will for a period of at least 30 days. Now involuntary servitude is prohibited by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It does not matter whether one is compelled to work against his will for 30 days, 30 hours, 30 minutes, or 30 seconds—it is still involuntary servitude. It is a violation of the constitutional guarantee against slavery, just as it would be a violation of the guarantee of freedom of the press if a newspaper were shut down for 30 days or for any lesser period. Likewise, the provision played into the hands of employers in that many disputes over wages, hours and working conditions would be won by the employer if his employees were compelled to continue working for 30 days. Many jobs over which there were disputes could be completed in that time. In limited construction jobs, in the canning industry, in the making of masters for musical records, 30 days is all that would be required to complete a project. Section 4 of the Norton Bill is, in my opinion, one of the most illegal, unconstitutional and immoral provisions ever included in a bill. It would be well for me to refer to the bill itself. Section 4(a)(1) reads

"the parties to such dispute shall continue or resume work and operations under the terms and conditions of employment which were in effect immediately prior to the beginning of such dispute, . . ."

Section 4 (a) (2) reads

"it shall be unlawful for any person to coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with, or encourage any person to interfere with or prevent such work or operations by lock-out, strike, or otherwise, or to aid any such lock-out or strike or other means of interfering with or preventing such work or operations by giving direction or guidance, or by providing funds for the conduct or direction thereof or for the payment of strike or other benefits to those participating therein."

It will be observed that not only must workers continue at work during the so-called "cooling-off" period, but if they have already quit they must "resume" work or be considered in violation of the bill.

Section 2 is most amazing. Actually, it would prohibit meetings by the union to discuss the nature of the controversy. It would prohibit officers of unions from directing or guiding their members. It would prohibit a father from discussing the matter with his son and agreeing not to work. Most harsh of all is the prohibition against payment of strike or other benefits to persons who have quit work. It reminds us of the oldtime federal court injunctions of the type and kind issued against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison in the Buck Stove & Range Company case, and of those issued in the railroad strike

of 1922; of the type and kind condemned by Congress when it considered and passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The Committee referred to the infamous injunctions in the *Duplex Printing Press* and *Bedford Stone Company* cases. It is well to recall what Justice Brandeis said of the injunction in the *Bedford Stone Company* case:

"If, on the undisputed facts of this case, refusal to work can be enjoined, Congress created by the Sherman Law and the Clayton Act an instrument for imposing restraints upon labor, which reminds of involuntary servitude."

And in the Duplex case Justice Brandeis said:

"May not all with a common interest join in refusing to expend their labor upon articles whose very production constitutes an attack upon their standard of living and the institution which they are convinced supports it? . . . Courts, with better appreciation of the facts of industry, recognized the unity of interest throughout the union, and that, in refusing to work on materials which threatened it, the union was only refusing to aid in destroying itself . . . It is lawful for all members of a union by whomsoever employed to refuse to handle materials whose production weakens the union."

Of course, if this Act had been passed, becoming a law subsequent to the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Courts would have construed it to authorize them to issue injunctions for enforcement of its provisions; in that way the repeal of the Norris-LaGuardia Act would have been effected in so far as the same was applicable to those labor disputes covered by the Act. The bill contained a provision which prohibited the Courts from issuing any process to compel the performance by an "individual" employee of such labor or service without his consent. But no such exemption was included with respect to "concerted" action on the part of employees; yet joint or united action is the very life blood of true trade unionism, and its denial effects in a large measure its destruction. One cannot help recalling the reasons for the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932. When that Act was before Congress the House Committee reported as follows:

"This bill is the so-called anti-injunction bill. It is the outgrowth of years of agitation in the Congress for restriction upon the powers of Federal equity courts in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. Hearings have been held by congressional committees over a period of years and the facts adduced have brought about an almost unanimity of opinion that such powers of the Federal courts have been exercised to the detriment of the public welfare and should be curbed."

The very foundation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act is the abolition of the wicked "doctrine of conspiracy," a doctrine evolved by courts to prohibit joint or concerted action, which the Norton Bill sought to reestablish. It may be well to set forth the provisions of the

Norris-LaGuardia Act by which it abolished the wicked "doctrine of conspiracy":

"No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction upon the ground that any of the persons participating or interested in a labor dispute constitutes or are engaged in an unlawful combination or conspiracy *because of the doing in concert of the acts enumerated in section 104 of this chapter.*" (Mar. 23, 1932, c. 90, sec. 5, 47 Stat. 71.)

The Norris-LaGuardia Act provides further:

"No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in any case involving or growing out of any labor dispute to prohibit any person or persons participating or interested in such dispute (as these terms are herein defined) from doing, *whether singly or in concert*, any of the following acts."

Of this wicked doctrine of conspiracy, Clarence Darrow, in a speech to a jury, once said:

"I take it that in a free country, in a country where George M. Paine does not rule supreme, every person has a right to lay down the tools of his trade if he shall choose. Not only that, but in a free country where liberty of speech is guaranteed, every man has a right to go to his fellow man and say:

"We are out on strike. We are in a great battle for liberty. We are waging war, for our fellow men. For God's sake, come with us and help."

"Has it come to that point in America, under the guarantee of the freedom of speech and under the Constitution, that a free man cannot go to his neighbor and implore him not to work? If a jury or a court should write a verdict like that, it would be the death knell to human liberty."

What Darrow said almost half a century ago is true today.

#### The Case Bill

One of the almost tragic consequences of the Norton Bill was that it brought about the introduction in Congress of the Case Bill. The reactionaries on the Labor Committee which reported out the Norton Bill did not like it, so they secretly prepared what later became known as the Case Bill which contained not only the worst provisions of the Norton Bill but other detrimental provisions which had for their object the nullification of labor's fundamental rights. By parliamentary maneuvers when the bill came before the House for consideration, Representative Case offered a substitute which was accepted and passed by the House and then messaged to the Senate. It was held there for some time. Although hearings were not held before the House Committee on the Case Bill, hearings were held in the Senate. At a propitious moment when, psychologically, the Senate was in a mean frame of mind toward labor, it was brought up for consideration and passed. President Truman vetoed the bill and accompanied his veto with a very strong message.



We may think that the Case Bill is past history. It is past history in so far as the last session of Congress is concerned, but the Case Bill will rear its ugly head again in the next session of Congress. It is, therefore, well to understand its implications. There is not time, of course, to consider in detail its provisions. Among other things, it provided for a 60-day "cooling-off" period in all so-called major disputes. It provided for fact-finding boards in public utility controversies. It made unions liable for damages for breach of contract. It outlawed foremen's unions and deprived foremen and supervisory employees of the protections of the National Labor Relations Act. It outlawed secondary boycotts and defined these boycotts in such a manner that many so-called primary boycotts were included in the prohibition. It made unions liable under the anti-trust laws.

One significant feature of the Case Bill as finally passed indicated what would be done with so-called "cooling-off" periods. Whereas the first Case Bill as originally introduced called for a 30-day "cooling-off" period, the amended one as passed provided for a 60-day "cooling-off" period. By this provision collective bargaining would be destroyed, for, as I previously pointed out, why should an employer bargain in good faith with workers with whom he is in dispute if he has 60 days in which to complete his job? While the Norton Bill did not provide criminal penalties, the Case Bill did provide criminal penalties with respect to the violations of some of the provisions in the bill. For instance, it included in its entirety the obnoxious Hobbs Bill with penalties of 20 years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine for violation.

#### The Lea Bill

While I am discussing with you these anti-strike bills, I desire to call your attention to the passage of the Lea Bill. Many persons are of the opinion that the Lea Bill affects only musicians. This is not true. But even if it were, it is a most wicked precedent which can be easily adapted to every trade craft and calling, and thus subject all workers to similar provisions. But the truth is, it does affect all crafts and all workers engaged in the broadcasting industry, whether they be musicians, teamsters, carpenters, electricians or laborers.

The Lea Bill is an out-and-out anti-strike bill. By that I mean, it makes the mere act of striking in furtherance of a legitimate demand a crime. The Lea Bill does not prohibit the union from demanding of an employer that he hire more employees than he believes he needs. It does not prohibit making a demand for the payment of standbys or the payment of so much per record into an unemployment fund for the protection of unemployed musicians—musicians who have lost their employment by virtue of the records which these very musicians have made. The Lea Bill does not prohibit the union from demanding that amateur musicians shall not compete with professional musicians who make their livelihood from the playing of music. The bill does not prohibit the union from demanding that foreign programs shall be regulated or shall not be broadcast when they compete with the work of local musicians:

nor does it prohibit the employer from agreeing to these demands, or from doing these things on his own account or even against the desire of the musicians. What the Lea Bill does is to say that if such a demand is refused by an employer, then it is a crime for the union members to strike in furtherance of the demand. It is nothing more or less than an anti-strike bill with criminal penalties provided for violation. It is a bill that makes the peaceful activity of a worker either lawful or criminal at the desire, whim or caprice of his employer. Were it not for the fact that there is a case now pending before the federal courts of Illinois, wherein James C. Petrillo, President of the American Federation of Musicians, is being prosecuted by the Government for violation of the Lea Bill, I would discuss in greater detail the history, implications and effect of this disastrous bill. However, I will refrain from doing so because of the pending proceedings, in which I am of counsel for President Petrillo. When that case is over and the decision has been rendered, I shall have considerable to say concerning the underlying philosophy of the Lea Bill. However, this I can say—that the broadcasting industry has a substantial grip upon many members of Congress. The industry and those engaged in it are as powerful today as the railroad and lumber barons were 75 and 100 years ago. Unless those who own and control this fabulous money-making industry are curbed in their unbridled activities, not only will a free labor movement be destroyed in the broadcasting industry, but in many other industries as well.

#### The President's Emergency Bill

Finally, I desire to conclude my discussion with an observation or two on the President's Emergency Bill. On May 24th the country was involved in a great railroad strike. The issues are well known to you and I will not take time to repeat them. On that night President Truman made a speech over the radio in which he condemned the strike and its leaders and stated that he would appear before Congress on the next day. He did appear before Congress and, among other things, proposed a most drastic law involving the rights of labor and requested immediate passage of legislation to conform with his suggestions. Among other things, the bill provided for the seizure of plants, mines and facilities in which interruption was threatened by labor disputes and which industries were essential to the maintenance of the national welfare. In addition to the seizure of such plants, the bill definitely made striking in these circumstances illegal. In so far as labor is concerned, the most important provisions in the bill related to the prohibition against striking and the penalties imposed for violation of the law. For instance, the bill commanded officers and members of unions who were on strike to call off the strike, or suffer a penalty of one year in jail or \$5,000 fine, or both. Further penalties imposed upon employees were loss of status under the National Labor Relations Act and the loss of seniority rights. It empowered the Attorney General to apply for an injunction to restrain employees from violating the law and to compel them to return to work in



the event they had been out on strike. There were other provisions which imposed penalties upon employers who were guilty of violation, such as the diversion of profits to the Government from the operation of an industry which had been seized by the Government. Although the Act was termed an "emergency act" and was to operate only to June 10, 1947, it was dangerous indeed. What I said concerning the implications in the Norton Bill is applicable with equal force to the President's Emergency Bill. Here again, the denial of constitutional rights, regardless of whether it be for 30 days or 30 hours, is to that extent an invasion of the Constitution and a deprivation of lawful rights. Then again, this bill re-established "government by injunction" because courts, at the behest of the Attorney General, were especially empowered to issue injunctive decrees. As with the Norton Bill, I believe the President was badly advised and imposed upon, for included in the bill was the drastic principle of Section 7 which provided for induction into the armed forces of the United States of all workers who failed to comply with the law. Let me read Section 7 to you:

"The President may, in his proclamation issued under Section 2 hereof, or in a subsequent proclamation, provide that any person subject thereto who has failed or refused, without the permission of the President, to return to work within 24 hours after the finally effective date of his proclamation issued under Section 2 hereof, shall be inducted into, and shall serve in, the Army of the United States at such time, in such manner (with or without an oath), and on such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the President, as being necessary in his judgment to provide for the emergency. The foregoing provision shall apply to any person who was employed in the affected plants, mines, or facilities at the date the United States took possession thereof, including officers and executives of the employer, and shall further apply to officials of the labor organizations representing employees. *Provisions of law which are applicable with respect to persons serving in the armed forces of the United States, or which are applicable to persons by reason of the service of themselves or other persons in the armed forces of the United States, shall be applicable to persons inducted under this section only to such extent as may from time to time be prescribed by the President.*"

Surely, it requires no dissertation by me to point out the drastic and tragic effects of this provision. I know that the word "totalitarianism" has been much bandied about in recent years, in fact, to such an extent that it has come to have many meanings. In general, however, it may be said that totalitarianism blots out every right of the individual and makes of him a crawling, cringing creature of the state, which may at any time incarcerate him, deprive him of his freedom and liberty, and even go so far as to liquidate him if it feels so disposed. What else does Section 7 do but embody that philosophy into law? I do not think that the President fully comprehended the effects of this bill, for I

do not believe that President Truman subscribes to a totalitarian philosophy of government. It is fortunate, indeed, that delay occurred in the consideration of the bill so that time caused the abatement of uncontrolled emotions of Congress and gave sanity a chance to return. The Senate refused to pass the bill, but we shudder when we recall that within the brief space of a few hours the House of Representatives did adopt the bill by an overwhelming vote. I hope that never again will Congress have to deal with such a bill.

Mr. President, I have presented this review of labor legislation as an object lesson of the past so that we may be watchful for the future. I hope that the future holds more promise for labor than we found during the term of the last Congress. Congress must realize that the great multitude of workers, too, are interested in a happier nation and a happier world, and that cannot be accomplished through the enactment of undemocratic and unconstitutional laws such as I have discussed with you today.

I thank you for your attention and kind reception of my talk.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The inspiring address just delivered by our General Counsel, Judge Padway, has served to place a new emphasis on the value of the educational service rendered by the American Federation of Labor. We have always maintained a deep feeling of appreciation of the value of education and educational service at these conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I cannot conceive of any discussion that possesses greater intellectual and educational value than this address delivered by our General Counsel this morning. I know I speak for you when I say to him that we appreciate more than words can express this illuminating, educational, inspiring address which he brought to us, and I thank him for the great service he has rendered us through its submission.

Copies of this address will be distributed to you tomorrow and each one of you will be privileged to have and hold a printed copy for your study and further consideration.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Tipton submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials desire to report that we have examined credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated, as follows:

Federal Labor Union No. 22542, St. Louis, Mo.—John Hoffman, 1 vote.

Montreal, Que., Canada, Trades and Labor Council—Claude Jodoin, 1 vote.

In accordance with request, we recommend the seating of John Malone with 212 votes,

to represent the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, in place of Milton S. Maxwell, who will be unable to be present at further sessions of this convention.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY TIPTON:** Mr Chairman, I move the adoption of the Supplemental Report of the Committee.

The motion was seconded and carried.

### RE-ASSIGNMENT OF RESOLUTIONS 112 AND 114

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair wishes to announce the re-referral of Resolution No. 112 entitled "Collective Bargaining" and Resolution 114, entitled "Wage Adjustment Board," to the Committee on Building Trades from the Committee on Resolutions.

At this point several committee chairmen made announcements as to time and location of various committee meetings.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for an announcement.

### SPECIAL MASS FOR DELEGATES

**SECRETARY MEANY:** I wish to announce, through the courtesy of Cardinal Stritch, that there will be an A. F. of L. Labor Mass at the Holy Name Cathedral at 10 o'clock a. m. on Sunday morning, October 13.

## THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:10 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for an announcement.

### RESOLUTIONS

**SECRETARY MEANY:** The following resolutions have been received within the time limit as specified in the constitution and therefore do not require unanimous consent. From the United Mine Workers: Cancer Research. From the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union: Prohibition.

The following resolution requiring unanimous consent is presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for this resolution by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council.

The resolution is titled: Machinery to Settle Jurisdictional Disputes in the Amusement Industry.

If there is no objection from the floor, the resolution will be introduced and referred to the appropriate committee.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Are there any ob-

jections to the acceptance and consideration of the resolutions offered? If there are no objections, they will be received and referred to the appropriate committees for action.

### ENTERTAINMENT

**COMMITTEE MEMBER ATKINSON:** The I. B. E. W. has prepared a luncheon in the Hollywood Room at 12 o'clock today. All delegates of the I. B. E. W. are requested to be there.

The banquet given by the A. F. of L. Locals of Illinois will be at 6:30 o'clock in the grand ballroom of the Sherman Hotel. There are no reservations. First come, first served.

The guest speakers will assemble in the South Room at 6:30.

I am happy to notify the delegates who made reservations for the football game on Saturday that the tickets will be ready tomorrow morning at the headquarters.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** If there are no further announcements, the convention will recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:15 o'clock, the convention recessed until 2 o'clock p. m.

Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The American Federation of Labor launched a most interesting organizing campaign in the South some time ago. A very impressive conference of the representatives from Central Bodies, State Federations of Labor and International Unions was held at Asheville, North Carolina, where the campaign was launched. Since that time the campaign has gone forward in an aggressive and most satisfactory way.

I am pleased to report to this convention that we have made most definite progress in the Southern organizing campaign. It occurred to me that the delegates to this convention would be interested in any information we are able to submit at this time regarding the progress that has thus far been made. In order to acquaint you with the fine progress we have made I am calling upon our Southern Director, Brother George L. Googe, to report to you briefly this afternoon of the success of our organizing campaign drive.

Now, I am pleased to present to you the Director of Organization, George L. Googe, from Atlanta, Georgia.

**MR. GEORGE L. GOOGE**  
(Southern Organizing Director)

President Green and delegates to the Sixty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I am indeed honored and pleased to bring to this convention a brief report of the highlights in the progress of the present energetic and concentrated organizing drive in the South. I am sure you delegates will be interested to know of a few of the background situations prior to this campaign.

The trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor is as old in the Southland as it is anywhere on this Continent. The first session of the Georgia Legislature after the Revolutionary War granted its first charter to the Savannah Mechanics Society at Savannah, Georgia. Many of our Local Unions are older than the Federation itself. As an illustration, the Memphis Typographical Union last May celebrated its 100th anniversary. We have one organization affiliated with this Federation, one of the Longshoremen Locals at Galveston, Texas, that has been in continuous existence from the days it was an association or club of Negro slaves loading cotton as the cotton crewmen on a sailing vessel at Galveston, Texas.

In the American Federation of Labor Convention in Toronto in 1929 this convention authorized the launching of a Southern organizing campaign. This campaign was launched at Charlotte, North Carolina, in January of 1930. At that time there were approximately 230,000 members of the American Federation of Labor in the South. Over the period of the next 15 years we saw gigantic struggles in the Southland to bring about organization of employees and we saw our organization grow until, when the Third Southern Biennial Conference of the Southern labor movement was called at Asheville by the State Federation of Labor the first of May this year, this 230,000 membership had increased to approximately 1,800,000 members over that period of 15 years.

At the Asheville conference this year, as President Green so kindly mentioned, there were in attendance over 3,000 delegates from 12 Southern States, the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor and representatives of all of the American Federation of Labor's National and International Unions. The Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor did not come to that conference with a set program to be enforced on the workers of the South. Rather they came

in an advisory and counsellor position, and there in Asheville's Municipal Auditorium the delegates from the State Federations, the City Central Bodies, the District Councils and the Southern International Representatives drafted a program. This program was immediately approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and a great organizational drive was launched. The State Federations of Labor in the South immediately went into session with their Executive Board or conventions and they have appropriated for this organizing drive,—already raised the money and set it aside, the sum of \$125,000. Before the year's campaign is over, with the assistance of the Central Bodies, the Southern State Federations will raise at least a quarter of a million dollars to be expended in the campaign.

The Asheville Conference set up the structural organization for carrying on the campaign. The campaign was developed along three lines. First, the organizers employed by the City Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor with assistance from the American Federation of Labor; second, the organizers directly employed by the Federations of Labor working exclusively under the jurisdiction and supervision of our Southern headquarters. These organizers, with the assistance of the Executive Officers of the State Federations of Labor, coordinating and assisting the salaried organizers of the State Federations and the City and Central Bodies. Then, the third and major arm of our campaign is the tremendous staff of National and International Organizers and officers servicing the Local Unions of their various organizations and carrying on the organizing drives within their jurisdictions. They will have, excluding Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor Organizers under the supervision of the A. F. of L. staff and the A. F. of L. salaried organizers, approximately 176 full-time men in the field.

There are on October 1 approximately 489 International Vice Presidents and Organizers working the Southern States full time which, you see, gives us a tremendous field staff assisting the workers in the South.

The campaign, to our way of thinking, has been very successful. While in certain situations we haven't made the progress we would like to have accomplished, nevertheless the ground work has been laid. I want to show you briefly the progress of some of our organizations. One of the outstanding things is in the State of Louisiana, where the public school teachers in 26 counties have completely organized into the American Federation of Teachers. Every single, solitary school bus driver in all of the parishes throughout the State of Louisiana have been organized.

It might be of interest to this convention to know that in certain communities in the

Southland we still have the same degree of opposition to organizations that has been traditional in the South. Many communities are almost completely organized into Unions of the American Federation of Labor. There are cities where there are anywhere from ten to thirty thousand members of the American Federation of Labor.

We have made progress through the years, and I am sure it will be of interest to you to know that today while we still have great difficulty because of Southern traditions, Southern city ordinances, Southern city laws, Southern reactionary politicians, the American Federation of Labor in all of our State Federations is proud that in the Southland today we have over 450,000 negro men and women working under American Federation of Labor contracts.

We are proud of the fact that in our Southern campaign policy committee, made up of 14 executive officers of the 14 State Federations of Labor and approximately 30 of the ranking International Union officials coming from the South, native Southerners and working in the South, we have four Vice Presidents, International Union officers on this Policy Committee from the ranks of the Southern labor movement who are Negroes. We have two white ladies up from the ranks of the Southern labor movement on this Committee who are Vice Presidents in their International Unions.

We have been successful, according to the reports we have received from our organizers from the International Officials since launching the campaign at Asheville in the early part of May in having up to October 1 installed 614 new local union charters in the Southland, with an increased membership, counting the membership of the 614 new local unions and the gains in membership of our existing local unions, of over 180,000 new members in the American Federation of Labor. Bear in mind it took some 60 days after the campaign was launched to completely organize the machinery of the campaign drive. We have had almost heart-breaking situations in this campaign. For instance, the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers sent one of their organizers into an isolated rural community of Georgia, at Gordon. This organizer was successful in signing up approximately 130 workers. The employer found out about the campaign and immediately connived in a conspiracy with the local peace officers. Representatives of the company and the community went to the homes of these workers and insisted that they sign affidavits and mail them to the President of their International Union withdrawing their membership from the Union. Some 40 workers sent in those affidavits. The temporary treasurer and illiterate colored, sincere worker who was elected secretary

of the union refused to sign the affidavit withdrawing from the Union. After being threatened one night, at 1:40 in the morning four masked men went out to his job, put guns on the white workers, took this Negro, handcuffed him, put him in an automobile and carried him to an adjoining county, whipped him almost to the point of death, brought him back to the residential section of the Negroes in that county and dumped him out. It was some time before we learned of this situation. Finally, the International representative got in touch with the President of the International Union here in the City of Chicago. He communicated with President Green and President Green called me about the situation. We immediately protested to the Governor and the State Bureau of Investigation. We sent a crew of organizers into that community, and I am happy to report to this convention that we have been able to protect those in that community who care to join the American Federation of Labor. We have succeeded in organizing the entire 3,000 workers in this field.

We have won labor board elections, put in six organizations and have secured splendid contracts for those workers.

That is simply one of the illustrations, but we could name dozens in the South. We have three types of employers to deal with. One is the intelligent employer who believes in the spirit of the times, who believes in the soundness of collective bargaining and mutual, full industrial relations with union and management cooperation.

We have another type of employer in the Southland who is very typical of all large groups of them, who will deal with a labor organization as long as the labor organization has the economic power to compel them to deal with the organization and as long as Federal legislation has some measure of being enforced.

There is a third group of employers in the Southland—and I think this analysis is true of almost every geographical section of this continent—who under no circumstances will accept the principle of collective bargaining. That is the type where we have our most serious difficulty, where community leaders, and where law enforcement officers are either bribed or subuded to be hostile to the trade union movement. But I am proud to report, in behalf of our Southern organizations, that even this group of employers in the South is fast passing out of existence.

Some of the highlights of our campaign in the South—The Hotel and Restaurant Workers International Union has increased their membership. The latest report I have had before coming to the convention was 2,431 members with a number of new local organizations. Our campaign results in Miami Beach were so successful that the Miami Beach Restau-

rant Association has just signed a closed shop contract with the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local Union there covering 50 restaurants and six cafeterias on Miami Beach, giving us 100 per cent organization there.

The Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers organization has succeeded in increasing their membership by more than 6,000 new members in the South. Vice President Shelly Waldon of the Iron Molders reports a number of new Local Unions and 3,000 additional members. The Hod Carriers and Common Laborers Union for just one section, the Deep Southeast, report to us they have succeeded in installing 15 new charters, and of these 15 new charters, 11 of the Locals are mixed Local Unions. Most of this group is made up of organizations outside of the building and construction industry, which has always been very strongly organized.

In New Orleans the officers of this International Union report that in that area an increase in membership of 5,000 members is to be noted.

One of the outstanding accomplishments of the campaign is in the city of Houston, Texas, where the General Contractors Association refused to recognize the Laborers' Union in the building trades contract and refused to recognize the Teamsters Union. Due to the cooperation of the other crafts the Building Trades Council operated a strike for many weeks and would not give up until the building trades and General Contractors Association signed a contract with the Building Trades Council covering all of the Laborers and the Teamsters.

The same thing is true at Columbus, Georgia. Let me read you some of the progress of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers since the campaign. The I. B. E. W. reports the organization of Rural Electrification Administrative Cooperatives in Kentucky and Tennessee. These two States are under agreement. Organizing work is going on in R. E. A. and in other States. One I. B. E. W. Local at Chattanooga has organized and established 1,000 new members. In another district in the South two large power and light elections have been won—State-wide in one case. A number of broadcasting stations have been organized throughout the South by this International Union. The I. B. E. W. won an election involving nearly 400 telephone employees of an independent company operating in Florida and South Georgia—the Southeastern Telephone Company, with headquarters at Tallahassee, Florida.

The scattered areas throughout the South where the Light and Power Companies have resisted organization are being brought into the I. B. E. W. membership through the campaign impetus. This organization also reports wide activities and satisfactory Local

Union results in the electrical contracting jurisdiction.

There have been some gratifying activities in the electrical manufacturing field hitherto almost untouched in the South. We have an NLRB petition pending for an election in the Western Electric Company, a part of the Bell System, at Burlington, North Carolina.

The Retail Clerks International Association has a record of consistent gains in organization, and while this is the most difficult of all fields of organization, this great activity everywhere results in new Local Unions and tremendous new gains in membership. In expanding membership in existing Local Unions, over 2,700 members are there.

In the State of Georgia and in the State of Tennessee several chain grocery systems have been organized. Not only the chain grocery systems, but at Atlanta an election was recently won in one of the great ten-cent store chains.

The Carpenters International Union has made tremendous progress in organizing saw mill and mill workers in the South. That is one of the greatest unorganized fields in the Southland, but the campaign is under way and considerable progress has been made and a number of NLRB elections have been won.

In the textile industry, the other great unorganized industry in the Southland, we have succeeded in organizing Unions and winning elections in Texas, Tennessee, Alabama, several in Georgia and several in the Carolinas in recent weeks.

The laundry workers, another most difficult field—we have been successful in organizing them in the city of Birmingham, in Atlanta, and now in Miami, Florida, and Lake Charles, Louisiana, the complete Laundry Employers' Association is under closed shop contract.

This International Union with a most difficult problem has made outstanding contributions to the Southern organizing drive in that they have approximately 20 full-time organizers organizing the laundry workers at the present time in the South. The increases in membership have not been confined to any organization within the American Federation of Labor. For instance, in rural Mississippi, we have just recently organized and won elections for some 300 office workers of the Magnolia Petroleum Company. We have succeeded in organizing and obtaining contracts for office workers with all of the gas companies operating municipal plants and supplying gas to the municipalities in the various Mississippi cities. The office workers of the Mississippi Power Company have been completely organized and we have contracts.

I could go on here for hours mentioning the many gains of the various International

Unions. The Chemical Workers have made tremendous progress, and one of the most encouraging things to the Southern labor movement is the fact that at Anniston, Alabama, a few weeks ago we succeeded in organizing a great chemical plant. After recognition was won the Union Committee went to the management and asked for a 25-cent-an-hour increase in pay. The plant is about half white and half colored, and after many conferences the management finally agreed to give the white workers the 25 cents, but insisted in giving the Negro workers only 10 cents an hour. At the meeting that night of the mixed Local Unions the colored workers moved to accept the agreement, but the white workers voted unanimously not to accept any contract where there was any differential paid on racial lines. All the white workers voted a strike. After further negotiations the employer saw the attitude of the white employees and readily conceded the increase to all of the workers in the plant.

We are proud of this fact, that not to my knowledge today, in October, 1946, does there exist in the American Federation of Labor anywhere in Dixie a contract where there is a wage differential because of race, creed, color or sex in any of our contracts.

While I am on that subject I cannot refrain from giving the convention some of the experiences, not of the evolutionary gains, but the revolutionary gains that the American Federation of Labor has accomplished for the workers in the South. Back in 1934 and 1935 we had a tremendous organizational campaign on the South Atlantic to organize the Longshoremens. In 1935 we succeeded in organizing every Southern port on the South Atlantic, and we had to accept the best contract we could, in the first contract. When the contract expired in 1936, because all of these longshoremens were Negroes, the business agents were Negroes, and their negotiating committee to deal with the Steamship Association and the stevedores in all the ports of the South Atlantic were Negroes, the Employers' Association notified the workers that they would not bargain with the Negro negotiating committee. Our answer was to declare an immediate strike and tie up every port on the South Atlantic Seaboard for five days until the employers did sit around the conference table and negotiate contracts with the representatives chosen by the workers without discrimination.

I have heard, and I am sure you have heard and this convention has been worried about the denial of the right of citizenship to many of the American citizens in the so-called poll tax Southern States. This convention has gone on record time and time again as opposing the poll tax. So for the Southern State Federations of Labor I want

to give this convention a solution that they have found, at least in the State of Georgia, to the poll tax question. In 1944, under the auspices of the Savannah Trades and Labor Assembly, the Longshoremens' Union, which is an all-Negro organization, voted to take money out of their treasury and, under the sponsorship of the Central Labor Union, to march their 2,200 members down to the County Court House and pay all the back poll tax of those 2,200 members. This was done. The movement spread throughout Georgia. Other Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and other groups did the same thing. When the politicians in Georgia checked the new registration in that State for the year 1944 they found that there were over 40,000 Negroes who had paid back poll tax and registered, but the increase in registration of white voters was just a little over 4,000. And you know what happened. Governor Talmadge took the lead in defending the immediate repeal of the poll tax law in Georgia, and Governor Arnall got on the bandwagon, and the Georgia Legislature immediately repealed the poll tax law in Georgia. It has been our observation from this experience that if half of the money spent in agitation against poll tax legislation was spent in the payment of back poll tax of those living in the Southern States, there would be no trouble in getting the Southern States to repeal the poll tax law.

I want to read a few of the companies where we have just won outstanding elections in this campaign. We now have a contract with the Devo-Reynolds Paint Manufacturing Company in Louisville, 600 members; the Orange Cotton Mill, Orangeburg, South Carolina; the Chicago Bridge and Iron Company, Birmingham, Boilermakers, 200 workers; the Office Workers of Crane and Company, Birmingham. The company started firing their office workers when we started organizing them. They struck, and a picket line was put around the office, and it only took us three days to get the office workers recognized under a splendid contract.

In the recent past we have succeeded in organizing 90 per cent of all of the paid firefighters in all of the Southern States into the International Fire Fighters Association.

We have organized about 96 per cent of all of the street car and motor bus systems in the Southern cities and most of the intercity and interstate bus transportation companies.

The Teamsters Union has been running a Southern campaign almost within itself. They have succeeded in organizing bargaining agencies with over 300 companies since they launched their campaign early in February. They are signing up on an average of be-



tween 30 and 40 new employers every week in the South.

In the Arkansas Light Company, after a long struggle there, the I. B. E. W. boys were successful in winning a Labor Board election and bringing in those thousand workers.

The United States Time Clock Company in the city of Little Rock, over 500 workers.

At Oak Ridge, Tennessee, the atomic bomb center, we have succeeded in organizing several thousand workers.

We have won one of the elections in the great Civilian Production Experimental Station, the experimental laboratories on civilian use of atomic energy, now in the process of negotiating a contract there. We have signed contracts with five other companies today operating at Oak Ridge.

We have succeeded in organizing the Standard Sanitary Company office employees, the Paducah Box and Basket Company, a large operation.

We have organized within the Southland, as I stated that the records in the office show, 180,000 members. We are confident that before the year's drive is up we will reach the goal set by the President of the American Federation of Labor. This campaign has succeeded in reviving the interests of the membership of our Local Unions, our City Central Bodies and our State Federations of Labor. They are on the march in every community in the South, but I would betray their trust if I did not say to the officers, particularly the officers of their International Unions, how deeply grateful the workers of the South are for the splendid cooperation the International Unions have been giving us in this drive.

I can remember when the campaign was first launched, as a result of the action of the 1929 convention of the American Federation of Labor. We did not have over 25 International men in the field in the Southland, and when you stop to think that we have grown to the extent that today we have approximately 500 of these men organizing in the South, you know how deeply appreciative the Southern workers are.

We have succeeded in the last few years in cutting down the so-called Southern wage differential from a 33 1-3 per cent average low wage scale in the South to only 11 per cent on January 1, 1946. One of the greatest goals in this campaign is to knock off that 11 per cent lower wage differential in the Southland. Because the workers of the South may be more fortunate in the climate than the workers in some other sections of this Continent, that is no reason why those benefits should go to those who invest their money in industry, and that the climatic advantages should not go to the workers who

produce in the plants, the mines and the factories of the Southland. We are determined to see to it that, based on the efficiency and productivity of the worker, he receives just as high pay in any wage endeavor in the Southland as anywhere else on the North American Continent.

I am happy to report to this convention that in any number of Southern industries, most notably in the paper and pulp industry, we have succeeded in wiping out entirely the so-called Southern geographical wage differential. Many other industries are rapidly reaching that same goal.

One thing that has encouraged our workers in the campaign that has given material strength to the power of the American Federation of Labor in some sections of the South has been the return to the American Federation of Labor of that militant army of the United Mine Workers of America. We know that with this added strength the militancy given to us by that addition will mean that we will not have the same type of experiences, or at least not to the same degree, that we had in the early '30s, when organizers took their own lives in their hands, when they went into isolated communities in the South. One of the most heart-rending experiences I ever had, as a representative of the American Federation of Labor, was in 1934, in the little cotton mill town of Honey Path, South Carolina, where the employer, finding the workers were organizing, fired about 60 per cent of the workers in the mill, and because the Union attempted to make a demonstration and to picket the mill, this company hired detectives and thugs, they equipped them with guns, placed them within the mill, and there they massacred eight of the pickets. I will never forget that experience as I stood before those eight caskets and attempted to deliver the funeral eulogy of those departed heroes, who gave their all for the right of workers to have industrial democracy in the Southland.

I know of those experiences, and the debt we owe to the pioneers in the Southland, the debt we owe to this great American Federation of Labor in making possible industrial democracy in the South can at last be paid by the diligence, by the militancy, and by the constructive sacrifice of service the Southland is making to build up organizations among all the wage earners.

I might add this, and I think it will be of some encouragement to you, that we resent the type of representation we have had in recent years in the Congress of the United States, just as much as the workers in California and in Chicago resent the type of misrepresentation they have had in Congress. But I think I can foresee in the not too distant future, a change in this situation. The Central Body in Savannah, the Central



Body in Rome, Ga., the Central Bodies in Waycross and Brunswick, Ga., were able to keep four reactionary Congressmen home this time in that State and to send Liberals who will support the philosophies and the program of the labor movement. Give us a couple of more years and we will show you what you can really do in the Democratic primaries in the Southland.

We thank you for your assistance. I can assure you that you may depend upon the full loyalty of the membership, now practically 2,000,000 strong in the Southland, and we will never rest until we increase it to at least 5,000,000 dues paying members in this great Federation. Thank you very much.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** While Director Googe was presenting to you this very pleasing information, Brother Singer, of the Central Body of Miami, handed me this note, that the Laundry Workers of Miami Beach are organized 100 per cent and that seven contracts have been signed there.

There is the story. You have listened to it. I know, with a feeling of deep satisfaction and appreciation. We have launched an aggressive, militant, uncompromising campaign in the South, and we are going to carry on that campaign until we have succeeded in organizing the Southern workers into the American Federation of Labor. We want to make the organization in the South an American Federation of Labor organization, and we are not going to stop until we achieve that purpose.

Now I want to supplement this very pleasing information that you have just been given with some more information of a somewhat different character.

What I am going to tell you now will be accepted with a feeling of deep appreciation. I am sure. I am able to announce confidentially to you that the two industrial members of the Wage Stabilization Board are tendering their resignations and are quitting that agency. I was a little reluctant to make that announcement because I thought it would make the representatives of the Seafarers International Union feel badly. They were the two members who succeeded in bringing about a veto of the contract negotiated through collective bargaining by the representatives of the Seafarers Union and their employers on the Pacific Coast. I called upon them to resign immediately when they vetoed it. Now we are happy that they have, and we are pleased to know this afternoon that they are quitting the Wage Stabilization Board.

We hope that will mean not only their elimination from public life, but that it will mean the end of the Wage Stabilization Board as well.

I now call upon the Chairman of the Com-

mittee on Audit for the report of the Auditing Committee—Chairman Hansen of the committee.

## REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HANSEN:** Your Auditing Committee met in Washington, and having examined the books and records of the American Federation of Labor are now ready to give their report to this convention. The Secretary of the committee, Delegate Tipton, will read the report.

Committee Secretary Tipton submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The undersigned, your auditing committee appointed in accordance with Article 3, section 5 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor submits the following report of an audit made of the books of the American Federation of Labor for the period beginning September 1st, 1945 to and including August 31st, 1946.

We have examined and audited all of the books and records covering the financial transactions of the Federation for the above period, and we wish to report that all accounts were found to be correct.

We visited the Riggs National Bank in Washington, D. C. where the Federation has a safe-deposit box, and personally inspected and counted the securities owned by the Federation and found them to be correct as recorded. We are listing these securities by number and denominations as a part of this report.

We verified the cash balances by checking the bank statements and also by letters from each of the banks certifying as to the amount on deposit to the credit of the American Federation of Labor at the close of business August 31, 1946. All cash balances were in complete agreement with the banks' records.

The total receipts and total expenses under each classification are as follows:

Balance on hand, August 31,  
1945 .....\$2,087,021.48

### Receipts

Per capita tax	\$1,458,612.89
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist	1,782.00
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist ...	374,862.41
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund ..	217,674.56

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Initiation fees . . . . .	98,397.66
Reinstatement fees . . . . .	4,051.00
Supplies . . . . .	17,372.94
Interest . . . . .	35,580.63
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded thru A. F. of L. . . . .	25,177.34
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts . . . . .	47,467.67
Total receipts . . . . .	<u>\$2,280,979.10</u>
Grand total . . . . .	<u>\$4,368,000.58</u>

**Expenses**

Organizing expenses . . . . .	\$ 882,924.70
Organizers' salaries . . . . .	570,117.60
Office employees' salaries . . . . .	246,190.02
Administrative salaries . . . . .	67,400.00
Miscellaneous general bills. . . . .	344,501.46
Printing and publishing American Federationist . . . . .	114,471.12
Defense fund . . . . .	379,484.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded thru A. F. of L. . . . .	20,834.25
Total expenses . . . . .	<u>\$2,625,923.15</u>
Balance on hand, August 31, 1946 . . . . .	<u><u>\$1,742,077.43</u></u>

**Recapitulation**

In General Fund . . . . .	\$ 241,102.37
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions . . . . .	1,500,975.06
Balance on hand, August 31, 1946 . . . . .	<u><u>\$1,742,077.43</u></u>

We have verified the cash balances and counted the securities, and find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be invested and deposited as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1950-52, 2% . . . . .	\$ 50,000.00
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U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1952-54, 2% . . . . .	100,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, 2½% . . . . .	50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, 2½% . . . . .	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1955-59, 2½% . . . . .	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1956-59, 2½% . . . . .	100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds, Series G, 2½% . . . . .	100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds, Series G, 2½% . . . . .	100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds, Series G, 2½% . . . . .	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1962-67, 2½% . . . . .	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1963-68, 2½% . . . . .	200,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1964-69, 2½% . . . . .	100,000.00
Premium on 1955-60, 2½% Bonds . . . . .	1,531.25

Total Investment in Bonds . . \$1,201,531.25

Riggs National Bank (Subject to check) . . . . .	508,150.18
Union National Bank (Subject to check) . . . . .	10,000.00
City Bank (Subject to check) . . . . .	5,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York (Subject to check) . . . . .	2,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock) . . . . .	15,000.00
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. . . . .	396.00

Secretary-Treasurer's Balance August 31, 1946 . . . . . \$1,742,077.43

The numbers and denominations of the securities listed above are as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1950-52, 2% . . . . .	\$ 50,000.00
Nos.	
4388J . . . . .	\$ 10,000.00
4389K . . . . .	10,000.00
4390L . . . . .	10,000.00
4391A . . . . .	10,000.00
4392B . . . . .	10,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1952-54, 2% . . . . .	\$100,000.00
293C . . . . .	\$ 10,000.00
294D . . . . .	10,000.00
295E . . . . .	10,000.00
296F . . . . .	10,000.00
297H . . . . .	10,000.00
298J . . . . .	10,000.00
299K . . . . .	10,000.00
300L . . . . .	10,000.00
301A . . . . .	10,000.00
302B . . . . .	10,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bond, 1955-60, 2½% . . . . . \$100,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1956-59, 2½% . . . . . \$100,000.00

2541A	.....\$	10,000.00
2542B	.....	10,000.00
2543C	.....	10,000.00
2544D	.....	10,000.00
2545E	.....	10,000.00
2546F	.....	10,000.00
2547H	.....	10,000.00
2548J	.....	10,000.00
2549K	.....	10,000.00
2550L	.....	10,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1962-67,		
2½ %	.....	\$100,000.00
4107H	.....\$	10,000.00
4108J	.....	10,000.00
4109K	.....	10,000.00
4110L	.....	10,000.00
4111A	.....	10,000.00
4112B	.....	10,000.00
4113C	.....	10,000.00
4114D	.....	10,000.00
4115E	.....	10,000.00
4116F	.....	10,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1963-68,		
2½ %	.....	\$200,000.00
4358J	.....\$	100,000.00
4359K	.....	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1964-69,		
2½ %	.....	\$100,000.00
3976F	.....\$	10,000.00
3977H	.....	10,000.00
3978J	.....	10,000.00
3979K	.....	10,000.00
3980L	.....	10,000.00
116F	.....	10,000.00
117H	.....	10,000.00
118J	.....	10,000.00
119K	.....	10,000.00
120L	.....	10,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds, Series G,		
2½ %	.....	\$450,000.00
X68616G	.....\$	10,000.00
X68617G	.....	10,000.00
X68618G	.....	10,000.00
X68619G	.....	10,000.00
X68620G	.....	10,000.00
X173145G	.....	10,000.00
X173146G	.....	10,000.00
X173147G	.....	10,000.00
X173148G	.....	10,000.00
X173149G	.....	10,000.00
X39464G	.....	10,000.00
X39465G	.....	10,000.00
X39466G	.....	10,000.00
X39467G	.....	10,000.00
X39468G	.....	10,000.00
X500796G	.....	10,000.00
X500797G	.....	10,000.00
X500798G	.....	10,000.00
X500800G	.....	10,000.00
X500801G	.....	10,000.00
X500802G	.....	10,000.00
X501254G	.....	10,000.00
X501253G	.....	10,000.00
X501252G	.....	10,000.00
X501251G	.....	10,000.00
X566335G	.....	10,000.00
X566336G	.....	10,000.00
X566337G	.....	10,000.00

X566338G	....	10,000.00
X566339G	....	10,000.00
X566340G	....	10,000.00
X566341G	....	10,000.00
X720506G	....	10,000.00
X720506G	....	10,000.00
X720507G	....	10,000.00
X720508G	....	10,000.00
X720509G	....	10,000.00
X720510G	....	10,000.00
X720511G	....	10,000.00
X720512G	....	10,000.00
X720513G	....	10,000.00
X720514G	....	10,000.00

### Gompers Memorial Fund

Receipts from December 20,	
1924, to and including Au-	
gust 31, 1946	\$136,312.00
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to	
and including August 31,	
1946	122,728.87
Balance on hand August 31,	
1946	\$ 13,583.13
Funds deposited as follows:	
1,266 shares Mt. Vernon	
Mortgage Corp. Stock	\$ 1,266.00
Riggs National Bank check-	
ing account	12,317.13
Balance on hand August 31,	
1946	\$ 13,583.13

### American Federation of Labor Building Fund

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1946:

#### Receipts

Balance on hand August 31,	
1945	\$29,925.02
Rents	\$41,405.62
Dividends	36.54
Interest (Sale of	
Bond)	2,500.00
Sale of waste paper	141.49
Total Receipts	\$44,083.55
Receipts and balance	\$74,008.57

#### Expenses

Maintenance:	
Payroll (Building	
Employees)	\$24,399.49
Taxes	2,558.44
Taxes (Excise)	664.69
Electricity	2,001.06
Fuel (coal)	929.38
Supplies	927.90

Upkeep and repairs	5,117.91
Plastering and painting	2,907.50
Cleaning windows	540.00
Insurance (Liability)	841.32
Water rent	200.27
Hauling ashes and trash	217.00
Safe deposit (Rent)	3.60
Upkeep and repairs of elevators	848.30
Social Security Tax: Unemployment Insurance	11.42
Old age benefits	232.38

Total expenses ..... \$42,400.66

Balance on hand August 31, 1946 ..... \$31,607.91

### Recapitulation

Receipts and balance ..... \$74,008.57  
Expenses ..... 42,400.66

Balance on hand August 31, 1946 ..... \$31,607.91

### Monies deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1,218 shares)..... \$ 1,218.00  
Riggs National Bank ..... 30,389.91

Balance on hand August 31, 1946 ..... \$31,607.91

Concluding our report, we desire to express our appreciation to Secretary-Treasurer Meany and his assistants for the co-operation and courtesy extended to your Committee in the performance of its work. We found that the books are excellently kept, clear on all matters, and simplified the work of the committee, therefore, we commend the Bookkeeping Department of the American Federation of Labor for a job well done.

CHARLES W. HANSON

Chairman

L. V. McGUIGAN

GUY E. TIPTON

Secretary

Auditing Committee.

Committee Secretary Tipton moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTIONS

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to announce the substitution of Vice President David Dubinsky for Vice President Daniel J. Tobin, as Chairman of the Committee on Law, and the appointment of I. M. Ornburn as Chairman of the Label Committee; the appointment of Delegate Charles S. Zimmerman, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, as a member of the Resolutions Committee.

### TRIBUTE TO DECEASED MEMBERS

PRESIDENT GREEN: I will now call upon Secretary Meany to submit a list of names of our deceased members, representatives of National and International Unions and others who have passed away since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor was held. After the submission of these names we will pay a solemn and silent tribute to our departed members. If there are any omissions of names that you wish to have included, they can be submitted to the Secretary.

Secretary Meany read the following list:

Fred Hack, Sheet Metal Workers International Association—December 5, 1944.

Arthur O. Wharton, Ex-President, International Association of Machinists—December 22, 1944.

John B. Dickman, Ex-President, International Typographical Union—January 7, 1945.

William E. Walter, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers—February 23, 1945.

Hugh C. McKenny, Secretary-Treasurer, Commercial Telegraphers—March 9, 1945.

John J. McCurry, Electrical Workers National Legislative Representative—July 22, 1945.

William J. Moran, Representative, International Bricklayers—June 29, 1945.

James Wilson, American Counselor, International Labor Office, Former International President, Pattern Makers League, and Former Vice President of American Federation of Labor—September 1, 1945.

R. E. Van Horn, Former President of the Cigar Makers International—March 12, 1945.

Edward Flore, Vice President, American Federation of Labor, and President, Hotel & Restaurant Employes International—September 27, 1945.

Joseph Obergfell, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Brewery Workers, Corn, Cereal & Soft Drink—November 3, 1945.

Albert J. Kugler, General Organizer, Brewery Workers—December 5, 1945.

Pete Gill, Sailors Union of Pacific—December 10, 1945.

Jack Gill, Secretary-Treasurer, International Typographical Union.

John Locher, President, C. L. U., Washington, D. C.—January 18, 1946.

John Gillespie, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, etc.—January 17, 1946.

Jacob Stephan, International Representative, Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers—February 16, 1946.

Josephine Kelly, Frank Morrison's Secretary—February 6, 1946.

William J. Doyle, President, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—March 7, 1946.

William I. Horner, Leg. Representative of Post Office Clerks—March 30, 1946.

John Clinton, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers—April 6, 1946.

Frank Burch, Former Secretary, Philadelphia C. L. U. & Gen. Org.—April 4, 1946.

W. A. Younker, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Grain Processors Council—April 3, 1946.

J. R. Weyler, International Representative, Carpenters—April 22, 1946.

Fred W. Baer, President, International Association of F. F.—May 15, 1946.

Frank Kennedy—Assistant Secretary, Plumbers—May 10, 1946.

Tom Moore, Former President of Canadian Trades & Labor Congress—July 6, 1946.

Arthur Higgins, Former President of Paper Makers—July, 1946.

George C. Brooks, International Auditor of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers—August 17, 1946.

J. T. Woodward, Former Organizer for the American Federation of Labor—September 10, 1946.

John Fitzpatrick, President, Chicago Federation of Labor—September 27, 1946.

Herman Seldich, Organizer for Hotel and Restaurant Employees—August 15, 1946.

Edward M. Ware, General Vice President, Railway Carmen—December 29, 1944.

Morris O'Connor, General Vice President, Railway Carmen—February 2, 1945.

Eugene F. Schnitzler, President, Greater Muskegon Trades and Labor Council—December, 1945.

Estel F. Sams, Organizer for A. F. of L. and U. A. W.-A. F. L.—May, 1945.

John Lundergan, International Vice President, Switchmen's Union of North America—August 15, 1946.

Walter Zechel, Fire Fighters—April 15, 1946.

John D. McGilvray, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

Roy E. Funderburk, Vice President, International Chemical Workers—August, 1946.

Alex McDonald, International Union of Operating Engineers—December, 1945.

Merl Marks, Molders and Foundry Workers—March, 1946.

Joseph Therry, Chicago Milk Wagon Drivers Union No. 753—October 10, 1945.

Steve Sumner, Chicago Milk Wagon Drivers Union No. 753.

Robert Fitchie, Chicago Milk Wagon Drivers Union No. 753.

Edward Hanna, Vice President, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union.

Richard Cox, Vice President, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union.

Frank H. Weibel, General Vice President, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, died November 15, 1945.

J. R. Elliott, General Executive Board, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, died September 23, 1946.

Charles McCarthy, International Representative, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, died October 10, 1945.

Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers, May 13, 1946.

When the reading of the list was concluded the delegates rose and remained standing in silent tribute for a brief moment.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany, who will read some greetings and communications, and who has an announcement.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

### "KNIGHTS OF THE ROAD" HOBOES OF AMERICA, INC.

To American Federation of Labor in Convention, Chicago, Ill., October, 1946:

Fraternal greetings to a successful convention. As usual, Jeff Davis, our duly elected King of Hoboes, will be our official fraternal delegate and visitor to your convention. As per our last duly sworn incorporation statement filed in Indianapolis, Ind., September 6, 1946, where we are incorporated since 1914, our sworn membership is 1,025,000 members. For reconversion we have kept our membership off the road during the war, and now off the road since V-J Day. We don't want soup houses, bread lines nor transit camps like after the first World War. The F. B. I. and R.R. Dicks will tell you there are no hoboes on the road.

Fraternally and sincerely.

GEORGE SIEBERT,  
International Secretary,  
and the  
EXECUTIVE BOARD OF  
THE HOBOES OF  
AMERICA, INC.

Vancouver, Wash., Oct. 9, 1946.

American Federation of Labor Convention,  
Morrison Hotel:

Carpenters Local 1715, Vancouver, Washington, sends greetings to the members in session. And we of Local 1715 wholeheartedly support the move to have the WAB removed and scrapped, as we want democracy, not dictatorship.

Fraternally yours,

ALBERT SKUDE, F. S.,  
LOCAL 1715.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 9, 1946.

Convention of the American Federation of  
Labor, Hotel Morrison:

Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, I. L. G. W. U., send its fraternal greetings to the delegates at the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The workers of America look to the American Federation of Labor to provide leadership and direction in the struggle for peace, freedom and security. The Labor movement is the bulwark and defense of the American people against economic insecurity and political totalitarianism. May your deliberations prove fruitful and lead to strengthening of the Labor movement.

KNITGOODS WORKERS UNION,  
LOCAL 155, I. L. G. W. U.,  
SAM SIMENSKY, President,  
WILLIAM SCHEAFFER,  
Acting Manager.

SECRETARY MEANY: I wish to announce the annual Social Security Conference of the American Federation of Labor, which will be

held in this hotel tomorrow evening at 8 o'clock p. m., in the Hollywood Room, under the Chairmanship of Vice President Matthew Woll.

## RE-REFERRAL OF RESOLUTIONS NOS. 78 AND 9

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to announce the re-reference of Resolution No. 78 from the Committee on Resolutions to the Committee on Adjustment, and the re-reference of Resolution No. 9 from the Committee on Resolutions to the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

I wish to announce that Secretary of War Patterson will address the convention tomorrow forenoon and later on Chairman Walling of the Wage and Hour Division of the Fair Labor Standards Act will address the convention in the afternoon.

We will also receive messages tomorrow from the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The Chair might inquire whether or not any committees are ready to report. Are there any announcements?

It seems that there are no committees ready to report, so the Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn.

On motion of Delegate Lindelof, the rules were suspended, and at 4:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m. Thursday, October 10.

## RESOLUTIONS

Following are additional resolutions received and referred to the appropriate committees:

## Palestine

**Resolution No. 161**—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, Margaret Mahr, Herman Finkelstein, Martin Lawlor, Alex Rose, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The plight of the more than one million Jewish survivors in Europe is steadily worsening, especially in those countries where Nazi-fostered anti-Semitism is making life for Jews at the present time intolerable and the future of these harassed people one of complete hopelessness, and

WHEREAS, The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, a joint commission appointed by Great Britain and the United States in 1945, unanimously recommended that 100,000 displaced European Jews be given immediate entry into the Holy Land, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has continuously requested of the British Government, which holds the mandate in Palestine, that the doors of Palestine be opened to 100,000 European Jews, victims of Fascist persecution—a position which has received the overwhelming support of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States of America, through the passage of resolutions in both houses of Congress and through the planks in the platforms of both major political parties, is pledged to the establishment in Palestine of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly called for "the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth" and has continually urged the Government of the United States "to take speedy and definite action on the Palestine question—action which will be in conformity with the historic, but as yet unfulfilled, pledges made to the Jewish people, and with the present needs of the persecuted Jews of Europe", and

WHEREAS, American labor is therefore shocked by the British Labor Government's refusal to admit 100,000 Jews into Palestine—a stand which violates the very precepts of the British Labor Party and which is in utter conflict with its party plank on Palestine which only three months prior to the Labor Party's assumption of power stated: "Let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority", and

WHEREAS, Palestine today is virtually an occupied country. The placing of a

cordon blockade around the Mediterranean, the seizure and mass deportation of immigrant Jews from Palestine to the Island of Cyprus, and the presence of 150,000 British Colonial troops garrisoned in Palestine, constitute a threat to the future peace of the Middle East, and

WHEREAS, Jewish initiative has converted the Holy Land into a model and progressive democratic community, and

WHEREAS, Palestine stands today as the one place where homeless Jews are certain of a gracious home-coming and where the right to work and live in dignity and honor is not dependent upon the whim of another people, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always had a deep respect for and a feeling of kinship with the Histadruth, the General Federation of Labor in Palestine, which has done such admirable pioneering work in the building of a truly democratic and progressive community in Palestine, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, herewith reiterates and re-emphasizes its stand that the world's historic and solemn obligations to the Jewish people be fulfilled to the end that Palestine be reconstituted as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in our time, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do respectfully call upon the President of the United States to demand that the British Government immediately carry out the unanimous recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry that 100,000 Jews be expeditiously admitted to Palestine—the land of their choice—as the first step in the solution of this most pressing humanitarian problem, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the American Government to adopt a firm program for the fulfillment of its pledges to the Jewish people as enunciated in Concurrent Resolution No. 44, adopted by the 79th Congress of the United States in 1945, and as expressed in the 1944 platform of the Democratic Party—the political party now in power—which states: "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Auxiliary Unions

**Resolution No. 162**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Auxiliary unions based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry are contrary to and destruc-



tive of sound trade union principles, practice and philosophy, un-American and undemocratic, and are a species of racism and fascism that constituted the basic causes of the second World War which destroyed millions of human lives and billions in property, and

WHEREAS, Certain international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor still maintain auxiliary unions based upon color and race that deny their members voice and vote in the determination of policies affecting their wages and working conditions, resulting from the negotiation of agreements, or in the selection and election of officers that direct the affairs of the national or international organization, or delegates to the international or national conventions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, October, 1946, go on record as condemning auxiliary unions as a form of taxation without representation, and call upon the national and international unions to abolish said auxiliary unions in the interest of justice and democracy to all of the members of unions, regardless of race, color, creed, country or ancestry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Labor Racial Relations Worker

**Resolution No. 163**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, There are some million or more Negro workers who are loyal members of the American Federation of Labor who have racial-labor relations problems that require adjustment from time to time by the federal, national and international unions, not only for the welfare of the Negro workers but also to advance the organization and increase the power of the federal, national, international unions, city central bodies and state federations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, October, 1946, go on record as favoring the appointment of a paid Labor-Racial Relations worker, with trade union understanding and sympathy with the program and philosophy of the A. F. of L., as a part of the staff of the president of the A. F. of L., with adequate facilities and means and cooperation, to conduct a long-range, sound and constructive educational program among the members of the A. F. of L., with a view to eliminating the dangerous doctrines of the master race that threaten and endanger the American labor movement, the citadel of our American democracy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Amnesty for Conscientious Objectors

**Resolution No. 164**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, More than a year after the end of hostilities, 1,500 conscientious objectors to war and conscription and other political offenders are still confined in federal prisons, while 4,500 others, having completed their sentences, suffer continued punishment through the loss of civil rights, and

WHEREAS, Among these young men are many Negro objectors to jim crow in the armed forces who, together with other conscientious objectors of all races and creeds, have been further penalized by the Department of Justice for fighting racial segregation and discrimination in the federal prisons, and

WHEREAS, The reason of war time necessity given for the imprisonment of most of these offenders no longer exists, and

WHEREAS, Only an executive amnesty can both free the imprisoned objectors and restore full civil rights to them and to the others already released, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm the high tradition of the American Federation of Labor after World War I, urging the President of the United States to declare an immediate amnesty for all conscientious objectors and other political prisoners sentenced under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon the United States Attorney General to cease prosecution of such men.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Civil Rights

**Resolution No. 165**—By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma Borchardt, John D. Connors, American Federation of Teachers; Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, John M. Leary, George W. Thorpe, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The individual's right to personal, political and economic freedom is the most precious asset of a democratic society, and

WHEREAS, The due process of law constitutes a basic right under the American concept of democratic government, and

WHEREAS, The citizens of this nation have vested in their government respon-

sibility for protection against the abridgment or violation of these rights, and

WHEREAS, The recent lynchings, mob violence and terrorism, are a ruthless abrogation of the democratic rights of men, and

WHEREAS, Persons guilty of these deplorable crimes have often been allowed to escape prosecution because of the prejudice, apathy, and, at times, deliberate negligence of local law enforcement officials, and

WHEREAS, Without additional legislation the federal government's power to intervene or take action in cases of mob violence is extremely inadequate, with the result that the twin evils of fear and terror continue unchecked, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor vigorously and unequivocally condemn these crimes, and urges the Congress of the United States to enact as speedily as possible, legislation which will permit the federal government to intervene in cases where individuals or groups have been deprived of their civil rights, guaranteed under the federal constitution, or have been denied due process of law or adequate protection against violence.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Pipe Fitting Trades

**Resolution No. 160**—By Delegate Frank J. Thill, Trades and Labor Assembly, Saint Paul, Minnesota.

WHEREAS, The President of the Miami Central Labor Union, Mr. Roy Singer, has sent a letter to the secretary of all central labor unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, requesting that central labor unions, petition the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to set up an organization and charter local branches of men engaged in the refrigeration and air conditioning industries, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has awarded all branches of the pipe fitting industry, including refrigeration and air conditioning, to the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, and that pipe fitters members of the United Association have always installed refrigeration and air conditioning, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to disregard the petition, if and when one is submitted to set up a new organization, as there are enough international unions now within the American Federation of Labor to properly handle all work in connection with the manufacture and installation of refrigeration and air conditioning equipment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Stove Mounters International Union

**Resolution No. 167**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Stove Mounters International Union for several years has deliberately invaded the jurisdiction of a number of international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, and

WHEREAS, This condition has made it difficult and sometimes impossible for these international unions to negotiate with employers covering their industries, and

WHEREAS, Repeated conferences between officers of the Stove Mounters International Union and the presidents of the international unions has failed to establish any adjustment whatsoever, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor cancel the charter of the Stove Mounters International Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Jurisdictional Board

**Resolution No. 168**—By H. E. Griffin, Central Labor Council, San Bernardino, California.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes seem to be the greatest evil in the American Federation of Labor make-up, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes not only create public sentiment against organized labor, but also creates dissension between our internationals and local unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes give the CIO and other alien labor organizations very strong talking points against the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes have meant the losing of contracts by many American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes have caused a terrific loss of income to the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes can be averted by the setting up of a Jurisdictional Board with power to determine the jurisdictional lines, and

WHEREAS, The sooner the American Federation of Labor takes such action and creates such a Jurisdictional Board the sooner the American Federation of Labor will be able to put its own house in order, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor create a Jurisdictional Board, comprised of six members that are not officials or members of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council and not more than one member from the same craft and shall be

chosen from the rank and file of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the term of office for members serving on the Jurisdictional Board shall be two years and members of the Board shall be elected by the convention; three members for the term of two years and three members for the term of one year, and at each succeeding convention there shall be elected three new members to replace the senior members of the Board. The Chairman of the Board shall be elected by the members of the Board with no vote excepting in cases of a tie vote and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That no member of the Jurisdictional Board shall serve for more than one term and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this Board be on the permanent payroll of the American Federation of Labor with its office in the American Federation of Labor headquarters in Washington, D. C. with the members receiving an adequate salary and expenses and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this Board go to the scene of any jurisdictional disputes and that all such disputes be decided on the basis of the merits of each case argued; all cases being presented in briefs or oral arguments before the Board, and that this Jurisdictional Board sit in judgment on all such disputes between any and all local unions and the decision of the Board will be binding on all local unions or international unions involved and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That any international or local union desiring, may appeal their case at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Eliminate Communists From Government Service

**Resolution No. 169**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and En-

gravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, Insidious forces of Communism have crept into certain elements of organized labor, seeking to dominate policies and practices of the free trade labor movement by infiltration into the ranks, and

**WHEREAS**, These same subversive forces would spread their doctrines of destruction into the Government of the United States, thereby constituting a real danger and threat to the true democratic principles of our Government, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor renews its pledge of loyalty to the United States Government, and recommends the dismissal from the service of any known member of the Communist party, or anyone known to be in sympathy with any subversive movement detrimental to our democratic form of Government, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

**Resolution No. 170**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R.

Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The organizations of the Government Employees Council affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently readmitted their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in this sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### United States Civil Service Commission

**Resolution No. 171**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie

L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The administration of laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to request members of the President that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission be selected from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Application of Seniority Principles to All Federal Employees

**Resolution No. 172**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical

Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of seniority principles among all Federal employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Indiscriminate Governmental Firing

**Resolution No. 173**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Men and women accept employment in peacetime in the bond of good faith and full intention to make the Federal Government civilian service a career, and

WHEREAS, Much of the turnover in the Government service is superinduced through the uncertainties of limitations

on appropriations, expiration of appropriations, cessation of projects and programs, whether emergency, defense, wartime or peacetime, and

WHEREAS, Instability in Government employment is so noticeably high as to discourage entrance of many qualified persons, and

WHEREAS, Wave after wave of dismissals continually beset the Government service without planning beyond determination to curtail numbers employed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor join wholeheartedly in endorsing the position of its unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in their purpose of seeing established an orderly system to eliminate the official hysteria which leads to reduction in force and to prevent the damage to employee morale, lowered efficiency and resultant decline in return upon the citizen's tax-dollar investment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Abuse of Government Personnel

**Resolution No. 174**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Recurrently national expenditures have become the center of much discussion, and

WHEREAS, Government programs and Government civilian personnel invariably are caught in the cross-fire of the pros and cons of such discussions, and

WHEREAS, Attacks upon Government personnel which more properly might be directed at Government programs prove extremely harmful to the efforts to perform their jobs effectively with morale suffering as a direct result, and

WHEREAS, Such attacks inevitably result in undermining the citizen's respect for and faith in his Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does herewith condemn all premeditated, gratuitous assaults upon Government employees as a class, and that the American Federation of Labor calls for the full exercise of fairplay in considering the merits of Government projects and programs, separate and apart from the persons assigned to carry out such projects, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extends its prestige and full support to the unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in their pledge to safeguard the good name of those who serve our Government in civilian capacities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Multiplicity of Taxation

**Resolution No. 175**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; **James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.**

WHEREAS, There is an increase in the number of taxes Government employees are being forced to pay, and

WHEREAS, Certain municipalities, notably Philadelphia, have imposed so-called wage taxes, the burden of which, particularly during wartime, has fallen heavily upon Government employees in those cities, and

WHEREAS, Government employees have been given no choice in the matter when their jobs have been sent to other cities under decentralization programs and are forced to abandon their homes or lose their jobs, and

WHEREAS, Government employees, as result, have found themselves beset with tax systems not of their own choosing, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government, including the Congress, has not provided any relief against multiple taxation against its own employees, and

WHEREAS, The purposes of the O'Hara bill which would have brought some relief against such oppressive taxation was denied final passage in the 79th Congress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor now records its unreserved approval of passage of a bill similar to the O'Hara bill and gives unstinting support to the efforts of the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in an effort to remove existing tax abuses.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Modernization of Compensation Act

**Resolution No. 176**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; **James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of**



Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The complexities of a highly intricate economic world have undergone accelerated changes in the last 30 years, and

WHEREAS, The individual finds it far more difficult than it was three decades ago to achieve rehabilitation or adjustment after injuries resulting from hazards on the job, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government, acting in the role of exemplary employer, should cause the United States Employees' Compensation Act governing its own employees to be revised in line with modern day requirements, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does hereby record its heartiest approval to the efforts of affiliated unions and the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor, and it herewith adds its active support, to the increase of compensation rates for Government employees injured in line of duty, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such increased rates, in no event, should be less than the amount received while on active duty.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Postal Rural Carrier Allowance Increase

**Resolution No. 177**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers;

W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The cost of rural carrier delivery equipment and maintenance has advanced far beyond the allowance received, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse legislation establishing an allowance of ten cents per mile per day for each mile of travel, and a minimum allowance of seventy-five cents per hour for all carriers who serve routes readjusted under the Burch Act, and for carriers on routes of thirty miles or less in length.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Postal Rural Carrier Substitute Status

**Resolution No. 178**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Substitutes in the Rural Delivery Service in the Post Office Department do not have the protection of civil service, and

WHEREAS, This denies them privileges that they should be entitled to and defeats the effectiveness of the merit system, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse legislation giving Rural Carrier substitutes a civil service status and granted annual leave and sick leave.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.



## Twenty-Five Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

**Resolution No. 170**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Bliggadke, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John E. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law, and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amandatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employe after twenty-five years' service and provisions made for widows of deceased employes and annuitants, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs, the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to co-operate with the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in securing the enactment of a twenty-five year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Higher Standards in Government Employment

**Resolution No. 180**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of

Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Bliggadke, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John E. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of harmful and objectionable speedup practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employees' representation thereon; employees' representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees; and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to these groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency of rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work; liberalization of the Civil Service Retirement law and establishment of the right to optional retirement after twenty-five years' service; application of seniority principles to all Government employees; establishment of a system of longevity pay; and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for

establishments in private industry, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of the Government Employees Council in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Non-Civil Service Employes in Postal Service

**Resolution No. 181**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions, and

**WHEREAS**, Due to emergency conditions incident to the war, many temporary employees have been employed in the postal service, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its sixty-fifth convention, assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service

except during bona fide emergencies, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That prompt steps be taken to replace all temporary or non-certified civil service employees in the postal service as soon as practicable.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Salary Increase for Government Employes

**Resolution No. 182**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, Government employes have had inadequate increases during the past two years, and

**WHEREAS**, The increases granted by the 79th Congress to Government employes do not sufficiently meet the increased cost of living, and

**WHEREAS**, The Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor is endeavoring to secure permanent upward revisions of salary, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this, the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Chicago, Illinois, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employees Council in securing an equitable upward revision of salaries and wages and instruct the Executive Council to support legislation for that purpose to the fullest possible extent.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Increase for Federal Annuitants

**Resolution No. 183**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece E. Heffner, John E. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased enormously during the last decade with no increase in the annuity of retired civil service employees, and

WHEREAS, This comparatively low annuity is causing undue hardship amongst retired civil service employees, and

WHEREAS, This situation is causing many government employees to remain in the service who are eligible for and anxious to retire, thus working undue hardships on employees who have not yet retired, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support legislation providing for an increase of at least \$600 per annum in the annuities of Federal civil service employees now retired or retiring in the future.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Food for Freedom

**Resolution No. 184**—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, Photo Engravers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The members of the American Federation of Labor, in addition to supporting wide-scale government measures for the relief of hungry millions in liberated countries, have generously given practical aid through La-

bor's League for Human Rights to our trade union brothers in those countries, and

WHEREAS, With an estimated world deficit of eight million tons of bread grains for 1946-47, hunger and famine continue to threaten the firm establishment of freedom and genuine democracy and require continuing aid both by government and private agencies, and

WHEREAS, In the coming months 20 million children in the liberated nations will need food relief to live and regain their health, and in addition millions of adults, mainly wage-earners, will need such aid, and

WHEREAS, Since its establishment in 1943 Food For Freedom, a non-profit, non-partisan agency, acting in whole-hearted co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, has stressed the crucial importance of food in the establishment of a democratic lasting peace and has helped mobilize American public opinion in support of adequate famine relief measures, and

WHEREAS, Food For Freedom's policy, in harmony with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, is that food relief should be furnished only to meet human needs and only where it will not be subverted to the furtherance of political domination, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in its 65th convention, endorses and pledges its co-operation to Food For Freedom and recommends to its affiliated international and national unions, to state and central labor bodies and to local unions that every possible aid and assistance be given to the policies, programs, and activities of this organization whose name—Food For Freedom — accurately describes its purpose.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Discrimination Against Minorities

**Resolution No. 185**—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, Photo Engravers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Recent developments indicate the presence in this country of considerable racial tension, religious bigotry and anti-Semitism, setting Protestant against Catholic, Christian against Jew, white against colored, native Americans against foreign born citizens, and

WHEREAS, Anti-Semitism as used by fascist and nazi-inspired elements to sow dissension and mistrust in their effort to destroy the national unity, democratic institutions and the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Racial and religious discord plays into the hands of the enemies of organized labor who are trying to bring about the repeal or emasculat

of the liberal social legislation on our statute books and to tear down the American standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, offering by its very existence living proof of the great good that comes of various groups working together toward one common goal, has always contended that discrimination against minorities is directly contrary to the principles of democracy, which is the cornerstone of a free labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor issue a warning to the American people against the danger of allowing the wave of racialism to rise in this country, no matter who practices the discrimination and against what group it is directed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be put on guard in their readjustment to post-war conditions, lest they fall victim to the disruptive attempts of the union-wreckers whose interests bigotry serves, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention demand the immediate abolition of the poll tax and the establishment, by act of Congress, of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, authorized to eliminate discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin, in private industry as well as in government work, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to wage an unrelenting struggle against the groups responsible for the spreading of the poison of anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism, anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism and other forms of racial prejudice, and that the Executive Council give all possible support to the international and local unions in the undertaking and carrying out of an educational program calculated to promote tolerance, understanding, and amity among the various groups comprising the family of American organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Prohibition

**Resolution No. 186**—By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, There is a well organized and heavily financed movement in this country seeking through its efforts to prohibit the manufacture, distribution and sale of alcoholic beverages, thereby destroying the distilling and wine industries and causing hardship and unemployment to thousands of employees, members of Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and thousands of other members of unions, affiliated with

the American Federation of Labor, allied to the distilling and wine industries, and

WHEREAS, The products of the distilling and wine industries are the greatest single source of internal revenue to the United States Government, and are a significant source of revenue to State and local municipal bodies, and by reason of such revenue has resulted in substantial social improvements for the community as a whole; and the distilling and wine industries have caused the full employment of hundreds of thousands of workers in allied industries, and

WHEREAS, These prohibition forces with misguided zeal seek to plunge the country into a repetition of the lawlessness of the infamous prohibition era, the ill effects of which are still being experienced in this country, and

WHEREAS, The dry forces have utilized the technique of local option elections as a means of accomplishing their purpose piece-meal, being unable to accomplish this result on a national plane, and are engaged in waging such local option campaigns with untruth and prejudice in total disregard of reasoned findings of scientists and the Yale School of Alcoholism, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in conformity with its past efforts and utterances, hereby declare itself as unalterably opposed to the efforts of the dry forces and their organizations who seek to declare illegal the manufacture, distribution, or sale of alcoholic beverages; and further declares that the efforts of such forces are harmful to the best welfare of our country, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention, through its President, instruct its affiliated organizations, including its state federations of labor and city central bodies, to keep a vigilant watch for all local option elections and to strenuously oppose the prohibition forces in these local option elections, and that the state federations of labor be instructed to combat the efforts of all forces which seek to prohibit by any manner or means the manufacture, distribution and sale of alcoholic beverages.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Machinery to Settle Jurisdictional Disputes in Amusement Industry

**Resolution No. 187**—By Delegates Paul Duizell, Pat Somerset, George Heller, Associated Actors and Artists of America.

WHEREAS, There exists in the motion picture, amusement and all other industries a situation wherein multiplicity of unions, all members of the American Federation of Labor, work in close association one with the other, and

WHEREAS, For the benefit of all members, our unions and the entire American Federation of Labor, it is

desirable that peace and harmony prevail in all of these industries, and

WHEREAS, There now exists within the structure of certain American Federation of Labor international organizations, such as the Building Trades Council and the Metal Trades Council, machinery for arbitration of disputes between A. F. of L. unions which has accomplished the desired purpose, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council undertake to set up within the motion picture, amusement, and all other industries, and with the sanction and agreement of all unions working in these industries, ways and means for the purpose of examining, considering, and after deliberation, setting up machinery which will insure the peaceful settlement, without work stoppage, of all jurisdictional disputes within the structure of the motion picture, amusement and all other industries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Cancer Research

**Resolution No. 188**—By Delegates John L. Lewis, John O'Leary, Thomas Kennedy, William Green, Percy Tetlow, M. F. Brennan, John Kmetz, Hugh White, William Mitch, United Mine Workers of America.

WHEREAS, There was defeated in the 79th Congress, a Bill (H. R. 4502) which provided for the mobilization of world scientists, experts and leaders in the field of cancer research, for coordination of all efforts toward the eradication of cancer and an appropriation of \$100,000,000, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has appropriated and spent billions of dollars in promoting atomic research to destroy life, other billions to fight disease and feed the millions of underprivileged citizens of Europe, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, call upon the Congress of the United States to consider and pass legislation in the 80th Congress that will provide the necessary money and research to save the seventeen million American citizens now living and who

are doomed to death by this hideous disease during our lifetime, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our officers be instructed to use their every influence to promote passage of this humanitarian legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### National Council for Permanent FEPC

**Resolution No. 189**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee is the recognized and responsible agency free from all totalitarian influences from the right or left, which is waging a nation wide educational campaign among the churches, trade unions, schools and colleges, civic groups, and homes with a view to informing public opinion of the nature and importance of Federal legislation for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, not only because of its significance to Negroes, Catholics, Jews, Mexicans, Filipinos, and Japanese Americans, but also because of its basic value to our American democratic institutions and traditions, and

WHEREAS, Some sixty or more national organizations in the country including such agencies as The Interracial Catholic Commission, The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, The B'nai B'rith, The Y. M. C. A., and the Y. W. C. A., are supporting and co-operating with the Council, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, October, 1946, go on record as endorsing, supporting, and cooperating with the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee and its program, and call upon the various national, international, and federal unions, central bodies, and state federations, to cooperate with this National Council for a Permanent F. E. P. C. in its efforts to secure sound and effective legislation for the application of the principles of fair employment practice.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING-SESSION

Chicago, Ill., October 10, 1946

The convention was called to order by President Green at 10 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Father Elmer A. Barton, S.J., pastor of the Holy Family Church, Chicago, will pronounce the invocation.

## INVOCATION

(Father Elmer A. Barton, S.J., Pastor, Holy Family Church)

Omnipotent and Eternal God, Creator of all things, look down upon this assembly discussing the ways and means for a just and equitable relationship with industry. Give them the necessary light to understand the problems and strengthen their rights which Thou has given to them from all eternity. Thy Divine Son chose to be a working man and thereby dignified labor. Teach them to follow Thy eternal principles, which alone will lead to lasting peace in this economic world. Keep before their eyes the dignity of human beings so that they may always respect their fellow-men. Let them not be discouraged when Godless and avaricious men try to destroy their God-given rights and reduce their efforts to a paltry and unjust reward.

In particular bless those gallant leaders of labor who have brought this crowd together, and who are making many sacrifices that labor may have its proper place in a just and peaceful world. Instill in their hearts love, patience, justice and peace. Bless them throughout their lives, through Jesus Christ.

Our Father, Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following telegram:

New York, N. Y., Oct. 7, 1946.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Morrison Hotel,  
Chicago, Ill.

The International Solidarity Committee extends fraternal greetings to the delegates and convention of the American Federation of Labor. May your deliberations prove fruitful to the growth and unity of the labor movement. Our committee, which is engaged in sending food packages to trade unionists and democratic anti-Fascists who suffered at the hands of the Nazi, hails the progress and growth of your organization.

ISRAEL FEINBERG,

Chairman,

PHIL HELLER,

Executive Director,  
International Solidarity Committee.

## Committee to Escort Secretary of War Patterson

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Secretary of War Patterson will arrive in the city this morning and be prepared to address the convention either at the close of this morning's session or immediately after we reconvene this afternoon. I will appoint Vice President Bates, President E. J. Brown of the Electrical Workers, and Brother Martin Durkin of the Plumbers as a committee to meet with Secretary Patterson and escort him to the hall, following his arrival.

May I inquire if Delegate Martel, of the Detroit Central Trades and Labor Council, is in the hall?

The Labor Press Association has delegated a very capable and outstanding member of that association to represent them at this convention through the submission of a report to you and a discussion of the work and service of the labor press. Surely all of us possess a keen and deep sense of appreciation of the importance which the labor press plays in the organizational and administrative work of the American Federation of Labor.

The labor press is consistent in its support and devotion to the American Federation of Labor. We all deeply appreciate the service it renders our great movement.

I am pleased to present to you Brother Martel, the president of the Detroit Federation of Labor and representing that important central body in this convention. He will speak to you as a representative of the labor press. Brother Frank X. Martel.

## MR. FRANK X. MARTEL

## (Representing the Labor Press)

President Green and members of the American Federation of Labor convention: On behalf of the Labor Press Association, I want to express our appreciation to the President of the American Federation of Labor for making possible the delivery of this short message to you, and I assure you it will be short.

I have been selected by the officers of the Labor Press Association to place certain matters before the delegates at this convention and ask your indulgence and your assistance in correcting some of those conditions that the labor press is confronted with.

First of all, we want to report that the labor press now has a new secretary. Mr. Lou Herrmann, of the Typographical Union of New Jersey, has been elected to take the place of Mr. Robert Woodmansee, who declined to run for reelection after serving the Press Association for 32 years as its secretary.

Financially the Press Association is in good condition. Our problem, my friends, is to



bring home to the representatives of the trade union movement in America the work that the local and national labor press is trying to do and some of the handicaps that we are operating under. We hope in time to seek and obtain official recognition for the Labor Press Association as one of the duly recognized arms of the American Federation of Labor. But before doing that we propose to establish standards for admittance to the association and a code of ethics for the operation of publications claiming the right to speak for and interpret the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. We don't know just how soon such application shall be made, but we hope some time within the current year.

As you know, the labor press is divided into several groups. First and most important, and with the largest circulation are the international journals owned and operated by the international unions and serving first, of all their own international unions and, in a general way, endeavoring to keep the membership of their internationals acquainted with happenings in the labor world.

Next comes a group of weekly newspapers owned and operated by central bodies or groups of local unions; and then a group of privately owned papers.

In addition to that, there are certain news services that are affiliated with the Press Association. Newspapers - legitimately operated, either by central bodies or by individuals, have their problems of trying to meet the cost of operation, and unless a local community is prepared to pay that which is necessary to meet such costs they must either surrender the right to have a local newspaper or to have one of a standard that does not measure up to that which most of the labor editors believe is a proper standard for a labor paper, to be officially recognized by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated groups. We are going to devote some of our attention to trying to correct some of these conditions that have brought complaints against publications.

Then again, we want to direct your attention to the invasion of a field that might otherwise be plowed profitably by legitimate labor papers, by a type of individual engaged in exploiting the trade union movement for personal gain by issuing yearbooks, souvenirs and publications of little or no circulation. The Press Association has no authority to control that. The central bodies, the state federations and the American Federation of Labor can prevent the use of their name, and we hope some time to see the day come when the American Federation of Labor and the local central bodies of the state federations will not only prohibit the use of their name in such a manner but to go after anyone who attempts to use their name without proper authority - and, my friends, it is done all too frequently.

Now, as to the field of the local labor press. Weak as it may be, poorly financed as it is in most cases, in many localities in America it is the only instrument that is available to tell the labor story to the general public in times of controversy. We know that we can't compete with the daily newspapers, but we do know that the columns of the average weekly labor newspapers are open to tell the story of any trade union in that community that has a legitimate story to tell. And all too fre-

quently the local labor press is called upon to fight the battles of local unions who refuse and neglect to support the local labor paper, and sometimes, in some cases, render a disservice as soon as their own quarrel is over.

We know that, generally speaking, the American Federation of Labor and its international unions have rendered splendid support to these newspapers, but more can be done. Our ability to serve you, to get over the message of organized labor to the membership of our local union, to interpret the happenings in the labor world to the membership of your local unions in accordance with the philosophies of the American Federation of Labor, will depend to a large degree on the volume of support that the local press receives from the local unions.

So, my friends, in closing I want to urge the delegates to this convention to give serious consideration to rendering aid to the local labor press in every form and manner you can, and we assure you on behalf of the association that we will try and put our house in order, to eliminate from our roster those papers that are not worthy of being classed as official mouthpieces for the trade union movement, and to recognize only such papers as show loyalty to the American Federation of Labor. There is going to be no room in the Labor Press Association for those publications that claim to represent both the American Federation of Labor and a dual movement at the same time. The Labor Press Association from this point on is going to try and be strictly an American Federation of Labor institution.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I again want to thank the delegates for this opportunity, and we hope that before the year is out we will be able to place before the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. a program that will strengthen the labor press of America.

Thank you, my friends.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you, Brother Martel. Now, we have reached a part of our program to which we have been looking forward, happily anticipating the pleasant experience of listening to our fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I am pleased indeed at this time to present to you the fraternal delegates just referred to, and in doing so I want to assure them that we deeply appreciate their visit with us and to this convention. We have maintained, as we have frequently said, an unbroken relationship with the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress over a very extended period of time. We are proud to think of ourselves as one great family of labor, there is such a bond of common interest existing between these English speaking nations. I am confident we have strengthened that bond of understanding and fraternal relationship through the exchange of fraternal delegates over the years. We served together, fought together, we helped each other during the great emergency through which we have just passed. Our brave men from America died on the battlefields, alongside those from Great Britain and Canada; all



served together in a common cause. We still think of that great conflict and the service rendered by those of our sons who left and fought on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Now, I am pleased to present to you the senior member of the fraternal delegation from Great Britain. I introduced him to you the other morning—Brother Tom O'Brien, Member of Parliament, General Secretary of the Theatrical and Cinema Employees Union, and a member of the Trades Union Congress General Council. He came all the way from London to bring us a message which he will deliver this morning.

I present to you, our dear friend, our brother, our fraternal delegate, Brother Thomas O'Brien.

### MR. THOMAS O'BRIEN (Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

President Green, honored guests, and the assembled delegates of the American Federation of Labor: One or two misunderstandings require clearing up before I really get down to my address. On Monday morning when I sat on the platform listening to the opening proceedings of the conference, Mr. David Dubinsky was reading a Jewish newspaper and he placed it in front of me and left. That gave rise to a considerable doubt as to the actual origin of my nationality. So, in view of the many questions I have been asked during the week, let me clear the air myself by giving you a short account of an actual fact which happened in 1940.

The Trades Union Congress General Council had an audience with our King and Queen at Buckingham Palace, and we all went to the Palace to meet their Majesties because we were presenting a number of motor vehicles from the T. U. C. for use in the first African campaign. Their Majesties walked down the line, and Dr. Gibson, our President, presented us to their Majesties, one by one, and he had something to say about each one of us. When he came to me he turned to the King and Queen and he said: "Your Majesties, I am in great difficulty in presenting this gentleman. He is a confirmed Internationalist. He drinks Scotch whiskey, he has an Irish name of Irish parents, he was born in Wales and looks like a Jew."

Now, you have the nationality of the fraternal delegate from Great Britain, if you care to sort it out in one way or another.

Now, I should like to take this opportunity at the outset, Mr. Green, of thanking you, sir, and the Vice-Presidents and officers of the A. F. of L. for their kind courtesies and for the many nice things they have done for us since we have been here. I also want to place on record my thanks to Mr. Doherty, your Vice-President, who has adopted my colleague, Mr. Watson and myself, I believe, for the duration. Two nights is quite enough at the moment, but he has been very kind, as have one or two more of you.

Again, you know that I am the British leader of the Entertainment Workers in Britain, a position similar to the I. A. T. S. E. over here, and the courtesies and the kindnesses and the generosity which I have received from my union brothers in the I. A. T. S. E. in America since I reached here a couple of weeks ago, and particularly through Mr. Richard Walsh, its president, are beyond words to describe. I want to thank the union and Mr. Walsh and all of you for the kindnesses you have shown since we have been here.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to express to you all the sense of great personal pleasure which I feel in having the privilege of conveying to your convention and to your membership the warm fraternal greetings of the unions affiliated with the British Trades Union Congress, the total membership of which exceeds 6,000,000. I am also pleased that I am now able to speak to you in behalf of the main bodies of the workers organized in Great Britain. Now, that the British Government has fulfilled the wishes of electorate of Britain and has given the workers their freedom we rejoice that in the overwhelming majority the unions are now able to play their full part in the trade union movement. For the first time in the history of our country, we have returned to power, with a majority a Labor Government and a knowledge of the fact that the great trade union leaders of our movement in Great Britain played a great part, not only in carving the architecture and the building of that Parliament but taking a considerable part in the Government of our land. There are two or three names known to you. I need only quote one or two. You know our great leader—Mr. James Griffith, who was a miner and who was born and reared in the mines and who worked for the people. Then we have the great illustrious leader of our trade union movement, Mr. Ernest Bevin, who not only built one of the largest and greatest trade unions in the world, but who also was responsible for the successful mobilization of our man-power during the war and is now the greatest Foreign Secretary that Britain has ever produced.

We in Britain regard the American trade union movement as a brother organization rather than an overseas national center. This is not only because of the common language which we share or, I should say, nearly, common language, which our two peoples enjoy and use, but because of the similarity of our ways of life, and of our individual and collective aspirations provide us with basic problems which are almost identical in character.

We have had with us, too, stationed in our country, I need hardly remind you, large sections of the American fighting forces. These men and women were representative of all sections of American life. Each of them was, in his own way, an unofficial ambassador of your great country.

To illustrate the response which their presence inspired, let me recall the instance of the Christmas hospitalities to American service men. Christmas to us, like it is to you, is a great feast of the family, a great feast of the home. We arranged a scheme to entertain the American boys and the few American girls who came over for Christmas, in order that they could at least have their home life in British

homes at that sacred season of the year. The scheme was duly announced. Weeks before Christmas, in fact, months before Christmas, the organization had to throw up its hands in despair—the American organization. The American authorities were handling this scheme with us and what they had to say was this. It indicates the real depth of the bond of friendship and understanding which our two great countries enjoyed. What the American authorities had to say was this: "Please do not send us any more offers of hospitality. We just haven't enough American service men to go around."

That, I think, was a very fine response on the part of your people to mine. That example shows how close these people were to our people, and our people to them. They were with us during one of our most critical periods and shared the world's most bitter and most momentous struggle.

Your President made a masterly analysis and review of the great American war effort. I sat there listening, enthralled, and I wondered whether it would be necessary again for our country and for yours in particular to repeat that experience.

One result of this sharing of a common burden and a common task, and as a consequence of this direct contact between large numbers of your people and ours has been the birth of a greater understanding. This has given rise to the imperative sense of the need to transform these individual Anglo-American friendships, made and tested during those dark days, into a better understanding and an even closer affinity between our two nations. This can contribute to a wider and deeper International brotherhood.

You will allow me, I know, to say a few words upon the effort the British Trades Congress has made to lay foundations for the closer union of the trade union movements of the world. I am acutely aware of the difference in your viewpoint and ours on the question of international trade union organizations, but I am sure that you will give the movement for which I speak at your convention today credit for the motives that impelled us to seek a deeper unity among the trade unions of all countries than existed before the world struggle began in 1939.

May I recall the statement made by the British TUC to the trade union movements in other countries, even before the war came to an end, to join in an exploration of the problem of reorganizing the world trade union movement to meet the new responsibilities and opportunities of the future. Our General Council, in their statement of their aim in calling a World Trade Union Conference, declared that they felt it a solemn duty to try to rebuild the international trade union movement, despite the obvious difficulties. They felt—and I was a member of the Council, as I still am, and signed the declaration with perfect sincerity—that the risks involved must be taken to get together all representative organizations, however different in structure or ideology, and to secure their cooperation in the building of the greater international trade union movement.

We felt very strongly and said plainly that we considered this to be the supreme testing time in the history of the trade union move-

ment. The depth of our faith in trade unionism would be revealed, we said, to the extent to which all concerned rose superior to inter-necine difficulties and national obstacles. We said further: "Unless the trade unions, representing the working classes, find it possible to sit together in conference, to commune on our common international problems, and to try to find a constructive policy to rebuild our international movement, the prospects for humanity are dark indeed."

I make bold to say, Mr. President, in this assembly that events in the world at large, the trend of international events, the strain of international relations, all have gone to reinforce the British TUC aim and purpose, though we have to admit with profound regret that we did not succeed completely in the aims we had in view. Nevertheless, I am here to say that it remains our profound conviction that the trade union movements of all countries are the basis on which the friendships of war co-operation are to become the foundations upon which a just and enduring peace can be built. We remain convinced that the abundance of good will and sincere friendship which we entertain in Britain for the organized workers of the United States justifies us in what we have already done and hope to do to strengthen and broaden the international trade union movement.

We do not believe that political organization, economic planning or systems of government must conform to one single pattern. God forbid that they should. We do, however, believe that international trade union unity and maximum cooperation between our various movements throughout the world will never be a possibility if we halt our action until our conceptions of political, economic and social organization conform to a single pattern. There are difficulties which we do not deny in the collaboration of the representatives of the world trade union movement inside the World Federation. What we are striving to secure is that the basis of association within the World Federation shall be industrial and not political interests.

I have felt it my duty, Mr. President, to say this much about the relations of the British TUC with the world trade union movement, although I know your reasons for not associating your great organization so far with the World Federation. We have an unquenchable hope that eventually world trade union unity will be achieved. At least we can have from you, I am sure, a sympathetic understanding of our motives, our aims, and our actions in this field.

I bring to you from the British trade union movement our tribute of thanks and gratitude for the great contribution the American trade unions made during the war. Particularly are we grateful for the moral and material support you gave to us in the dark hours when our small island was a fortress besieged, and we were alone on the other side of the ocean in our stand against the destructive forces of Nazism, and later became the great base from which your great and mighty industrial and military effort operated. Civilization was in peril of death then and you helped mightily to save it in that hour. It is civilization in the rebuilding which is our charge and responsibility now, and its salvation depends, in my

strong belief, on our continued cooperation in the long and difficult years to come.

One of the great mutual benefits we derive from the exchange of fraternal delegations between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor is the opportunity it gives us to understand what is happening in both countries of importance and interest to the organized workers. Last year at Blackpool George Meany, your very capable Secretary, came as your fraternal delegate. We sat waiting for some pronouncement of an ordinary character from your delegation, Mr. Meany and Brother Doherty, and George went on to the platform and simply blew the lid off. I can't remember whether he used notes extensively, but whether he did or whether he didn't he said something in true British-American fashion which did not allow of any misunderstanding, and he finished up by saying that we could not expect him to travel 3,000 miles and keep his mouth shut. So he didn't and my remarks about the World Federation of Trade Unions are not intended to be a reply to George. I would not attempt that at the moment. They are intended, Mr. President Green, to reflect the motives behind the policy which our Council, rightly or wrongly adopted in this particular matter, and I make mention of that to avoid any possibility of a misunderstanding that we are playing a childish game of retaliation, one point for another. But I would say this, your delegate, Brother Meany, did contribute a great service to our international relationship in that there was no possibility of us misunderstanding the position and the policy of the American Federation of Labor, because it is in misunderstandings that difficulties arise.

I feel that the convention will expect me to say something about the legislation on social and economic questions that is being carried through the present Parliament at home. I have the honor and the privilege of being both a member of Parliament and the principal administrative officer of a union concerned with an industry which bulks largely in the cultural and educational life of both of our countries, the cinema and film-making industry. We are engaged day to day with the legislative program which the country gave the present Government an unmistakable mandate to carry into effect. It is a comprehensive program of social and economic reconstruction, and I am sure one or two of the points I have recorded will interest you.

Of very great social importance is the group of measures to establish bulwarks of defense and foundations of security for the wage earner and his family. Briefly, these measures begin with a Family Allowances Act, which gives every worker's family a cash allowance of a dollar a week for each child after the first. You have family allowances legislation in some of the States of your great Union. We now have a nationwide system which links to other measures of Social Security that the present Parliament is placing on the statute book.

Connected with the Family Allowances Act is an Industrial Injuries Insurance Act. The Family Allowances Act recognizes no social distinctions. The parents of all children are entitled to claim the family allowance of \$1 a week for each child from birth up to school

leaving age, except for the first child, whose position is covered by other legislation.

The Industrial Injuries Insurance scheme, on the other hand, is a measure planned to benefit the workers who meet with accidents arising out of and in the course of their employment.

The Workmen's Compensation Acts passed by previous Parliaments, a hodgepodge of improvised legislation, one may call it, have been repealed. Under the new Act all manual and non-manual workers who are employed under a contract of service—and that means practically all employed persons—are covered by the Act. Workers and employers pay an equal contribution, which are to be included in the general insurance contributions made under the Social Security measures now on their way to the statute book in our country. The rates of contribution are around five, six, seven, ten cents per week and the benefits range up to roughly \$9 a week for the first 26 weeks. The married worker will draw \$15 a week if he is the father of a family. His allowance will be increased to \$1.50 for the first child, that is if he is the father of a family. Payment of benefit starts from the first day of incapacity. There are no waiting days. At the end of 26 weeks, if the worker is still incapacitated by his injury, the extent of that incapacity is assessed, and if it is 100 per cent disability he will receive an Industrial Injuries pension, giving him \$9 a week, plus an allowance for children, if he is married, plus also an additional payment of \$1 a week if he is permanently incapable of work, and a further \$4 a week if the nature of his injury requires constant attendance upon him.

There are other advantages in these schemes which I won't weary you with, but the whole idea is to protect the worker who, for whatever reason of incapacity, whether it is in health or accidents of any kind, a difficulty which robs him of his income, the intention is for the law to provide for the State to guarantee a minimum income for that man, his wife and his family, so that they will not suffer as a result of circumstances over which he has no control.

It is a pretty comprehensive system of protection against industrial risks. It joins on to the much broader scheme of national insurance which is now being enacted. This larger scheme provides payments for unemployment, sickness, pensions, maternity, widowhood and death. It covers everybody in the United Kingdom over school age and under pensionable age, no matter what his income or his social status may be. It extends not only to employed persons, it covers self-employed persons, such as shopkeepers and others in business on their own account, solicitors, dentists and the professional classes also. It covers non-employed persons, including married women and wealthy people who need not work. All these insured people have to pay a contribution—in the case of an adult man it is a dollar, and the self-employed man \$1.20, and the non-employed person just under a dollar. For these contributions there is a wide range of benefits under the general insurance scheme, including an allowance in respect of unemployment or sickness of just over \$5 a week sickness benefit, lasting as long as the illness lasts

if a certain number of contributions—156 weekly payments—have been paid.

Unemployment benefit is paid for 30 weeks, but will be extended if the contribution and benefit records are good. There is a maternity grant, a maternity allowance, a benefit for widows and pensions for them, which incidentally takes effect in this very month in which I speak, and a death benefit for funeral expenses.

Linked with this comprehensive system of national insurance is a system of retirement pensions providing \$5 a week for a man at 65 and a woman at 60. Remember, of course, when I am referring to the cash benefits that the difference between the money values in Britain and America are clear—\$5 in Britain represents to us a little better than \$5 would represent to you, so keep that in mind. It is a contributory system, and pension benefits are also coming into operation this very month.

Then there is in process of legislative enactment a bill which establishes a national health service. We in Britain look upon this new measure of national health service as of the greatest importance to any civilized community and we are very proud of it. It will provide a complete medical service, including family doctor, specialist, surgeon, hospital treatment and convalescent home for every member of an insured person's family, and everybody will be insured.

In developing this national health service, health centers are to be established in all parts of the country and clinics connected with them for dentists, opticians and aural specialists. It is to be a complete health service, revolutionizing the conduct of the hospitals and the work of the medical profession. And so we get this picture of a bold and vigorous effort to build defenses against the enemies of the workers' home—want, poverty, malnutrition, destitution arising from loss of work, injury at work, sickness that disables people from work, and all the other risks and hazards of our daily lives which can be covered by humane, well considered social legislation of this nature. I could say much more about it, but I must pass on to refer briefly to some of the domestic problems facing the trade union movement at home.

As the TUC see them at the present time, these problems are an early and rational introduction of a 40-hour, five-day week.

The trade unions always feel a sense of corporate responsibility toward the industries in which they operate and to the economy of their country. They are an early and rational introduction of the 40-hour, five-day week and the widest possible expansion of peacetime production and development of services, with the most efficient use of manpower. That is one of our immediate aims. This sense of responsibility to which I have referred will also be felt toward the industries which are coming within government control.

While I was in America a number of people have spoken to me both, within this Federation and outside it, and they have not quite clearly understood how a free trade union movement can operate in Britain under what we call a nationalized industry—for example, the mines, the cable and the wireless services, and very soon the transport service, etc. Well, let me make this position very clear. The fact

that a Labor Government in Britain has nationalized certain industries or will nationalize certain other industries in no way takes away the freedom of the workers in those industries to negotiate freely for their working conditions and wages and, if necessary, the right to strike to enforce what those unions regard as satisfactory conditions. There is no impediment of any kind placed on the British workers or the British Trade Unions by the fact that they are working in nationalized industries. I think that point should be thoroughly understood in America.

One of the great problems in Britain is that of providing a new generation of leaders for the trade union movement, equipping them with the mental training which will enable them to handle the complex problems which industry will face in the years to come. Our T.U.C. is devoting much thought and substantial funds to providing facilities which will give the generation of trade union leaders which will follow us a better start than we and our forefathers had in this work.

Let me mention with particular gratitude in this connection the donation which was given from the Roosevelt Memorial Trust, which our General Council accepted only a matter of a few weeks ago. That money will enable us to plan on an increased scale for the training of youths in trade union and social work. Mindful, too, of the many trade unionists who made the final sacrifice in this, we hope, the last struggle against Fascism, we propose to provide a memorial to them by raising a fund to provide training in trade union work of our country and of the world.

Much has been said and written in your country and mine about food. Food restrictions in Britain, while slightly easier, are still acute. We have, as you know, had to ration bread. The ration is adequate and it has enabled us to save much needed food grains. Our industrial workers, in fact the whole community, are steadily climbing out of the vortex of a painful war with all the concomitant difficulties and restrictions. When I hear in America, as I have heard from one and the other, of very severe shortages here, no doubt what is meant by the Americans is that their shortages are relative to what they have been accustomed to. In Britain—I say this for information only and not by way of criticism of either one or the other country, merely by way of explanation—bread is rationed to each person at a minimum of nine ounces a day. Some of the heavier workers get more. We are rationed to two ounces of butter a week. Our children can't have candies or sweets, as we call them, more than four ounces a week, or a pound a month. The staple foods are rationed considerably, but everybody in Britain gets a fair share of the rationed goods, and it is just as well that you understand that nobody goes without the rationed foods in Britain. Short though they may be, everybody is entitled to them and gets them.

Lastly, I have spoken more about Britain than about your country for obvious reasons. It is my mandate to come here as a fraternal delegate for the T.U.C., but I have sought to convey to you some of the considerations which are uppermost in the minds of our people.

Let me say something to you in conclusion on what I regard to be a very important

matter—the influence of Communism in Great Britain as a whole and in the British trade unions. There is a great deal of misunderstanding about this matter over here. I am speaking for the moment in a dual capacity—as a Member of the British Parliament and also as a trade union delegate. The view is held by a considerable section of American opinion that Communism in Britain has gotten hold of the country because of a Labor Government and that it dominates the trade unions. That view has been expressed verbally from time to time over here and also in articles in the press.

Communism and the British Communist Party never in its history has exercised so little influence in the affairs of Britain and in the activities of the British Trade Unions as it does today. Let me give you one or two examples.

Last June the British Labor Party, which is a political party, set up by the British Trade Unions—and the British Labor Party, as you know, is not a new party suddenly given birth by some fanatical Communist or Leftwinger, the British Labor Party is forty-six years old, it was established by the British trade unions in 1889 and 1900, and the idea was that the British trade unions, from their point of view, felt that instead of relying upon the doubtful friendship of politicians in the other older parties, it would be far better for Britain if the trade unions established their own political party that would reflect more adequately, more correctly, more sincerely, more solidly the ideals and the aspirations of the trade unions. That is what the Labor Party is. It is not something new.

The Communist Party of Britain, for a great many years, has tried to get affiliation to the Labor Party, probably for the same reason they want to get affiliated everywhere, to destroy from within what they cannot destroy from without. That is the technique of the Communist: If they cannot destroy a thing from the outside, they destroy it from the inside, and as my colleague, Mr. Watson, who is a member of the Labor Party Executive Committee, will tell you, they tried year after year to get inside the Labor Party. The Labor Party's answer has always been, "we do not stand for the doctrine of Communism: the Labor Party's position has consistently been that we are a free democratic party, resting upon the supreme will of the Sovereign through Parliament and the supreme will of the people." They made it very clear, but nevertheless the Communist Party proceeded in trying to get affiliated to the Labor Party. Not only did it do that, but it got as many of the unions as possible, especially the large unions, to support Communist affiliation to the Labor Party. Many of the large unions are members of the Labor Party, and it looked as though the Communists were going to succeed. But union after union rejected the plea of the Communists within that union and undermined the influence that there was of those Communists inside the unions, and when the Party Conference met last June the motion for affiliation to the Labor Party was overwhelmingly defeated by more than 2,000,000 votes and less than half a million votes were in favor of affiliation.

That is one definite proof of which way the

political thinking of Britain is taking place. Never at any time have the trade unions in Britain been so free, so unfettered as they are today. They work freely, uninfluenced by the one side or the other, and the great thing, Mr. President Green, which will probably delight the American Federation of Labor in America is this: this rebellion in Britain against the influence of the Communist Party, this rebellion in Britain against affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labor Party not only came from the top, not only was inspired and resisted by the leaders of the trade unions in Britain, but the dynamic force behind it came from the rank and file members themselves. It came from the people. So, those of you who think and feel that we are tied hand in glove to the Communists in Britain are mistaken.

One last example, there are 640 members in the House of Commons, all elected from their various constituents. Of the 640 only two are members of the Communist Party.

In conclusion, Mr. President, our first allegiance in Britain, like your first allegiance here, is to our own country. We stand for our own people. You here owe allegiance to your people. Whatever our industrial system is, whatever our political system is in Britain, or yours here, similar as they may be, though with divergencies as well, we claim the right of our own people to our view and to controversy within our own land. We are prepared to attack and to criticise other parties and other people within our own country, but under no circumstance will we in Britain, like you here, stand for outside agencies who owe allegiance to a foreign State or to a foreign power trying to influence the conduct of our people. (Applause.)

The British Labor Party and the trade union movement stand on that solid ground. Your people and my people love and hate and believe in the same thing. You hate evil, you hate injustice, you hate anything which destroys your natural liberties and your freedoms and the great principles of your Americanism. We, too, hate all those things. You love justice, you love peace, you love liberty and you love freedom. We, too, in Britain, love freedom, we love liberty, and we love peace. Like yourselves, the two great peoples love family life, they have a great love of the home, a great love of all those simple joys of life which make life worth living, love of children, love of simplicity. The two peoples together loving the same things, hating the same things, believing in the same things, must go on in unity and in friendship, not only as two great peoples but as two great federations of labor, the British T.U.C. and the American Federation of Labor. We must continue to cooperate, despite our divergencies. We must continue to keep the hands and bonds of friendship sound and secure. We believe in these things, we believe, like you do, that the future of the world depends on free institutions like our trade union movements. We believe in the great principles for which we will stand and fight like you, for the right to live, for the right to be free, for the right for us to bring up our children and our children's children in the love and knowledge of God, and that the principles for which your great American Federation of Labor and the principles

for which the T.U.C. stand will never perish from the world.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now, I am pleased to present to you the other fraternal delegate from the great British Trades Union Congress, the one who travelled 3,000 miles, along with Brother O'Brien, to bring to this great convention a fraternal message.

I present to you now Brother Sam Watson, the General Secretary of the Durham Miners Association and a member of the National Executive Committee of the British Labor Party. In addition he is very active in the field of workers' education. He has been for years an unpaid tutor at British Labor College. It is an achievement for a coal miner to become a professor in a college, and we are proud of him, proud of his record, proud of that achievement.

I present to you Brother Sam Watson, the General Secretary of the Durham Miners Association. Brother Watson.

### MR. SAM WATSON

#### (General Secretary of the Durham Miners' Association)

Mr. President, delegates, ladies and gentlemen: We desire in the first place to be associated with the remarks of appreciation which Tom O'Brien, my colleague and fellow delegate, has extended to the officers and organizers of this great convention this week. We also desire to be associated with him in his remarks in relation to his nationality, for we are in a similar position. We had two grandparents, one Welch and one Scotch and therefore my accent being the result of a marriage between both nationalities is nearly as Cockney as Tom O'Brien looks Jewish, and yet neither is the correct appreciation of the difficulty we both happen to be in.

Personally, I am delighted to be at this convention, delighted for a number of reasons, but for one reason above all, namely, that there are on both sides of the Atlantic thousands of sincere, well-meaning, high-minded people who believe that the future safeguard of democracy lies in the close collaboration between the United States of America and the British Commonwealth.

The other reason we are glad to be here is because this week we have had the opportunity as fraternal delegates of mixing with the men and women who are members of the A. F. of L., and we are old enough and experienced enough as fraternal delegates to know that when you get sitting quietly around the table with delegates and you get out of the heat of the conference room somehow or other problems begin to take on a human and friendly shape. We have found in our conversations that there is quite a lot of confused thinking among certain people here, some misunderstanding, as well as an urge to know what is happening at home in relation to our movement and the Labor Government.

One would be dishonest if one tried to invade the intelligence of this convention by trying to claim that the British Trade Union Move-

ment, having forged its instrument, a Labor Party, was based on exactly the same line as trade unionism in America. Some appreciation of the background to our present position is essential if some of our difficulties have got to be appreciated outside Great Britain and if some of our problems have got to be overcome by our people at home.

Therefore, let me quite briefly and with an economy of time, try and give some little background to the first position. After six years of devastating war in which 4,000,000 homes out of 12,000,000 were either wholly or partially destroyed, after having 5,000,000 men and women in the armed forces and the auxiliaries, having 3,900,000 engaged in the making of munitions, having had 3,000,000 American soldiers as guests, and after having given shelter to 282,000 refugees from Europe, it is understandable that we reached the situation during the war the like of which was not experienced in America.

The war brought all kinds of varied experiences to the British people. Every man, whether he worked in the mine, the field, the factory or the shop, and every woman had to partake in the ordinary duties of "watching" for the enemy and this brought all classes and conditions of people together and men and women talked problems over. Moreover, owing to the shortage of newsprint, all our papers were cut down to four pages per day. You would be surprised in Chicago how many more people would read the papers that are published here if they had four pages instead of forty.

The point is that we read the newspapers. Moreover, we had to listen in for news over the wireless and we began to adjust ourselves, to reading into words exactly what they meant, and in listening to speeches to sort out what was right, and in accordance with our beliefs.

So, there was built up in Britain during six years of war a discerning and discriminating democracy. It wasn't flamboyant. It didn't march behind bands and banners and it didn't make any great outcry. But it turned all the problems over in its mind and when the opportunity came to demonstrate what it had learned, on July 5, 1945, it returned to power for the first time in history a Labor Government.

Many people outside Britain wondered why the people of Britain had voted against Churchill. The people of Britain didn't vote against Churchill. The people of Britain voted for a positive program of Social Security and for the alleviation of the problems confronting the nation. Indeed, in its rejection of what people thought was Mr. Churchill was a demonstration of the political maturity of the British workers and their wives and families.

We therefore voted for something and not against something. You are going to be faced with an election very shortly, and we would like to give a little home work, Mr. President, to this conference. You might go home and just sit down at the fireside and take out a sheet of paper and a pencil and write on that sheet of paper what things you want from this life. You'd be surprised at the results. You want a job with full employment. You want a reasonable wage. You want good housing. You want education for your children, and when you are sick, injured or retiring from industry you want social security.



Well, those are the things that our people turned over in their minds, and they said, "There is a party that has got this program, and therefore we intend to support it."

And that was the answer that British democracy gave to the proposition put before it during the general election.

Now that we are in power it seems that too many people expected far too much. It would appear that on many things where there is misunderstanding it is not altogether due because of a lack of information. It is due to the fact that they think that a labor government has got no other responsibility than to carry out forthwith an immediate socialized program.

We want to deal quite frankly with one aspect of our government's policy which is causing a good deal of consternation abroad in more countries than one. That is the policy of the present Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, under the direction of the Cabinet of the Labor Party. We read a story the other day of a New Jersey editor called Kearney who was complaining about the slow progress that was being made in France during the last war. The associate editors of the paper suggested that he go out and see for himself the difficulties that were existing in France. So, he went, and at the end of three months he wrote a report, and in his report he put this closing sentence: "Gentlemen, there is a tremendous difference between Trenton and Paris, and the more you are in Paris the more you notice it."

There is a tremendous difference between looking at British foreign policy 3,000 miles away and looking at British foreign policy on the spot at home confronted with all the difficulties that we are experiencing in this present situation. Let us, therefore, face up to this issue, because so long as it is not faced up to, so long as it is not even discussed fairly, openly and properly, then suspicion, mistrust and misunderstanding will grow and maybe widen the breach that is existing only in a small degree at the present time.

We have been accused at home of not carrying out a labor foreign policy but of carrying out the foreign policy of our predecessors. To us at home that seems rather amusing, because while one admits that there is a continuity in most things in relation to policy, you would never get the Tory Party at home to agree to some of the measures that Ernest Bevin and the labor government have taken in relation to foreign policy. We have attempted, and we shall carry through, to give freedom to India. That, while it may be looked upon in some quarters with cynicism, will become, in our opinion, an accomplished fact within the next few months. We have also tried to the best of our ability to establish friendly relations with most countries in Europe, and while we are anti-Communist, Mr. President, both in the Labor Party and the trade union movement, it would be a misreading of the facts to accept as a result of that that Britain is anti-Russian. Gentlemen, Britain is anti-Communist but Britain is not anti-Russian and we have tried to work in harmony with the Soviet Union. If there is any obstacle in the way of better relations it is not the fault of the labor government. It is the fault of the Soviet Union and its own

leadership. We offered them a 25-year treaty to extend to 50 years, and when Bevin was in Moscow Stalin suggested to him that discussions on the treaty would have to include amendments, and Bevin said: "Put forward the amendments in order that we can discuss them."

We have tried to open up trade with the Soviet Union, and we are attempting at the moment to do everything that lies within our power to create better relationships.

We have under the Colonial Development Board a scheme whereby no colony at the moment can secure any assistance on the basis of free grant unless the legislature is prepared to write into the Constitution the right of the natives to form themselves into trade unions and be guaranteed the rights of collective bargaining. We have on the other hand some difficulties as probably you will appreciate, and it is the difficulties that are more easily solved the further you are removed from them.

We would advise this convention, Mr. President, to remember the old story of the member of Parliament who was putting forward an irresponsible policy, in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister reminded him that that license without responsibility had been the prerogative of the Libertine throughout the ages.

At home there are divided opinions and differences of opinion in relation to our policy in Palestine. Probabilities are that the British Government may be driven to the position of handing over to the United Nations Organization the mandate for Palestine. If that happens the situation in the Middle East, while absolving us from responsibility, will make a situation much worse than we are experiencing at the present time. It is not the desire, it is not the aim of the British Government to do that, but the situation is reaching such a position that we have had discussions recently where Churchill advocated giving up the mandate and the handing over of the mandatory power to the United Nations Organization.

What could the British Government do in these circumstances which had confronted it in Palestine? Could it open the doors wide open? Could it permit and allow into Palestine all the thousands of people who desire to live in that particular part of the world? If it did so, would it cure the position so far as Central Europe is concerned? These are questions that not only have to be asked but must be answered and thought about.

We had the opportunity some weeks ago on behalf of the labor movement of examining the position of the displaced persons and other matters in the British zone in Germany. And what we are confronted with in Europe—I say this with the utmost regard and sincerity—is not, Mr. President, the Jewish problem. It is a displaced persons problem, affecting all nationalities and all creeds in Europe. It is utterly impossible as a result of the situation that has accumulated since the end of the war for a slogan like "Open the doors to Palestine" to cure the situation that Europe is confronted with at the present time. We had better look at this matter in that light, because so far we are having all the battery of world criticism turned against the labor



government and much of it is being engineered not because certain people are sincere socialists and want to assist the Jews, but because they want to create a political situation in the Middle East whereby the workers of the Middle East or such organizations as are in the Middle East look right to the Soviet Union for support and not to the Western democracies. Let us be very careful in our analysis of this situation so that in the name of humanity and fair play and justice we don't do two things: weaken the authority of the British labor government, and play into the hands of reactionary elements.

If the labor movement is weakened in Britain then it will be a very bad thing for Europe as a whole. We, in Britain, have shown it is possible by peaceful means for men and women to quietly leave their homes and record their votes in favor of their own political party, and capture economic and political power.

No other European country has yet been able to do that, and while we have done that we have maintained our democratic freedom. We have still got the utmost freedom, as my colleague pointed out, in relation to trade unionism and other matters affecting labor organizations at home.

Therefore, nothing should be done by organized workers, in any country in the world that is likely to weaken the authority of the labor movement in Great Britain, because we can and will, hold out the beacon light to the people of Europe. We can show the people of Europe that it is not necessary to have dictatorship and have liberty destroyed in order to make a change in the social conditions.

We may as well make up our minds. Europe is going in the direction of public ownership and socialism. Nothing can stop it. Even if you wanted to stop it you couldn't. The whole political set-up in Europe is toward bringing industry under public ownership and into some form of socialism. The same is true at home. Therefore, our problems have got to be seen in that light and appreciated in that spirit. If it be accepted as a fact, then please try and understand our point of view when we are trying to create in that section of the world known as Palestine and in certain States in Europe a situation which will be favorable to democracy.

I would conclude, Mr. President, by saying only one other thing. The President mentioned that I was a miner and came from the mining industry. It is true that mining is the biggest difficulty that the labor movement confronts on the industrial side at the present time. Our coal production is low. Men are not entering the mining industry and the mechanization development is somewhat behind in relation to other countries. But there is one important fact that should not be overlooked, and it is this: For years at home all that we propagated was nationalization of the coal industry. I can remember my father selling pamphlets at the Miners' Lodge door for a penny on nationalization under the slogan of "How to get rid of the Boss for a penny." Quite a lot of people fed on that type of propaganda began to consider that nationalization was the end of political reform and not the beginning. Hence, when the coal industry was discussed in relation to nationalization it was felt that while the pits would become

nationalized there was nothing more to do about it. And you know it has brought British democracy up by the heels. We have certainly realized that if you want to make socialism work you have got to do more than talk about politics and shouting slogans.

Britain is passing through in the mining industry a political education among the miners and the people, and we are confronted with problems under socialism in the year 1946 that you might be confronted with in the next two or three decades. We have begun to realize that if we have to make industry work under public ownership, then you have got to make the producer and the consumer a citizen and a person responsible not only to himself, but responsible to the good, the welfare of the community.

You might think that that is a far cry from what you call your American way of life and your individualism. Your environment is entirely different from ours. We are beginning to realize that if we have got to retain freedom, if we have got to organize industry properly under public ownership, if we have got to improve the standard of living of our people, then there has got to be less men and women refusing to accept responsibility and more men and women undertaking their share of the job.

This problem will take time to overcome. Nevertheless, we are attempting to overcome it. Whether we succeed or not depends to some degree upon the assistance, the sympathy and understanding that we receive from other democratic countries.

Therefore, we would urge this American Federation of Labor not only to retain this half century link that exists between our two great movements. We would beg it not to shed its responsibility by accepting irresponsible resolutions and criticisms in order to hide deficiencies, but to boldly stand up in the light of the facts, because if we go down at home in relation to our form of democracy then the struggle in America will be intensified one hundred per cent.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now, I am pleased to present to you President Bengough, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, who is here as a fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. There are so many of the officers and delegates who attend our conventions and who are present at this one who are acquainted with Brother Bengough, that it seems hardly necessary for me in presenting him to you to tell you who he is, what he is, and what he is doing.

He has served for quite a long period of time as President of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. There is a very close relationship between the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and the American Federation of Labor. We are happy to have Brother Bengough with us, representing that organization that maintains a very close relationship with us in the United States.

I present to you now President Percy Bengough, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and fraternal delegate from that Congress to this convention.

**MR. PERCY R. BENGOUGH**  
**(Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)**

President Green and delegates attending the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor: It was indeed a great honor conferred upon me unanimously at the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to attend this convention of the American Federation of Labor and to bring to you the sincere fraternal and friendly greetings from your Canadian brothers and sisters.

First, I wish to express our deep appreciation to you for sending to the 61st convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, as your fraternal delegate, a great ambassador of international good will in the person of our friend, Vice President Brother Matthew Woll. It was a signal honor conferred on us at a most opportune time and, as was to be expected, Vice President Woll did a great job. We thank you for sending him and we thank him for a mission well done.

I was particularly interested and much impressed with the very informative address given yesterday by Judge Padway. Especially the part dealing with the use of injunctions in labor disputes. Like you, we have a few employers that will stoop to take such actions. For 12 years we were free of such inequities. Then last year we had one brought against a union that was the chosen union of the employees concerned, that was certified by law as the bargaining agent, and was operating under a signed, closed shop agreement with a check-off. I regret to say that this injunction was brought against this union by members of another union. The first—certainly with the blessing of the employer concerned—injunction in 12 years. But we have had an epidemic of them since. At our Windsor Convention, week before last, it was decided to put on a strong campaign for the elimination of that inequity, the use of injunctions in labor disputes.

For the benefit of the new delegates in attendance I might briefly explain that The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which I have the honor to represent, was in the process of formation in Canada in the year 1873, but it was not until 1881 that more definite steps were taken which, in 1883, resulted in the organization of our trade union center in Canada. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is one of Canada's oldest institutions and we take just pride in our long record of service to the working people of Canada. Our history proves conclusively that, with a few minor exceptions, every piece of labor and social legislation on the statute book of Canada had its inception in the conventions of our Congress, and this Congress has continued as the driving force for the introduction of social improvements and better lives for Canadians inside and outside of our affiliated membership.

For the identical reason that prevented the holding of last year's convention of the American Federation of Labor, no convention of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was held in 1945. It was the first year we missed holding a convention for 60 years. The result was a heavy agenda covering the his-

toric postwar years crowded with uncertainties, differences and changes.

The war has brought great changes in Canada. We went into the war an agricultural country and came out of it not only expanded in farm production to the degree that we shipped over 3,000,000 tons of foodstuffs overseas, but also with \$1,300,000,000 worth of new factories and industrial plants equipped with \$140,000,000 worth of new machine tools and with enormous development work in our natural resources and basic industries. An industrial revolution has taken place in Canada. Such repercussions have brought many changes in the lives and opinions of thousands of our people.

One of the greatest examples of solidarity and loyalty demonstrated in Canada during the war period was the conduct of the affiliated membership of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the majority of which is comprised of the Canadian memberships of the international unions represented at this convention today. Our policy of no strikes in war time was adhered to almost 100 per cent. The affiliated membership of our Congress hewed to that line and stayed on the job, oftentimes under objectionable circumstances. The result, as is well known, was a great and steady flow of the urgently needed war materials and supplies from Canada not only to Canada's fighting forces but also to the forces of our Allies. This contribution by the workers of Canada undoubtedly assisted in bringing the war to a successful conclusion.

Since the termination of the war a few of our affiliated organizations have been compelled, as a last resource, to take strike action. But I am pleased to say that the vast majority of the affiliated membership of our Congress have materially improved their conditions of employment without strike action through the method of negotiation with their employers or through the medium of the legal process of our Government Labor Relations and Wage Control Boards set up in all Provinces to deal with cases that lend themselves to regional application and with National Boards to deal with industries of an interprovincial character and with appeals. Nominees of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada have been appointed to all of these Boards.

Following the termination of the first World War, the gains made in Trade Union membership in Canada were dissipated by the staging of inspired sympathetic and general strikes. I say inspired, because while many thousands of well-intentioned workers relinquished their membership in our organizations and accepted the bait of a shorter way to a fuller life, the fact remains that after the smoke had cleared, the evidence showed that a group of large hostile employers financed the revolt through the medium of a well known detective agency with plenty of stool pigeons and agents operating within our unions. Anticipating that similar efforts might be tried again we endeavored to keep our affiliated membership informed. In November last year there were rumors of general strikes. In fact, press items appeared in many parts of Canada, intimating that our Congress was about to call a strike of all workers. As President of the Congress, I immediately issued press releases and wired and wrote to the points in Canada where we

had members apparently getting ready to go on this kind of a jag. It might be as well if I read one of these press releases into the records. It might help in keeping the feet of some members on the ground on this side of the line.

"The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has not the authority to order or advise our affiliated membership to take strike action. The possibility of a general strike being called by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is a stupid and dangerous suggestion. Many thousands of the workers represented by this Congress are working under union agreements with their employers. They do not expect their employers to break these agreements and naturally do not intend to break the agreements they have with their employers. If a procedure was followed in which all ceased work in all industries and undertakings because of a dispute in one particular firm it can readily be seen that no work would ever be done, as there is always a hostile employer in some part of Canada.

"The suggestion that the affiliated membership of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada contemplates penalizing fair employers because of the unfair and uncompromising attitude of the Ford Company in Windsor is not advanced by friends of the trade union movement. Our sympathies are with the striking Ford workers. We want to see them attain their objective and secure a satisfactory agreement. Once they are successful in securing a satisfactory agreement we would not expect them to immediately break it, because another hostile employer becomes involved in a labor dispute somewhere in Canada.

"The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada advises its affiliated membership not to consider any participation in sympathetic strikes. These experiments have been tried many times and have always proved disastrous."

The result of following a sane and progressive procedure has brought commendation and cooperation from our governments and, better yet, a much higher regard for the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, not only from those who comprise it but from most of the citizens in Canada. Our Congress is gaining in prestige and membership daily. While fully cooperating with our government during the war period we did not accept every restriction that the misguided economists recommended. On one occasion our government, without consultation, introduced an Order in Council of a very restrictive nature putting the workers of Canada into a veritable "straight jacket." Four thousand copies of this Order went out from our Congress office to every Trades Council and Local Union, requesting them to hold meetings and invite their local members of Parliament so that these parliamentary representatives could hear first hand what labor thought of their "straight jacket." No finer example of team work was ever demonstrated. The result was almost 100 per cent cooperation. Meetings were held from coast to coast. The objectionable law was withdrawn and we were invited to sit in on the drafting of better legislation. After that our government never questioned the right of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to speak for the workers, or their right to representation on War and Labor Boards. Our membership sure delivered the goods then

and will continue to do so when the need arises.

While, as previously stated, many thousands of workers affiliated to this Congress have made good improvements both in wages and conditions of employment, there is still strong opposition to the urgent need of Canadians having a buying power in balance with their increased productive ability. Even manufacturers and merchants whose business life is at stake unless there is a sound and thriving home market are often found with the opposition. Fear is expressed that too high a standard of living will cause a demand for goods and cause inflation. Yet, without criticism, Canada has advanced enormous sums of money to other countries. For instance, 1,250 million dollars have been advanced to Britain alone in the hope and expectation that this will be used for the purchase of Canadian goods without any suggestion that this demand for our goods will cause inflation. Is it not strange how we can give money to citizens of other countries so as to enable them to buy Canadian goods and claim that by so doing we will improve our economy and create employment and at the same time contend that increasing the buying power of our own citizens so as to enable them to buy the same goods will cause inflation and bring calamity? Worse yet, in spite of our wealth displayed in some directions we are too poor to guarantee our own people social security to afford a decent pension to our aged citizens or to protect our people from the hazards of ill health. None of us can rest on our achievements with so much work ahead in dissipating the thinking in terms of scarcity while living, as we are in North America, in a land of plenty.

In the same manner as you are confronted with rival trade union centers in the United States so are we in Canada. The only difference is that we have more of them, three in some Provinces and five in one. To maintain supremacy in the face of such competition has necessitated changes in many directions and spheres, and as a result of this imperative need for successful survival some differences have arisen between us. As the one who had to spearhead and accept most of the responsibility for what has transpired, I want to state quite frankly we have kept it within the limits of a friendly difference of opinion, with possibly the odd exception in the light of what we in Canada know or, I prefer to put it this way, what we in Canada conscientiously believed was in the best interests of our affiliated membership, which embraces our affiliated membership in Canada. Vice-President Matthew Woll placed the question squarely before the assembled delegates to our 61st convention when he stated that what differences may exist are the result of a misunderstanding. There is no question as to the correctness of that statement.

Last week the Canadian Ambassador to the United States commented, over a network radio program, that "the ignorance of this country of some aspects of Canadian life is almost ludicrous." It could be equally true the other way round. I think it quite right to say that we have all come through a period of flux and scramble that took up most of our available time in sweeping off our own doorstep. Let's all admit it.

Some of my oldest and most sincere friends,

yes, some of them for more than a quarter of a century, are active participants in the American Federation of Labor. I am not by any means a stranger at conventions of the American Federation of Labor. With some of my colleagues I had the privilege of being host to your 51st convention and we have generally worked together in international conferences. My experiences and memories are not unique, as many others have had similar experiences and they do cause a realization of how much our two trade union centers have in common. As good Americans and loyal Canadians we must have full autonomy but we are definitely interdependent. We have to be.

Brother Woll put forward a proposal which was unanimously endorsed by the delegates—true not by a formal motion but in what I considered was a far stronger way in that it was a general acceptance of something worth while. The proposal of Vice-President Woll was that a committee be set up, an American-Canadian Trade Union Cooperative Committee, to which all controversial questions could be referred by the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. I feel that if we can create such a committee, set up and operated in a spirit of friendship, it would eliminate the possibility of such differences as have arisen in the past. It could easily develop into a complete and full understanding to the benefit of both trade union centers by not only maintaining our friendly relationships but further developing and strengthening the voluntary ties of brotherhood and good will that must continue to exist in the best interests of our affiliated memberships. Yes and we can show to the rest of the citizens of both our countries that the members of organized labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, are ambassadors of good will prepared to lead the way and set an example for others to follow by showing what can be accomplished in firmly establishing good-will and kindly feelings between the mass of the people who are privileged to be citizens of the two great freedom-living countries, the United States and Canada.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** You have shown by the expressions on your faces and the interest you have manifested during this morning's session that you deeply appreciate the messages which have been brought to this convention by the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

This is an open forum of discussion. We have always proceeded in democratic fashion to listen to and accept the messages brought to us by distinguished visitors from time to time. We attach great educational value to these addresses, and I am sure that you will agree with me that the information brought to us by the fraternal delegates from Great Britain regarding the political, economic and industrial situation prevailing in those countries is accepted at face value as being of great importance, great educational value to

the officers, delegates and membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor believes in the principles of freedom and liberty and democracy. We cherish those principles as a common heritage, and because we do we are willing always to concede to the people of every country in the world the right to establish their own form of government, free from outside interference of any kind whatsoever. We believe that that principle should be accepted at the conference in Paris where an attempt is being made to win the peace after the war; that we should concede to every nation, large and small, the right to establish its own form of government. We may not agree with the philosophy of the government they accept or with its application, but that is merely a difference of opinion. The question of right is another question—the right to establish your own free government in accordance with the will of the people.

Now, because my good friend, Brother O'Brien, referred to the World Federation of Trade Unions, set up a short time ago, and the refusal of the American Federation of Labor to participate in that World Federation of Trade Unions, it seems proper for me to refer to that for just a moment. We want our fraternal delegates to go back to Great Britain free from any doubt whatsoever of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward this World Federation of Trade Unions. Our fraternal delegates to Great Britain, including Secretary Menny, made it clear and plain to the delegates in attendance at the British Trades Union Congress one year ago that the American Federation of Labor would not and could not become a part of the World Federation of Trade Unions as it now exists and as it is now functioning. That decision was made by a sovereign convention of the American Federation of Labor. It was made unanimously by the chosen delegates who served at the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1944. There was no dissenting vote—it was unanimously approved, decided by the sovereign delegates in the supreme body of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, there has been no change, and if anybody asks you when you go back to Great Britain if there is any change on the part of the 7,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor you can tell them definitely that you found out there is no change in their attitude.

Now, why is it? First of all, we functioned as a part of the International Federation of Trade Unions. We were members of the International Federation of Trade Unions for years. We associated with that movement, with the representatives of the British Trades Union Congress and representatives of free democratic unions in Europe. We contributed

financially to the maintenance of that great International Federation of Trade Unions, and during the war when the Trade Union movements of Continental Europe were being persecuted and punished, unable to contribute financially toward the maintenance of that great structure, we made our contribution every month in order to maintain it. And if Great Britain had stood with us and maintained that International Federation of Trade Unions as it functioned and as it existed we would be standing with them now, making our financial contribution towards the maintenance of a free, democratic trade union movement.

Well, what happened? For some reason or other—I don't know why—it was decided that that movement would be wrecked, that it would be dissolved, discontinued, and a new international federation of trade unions formed. We objected to that, assured our friends we were willing to stand where we were, functioning and serving in a great free International Federation of Trade Unions. Against our will and against our protests the movement we were associated with was dissolved; it was discontinued; it was abandoned, and a new movement was substituted instead.

Now, why did we object to affiliation with this new World Federation of Trade Unions? First of all, we are committed to the maintenance and establishment of freedom, liberty and democracy. We believe only in free democratic unions, unions formed by the workers, financed by the workers, maintained by the workers, officered by the workers and administered by the workers themselves. We are opposed to trade unions formed by a government, financed by a government, dominated by a government and controlled by a government; and because the new World Federation of Trade Unions is not composed exclusively of free democratic unions, formed by the workers, dominated by the workers, administered by the workers and financed by the workers, we refuse to become a part of that great movement. We want to be free to make our own decisions in conventions. We want to exercise the right to make decisions in conventions. We believe in the democratic process, and let the majority of the delegates in a convention decide what the issue shall be, and the decision that shall be made.

Suppose we here at this convention in Chicago were required to call upon a dictator in Washington for advice before we could make a decision. How would you like that? Well, we know that there are so-called trade unions affiliated with this World Federation of Trade Unions, with which our friends from Great Britain are associated, that must do that. We know that they cannot make a decision in the World Federation of Trade Unions convention without first ascertaining what the dic-

tator in Moscow shall say to them shall be their decision.

Now we are not willing to jeopardize a very vital principle of freedom and liberty and democracy by associating our 7,000,000 members with a movement that runs the risk of having something voted upon us that originated in some country governed by a dictator. Perhaps our friends from Great Britain do not place the same value upon free democratic trade unions that we do here in America. We place such a great value upon it that we are not going to run the risk of having some other form of organization imposed upon us. We cannot run that risk and we will not run that risk. Whenever they form an International Federation of Trade Unions made up of free democratic unions, free from government domination and governmental control, then the American Federation of Labor will become affiliated with it and help to maintain it and finance it.

I notice from the report my good friend, Fraternal Delegate O'Brien, made that the membership of the Labor Party in Great Britain voted overwhelmingly against the acceptance of the Communist Party into the Labor Party. They were against the blending of that party with the Labor Party. I presume there were some who felt that if the Communist Party in Great Britain was blended with the Labor Party it would add to the strength of the Labor Party, because it surely would bring in more votes. But notwithstanding that, the good judgment of the people of Great Britain prevailed and they decided against it. Why? They didn't want to be bothered with their philosophy, they didn't want to have them a part of their free political party, because most of us know that the Communist Party in Great Britain and in America is nothing more than the agency of a foreign government seeking to impose its will upon a free people. Now it seems a bit contradictory for them to refuse to take these boys into their political party, but they are willing to sit in with them in an international trade union movement. I may not quite understand it, but if they are good boys in a World Federation of Trade Unions they ought to be good boys with them at home.

The thing about it is we are different. We don't even want to collaborate with them, because we guard so jealously and so carefully the principles of freedom, liberty and democracy, just as the representatives of the church guard carefully the vital tenets and principles of religion. You know it is an old saying that you must not play with fire, and we don't want to play with it. We want to preserve our liberty and our freedom and our democracy. Those are vital principles that must not even be exposed—I will put it that way—to the domination of some foreign ideology that would seek to impose upon us by

force, if you please, their way of thinking and their way of life.

My good friend, Brother Watson, referred to the open door in Palestine. Well, I might say truthfully—and I suppose we ought to be frank—that we in America, our great labor movement has been tremendously disappointed over the attitude of the party in power in Great Britain toward this open door in Palestine. We have been touched very deeply by the suffering and the sacrifice of these persecuted Jewish people in Continental Europe. We cannot understand why a great country that is unoccupied, affording a great opportunity for them to be saved from extermination—why the door cannot be opened to them and they accorded an opportunity, not to exploit the country but to save their own lives. We think that was pledged to them in the agreement that was drafted following the close of the first World War.

After speaking to you frankly in this way I want to tell you I thank you, in the name of and on behalf of these men and women serving as delegates to this historic convention and those they represent, for your visit here, for your stay with us, and for your illuminating and educational messages you have brought to us. Be assured of our willingness, our earnest desire to maintain this close, cooperative fraternal relationship with the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress which was established years ago and which now prevails.

You are in the house of your friends, living here with us. We want your visit to be a happy one, and when you go back home I wish that you carry with you the memories of a delightful visit spent here.

Thank you.

Are there any announcements? The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.

### RESOLUTIONS

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions requiring unanimous consent are presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for these resolu-

tions by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council.

The resolutions are titled: Free Trade Union Committee (Photo Engravers); Labor League for Human Rights (Photo Engravers); John Fitzpatrick (Chicago Federation of Labor); Lea Bill (California State Federation of Labor).

If there is no objection from the floor, the resolutions will be introduced and referred to the appropriate committees.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Hearing no objections, the resolutions are introduced and referred to the appropriate committees.

(The resolutions above referred to will be found at the end of this day's proceedings.)

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

The chairmen of the Committee on Legislation, the Committee on Law, and the Committee on Building Trades announced the time and place of committee meetings.

MISS AGNES NESTOR, chairman of the Women's Committee on Arrangements: This evening there will be an open house and reception at the Women's National Trade Union League for the women delegates and visitors to the convention. The entertainment program will start at 8 o'clock. You will be leaving from various hotels, and I would suggest that you club together and come in taxicabs. Buses will be there to bring you home after the entertainment.

The women's luncheon and style show, which is one of the outstanding events of the convention, will be held tomorrow noon in the Terrace Casino of the Morrison Hotel. It promises to be a very lovely affair, and those women who have not put in the request for their tickets, please do so early this afternoon, because we have to give our final guarantee to the hotel.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Secretary of War Patterson is in the city and will address the convention this afternoon at 3 o'clock. I hope you will keep this in mind and all be present.

No further business coming before the convention, at 12:45 o'clock p. m., the convention recessed to 2 o'clock p. m.

### FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

#### Committee to Escort Mr. L. Metcalfe Walling

PRESIDENT GREEN: Mr. L. Metcalfe Walling, the chairman of the Wage and Hour Division, will address the convention later on in the afternoon.

I would like to appoint a committee to meet with him and escort him to the convention hall

so that when he arrives to address the convention these gentlemen will be with him. I appointed on that committee President Petrillo of the Musicians, Brother Joe Marshall of the Hod Carriers, and Brother Lee Minton, president of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association.

The committee will please arrange to meet with Mr. Walling and escort him to the platform this afternoon.

The Chair now recognizes the secretary of the Committee on Credentials for a supplemental report.



## SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Tipton submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union—Elmer J. Hewitt, 1 vote.

Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly—Elmer Schaffer, 1 vote.

Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor—Vidkunn Ulriksson, 1 vote.

Your Committee on Credentials has been requested to propose the substitution of Newman H. Burnett with 1 vote, as delegate from the Radio Directors' Guild, in place of Edward A. Byron, previously reported, who had to leave the city, and the committee recommends that he be seated.

In accordance with communication received from the Freeport, Ill., Central Labor Union, we recommend the seating of George Fink in place of John L. Held, previously reported, to represent that organization, with 1 vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany for an announcement.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** I wish to announce a meeting of the Committee on Organization in Room 536 at 2:30 this afternoon.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Brother Gene Atkinson of the local committee on Entertainment and Hospitality.

**COMMITTEE MEMBER ATKINSON:** Fellow delegates, those of you who have registered for football tickets will be interested in knowing that they are now at headquarters waiting for you to pick them up. Please go out and pick up your tickets.

The train going to South Bend leaves Saturday morning at 8:45 on the South Shore Electric Line at Randolph Street. I hope you will enjoy yourselves.

I would also like to announce that there is a souvenir for each delegate and his wife which is to be given to you tomorrow morning at headquarters. Be sure and get your gift. You will be surprised. It is very nice. I thank you.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I now esteem it a very great pleasure to present to you the Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Mr. Walling has been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor and has brought to us at these conventions his very educational and helpful and inspiring messages. I know he will measure up to this high standard which we have set for him.

We are all very much pleased over the won-

derful way in which he has administered this important Act. He has handled the matter in a very satisfactory way.

I present to you now Mr. L. Metcalfe Walling, Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

## MR. L. METCALFE WALLING

(Administrator, Fair Labor Standards Act.)

President Green, delegates and friends in this convention: I always look forward every year to this opportunity to meet with you, even though briefly at your annual conventions, because I have always regarded it as a part of my job to make a report to the American men and women of labor of the way I have handled my stewardship in your interest. I say "your interest" because the Act which it is my privilege and responsibility to administer—the Wage and Hour Act and Public Contract Acts and the Fair Labor Standards Act—were enacted for the benefit of the working men and women of this country and they ought to be interpreted and applied and administered with that in mind. That has always been my objective.

So, I think you are entitled to know what has been achieved under the statutes which are of such great interest to the men and women of labor.

We are meeting here together in a very serious time. As we look around the earth we see suspicion and distrust and hostility everywhere. The victors seem to be unable to make a peace, and sometimes it seems as if they are not willing or able to trust each other. Everywhere you look there is apprehension abroad, fear, a feeling of insecurity and instability, and, although we have been far more fortunate in this country than any other land on the face of the earth, we ourselves have not been immune from those emotions.

I want to say to you in all frankness and sincerity that I think you and the country can be proud of the contribution which the American Federation of Labor has made to clear thinking, to moderation and restraint, and to contributing to a sense of stability of the whole country during these difficult months of reconversion.

I say that to you in all sincerity because the record shows that you have gone about your business quietly, unostentatiously, but firmly and generally in the public interest. And what has been your policy? You have regarded collective bargaining as the cornerstone on which you place your whole program. You have not been relying on the government to do everything for you, but you have recognized very promptly and you have constantly pointed out to the public that good industrial relations are based on free and equal collective bargaining between management and labor and not on government dictation.

There are some of us in the government in Washington who think you are right, that that is a sound policy for labor to follow and a sound policy for the government to follow. And certainly it is inherent in the basic philosophy of the wage and hour law that the gov-



ernment will interfere with the economic process only on a minimum level. And so, I was delighted when the recent amendments to the Wage and Hour Law were pending in the Senate to notice that you and I both took the same attitude with regard to what we both felt, I think, was an invasion of the rights of management and labor in the proposal which was made to set occupational wage rates by government fiat.

As some of you may know, I opposed the amendment on the ground that it was not the business of the Government to invade the field of collective bargaining to that extent, that you people in labor were perfectly able to take care of yourself once the basic floor under wages had been placed through a national minimum wage. I am glad that the Senate Labor Committee followed the recommendations which your representatives made to it and which I made to it and struck out that portion of the amendment which, to my mind, would have been a most dangerous invasion and a most unfortunate precedent to have been established for the intervention of Government in the private affairs of its citizens.

Since these amendments which I have been referring to are undoubtedly going to be introduced in the Congress at the coming session, I am going to spend most of the time in saying what I have to say to you in discussing most of those amendments, because they are the most important business before us in the administration of the law, and I dare to suggest that they are a very important matter for you. I noticed with gratitude that your Executive Council made the enactment of these amendments raising the minimum wage standard one of the cardinal points in its platform.

I don't need to belabor the point to this audience that 40 cents an hour is not a living wage in the United States in 1946, but I think it is worth pointing out to you that even the 65-cent amendment which was proposed but not voted favorably on by the Congress, is inadequate to provide even a decent basic minimum wage standard for the United States.

How many of you realize, for instance, that \$1,300 a year, which is all 65 cents an hour means if you are lucky enough to have 50 weeks of work, is no greater than the emergency minimum subsistence budget which was worked out during the depression years for WPA relief workers? I don't need to tell you who are giving an increasing part of your pay envelopes, as we all are, every week, to our wives to buy the food and having our tobacco money cut down proportionately, that 65 cents an hour is not enough to buy more than three-quarters of the food and clothes and shelter that a man with a family of four needs today to meet current living costs.

I emphasized in my testimony before the Congress the fact that it would take nearly 65 cents an hour to equal even the pitifully inadequate living standards that Congress thought it was legislating back in 1938 when it provided 40 cents an hour. I understand that there is some disagreement in labor circles, particularly, about the exact percentage of the cost of living increases, but I will wager you that all of our wives wouldn't have much difficulty in agreeing that it is a big

increase, and probably in agreeing on the exact percentage.

In any event, no State, nor the Federal Government has ever required by law, a minimum wage sufficient to meet any minimum cost of living budget that any group has devised. That is worth keeping in mind when you hear talk about this being too high a minimum wage standard.

But to my mind it is just as important to extend the benefits of this basic law to other workers now denied its privilege as it is to raise the minimum standard itself, and under the proposal which I have made to the Congress from three to four million additional workers in this country would have the benefit of overtime pay, minimum wage protection, and no child labor if the amendments which I have proposed are adopted.

You may recall that one of the biggest holes carved out in the statutes was for that group of most exploited and low paid workers in the country who are employed in the agricultural and food and fish processing industries. Under the proposal which I have made to the Congress they would all be given the minimum wage protection and overtime pay with the penalty rate of 150 per cent of the regular rate, except for those brief periods of seasonality when they can justify, because of peak demands and necessities of handling perishable goods that accumulate in a short period of time long overtime weeks.

I hope that you will continue to support that proposal which is extremely important to make a living reality this economic character of the American people.

I have also proposed that the several hundred thousand seamen in this country, on the ocean, inland waterways and our Great Lakes should also be given the benefit of minimum wage protection. I see no reason why this important group of our workers who made such a vital contribution to our war effort should be denied that minimum wage protection which other workers get.

Then there is a very important amendment which would clear up a very difficult situation which has been of great concern particularly to the trucking union, and that is the question of coverage of truck drivers. You perhaps know that the law at present does not permit us to have jurisdiction for overtime pay purposes where the Interstate Commerce Commission also has jurisdiction. That, I take it, was on the mistaken assumption back in 1938 that there would be some inconsistency in having the Wage and Hour Administration and the Interstate Commerce Commission jointly have jurisdiction in this matter.

I, myself, have never been able to see, however, why it was inconsistent to say that men who were prohibited from working beyond 60 hours a week by the Interstate Commerce Commission in order that they might not be hazards to safety on the highways in driving trucks should not at the same time have overtime pay for those extra 20 hours which they work beyond 40.

So, I have proposed that we go farther than the amendments pending in Congress did and that we wipe out this overtime pay exception for all motor carrier employees and drivers who are not subject specifically to the limitations of the Interstate Commerce Act. In fact, I would even propose that there be

cross jurisdiction between the two agencies, if necessary, in order that these people may have the benefit of overtime pay.

I know there are many difficult problems for the truckers, and I don't intend to force the issue in a way which will embarrass you in any of the contracts which you have. However, I do want to be freed, if possible, from having to go through the metaphysical arguments with some truck driver to explain to him why he doesn't get overtime pay when the fellow working alongside of him does because of some technicality of coverage.

Then there are some important administrative amendments which we very much need in the interests of making this statute more effective. I suppose many of you don't realize that in these days of high wages, we are still finding a large number of violations. Ten per cent of our inspections for instance, result in a showing of failure to pay even 40 cents an hour and 50 per cent of them result in the showing of failure to pay overtime for that 40 cent minimum wage. Even in these high-wage periods we collected last year over \$13,000,000 in back wages for employees and that doesn't count in the amount which was recovered in employees' suits. We have collected so far about \$100,000,000 in wages which the working men and women of America would not have received except for the Fair Labor Standards Act and its administration.

But I am beginning to foresee the time when it is going to be much less easy to collect those back wages, because actually the Administrator has no power to go into court and sue in a civil suit for those back wages. He can only collect them by a process of persuasion if the employer is willing to do so, and the employers, as they become more informed about the requirements of the law, are going to be, as they already are, more reluctant to pay these back wages, knowing that we have no power to enforce them. So, I have proposed that the Administrator be given the power which State minimum wage commissioners have, to receive assignments of wages for employees, so that he can go into court and collect for them without trouble or expense on their part the wages which are due to them.

I know, and the record shows, that very few employees either know about or avail themselves of the legal rights which they have to bring their own private actions, and we well know what the reason for that is—the economic pressure of the employer, the fact that the employee doesn't want to jeopardize his job, that he doesn't like to go into court anyway. It is complicated. He has to hire a lawyer: it may cost him money. He doesn't understand that the lawyers are actually in addition to the amount of his wages, and so, contrary to the impression in some employees' circles, there have been relatively few employee suits. Yet Congress proceeded definitely on the theory that that was one of the important means of enforcing this statute. I say to you that until real teeth are put into it in the form of power of the Administrator himself to go into court and sue for these wages, millions of dollars a year are going to continue to be unpaid to workers who are legally entitled to them but who

cannot under the present system find appropriate means of recovering those wages.

I have also asked the Congress to give the Administrator the power to interpret the law to issue binding regulations and interpretations on which both employer and employee may rely with the right of court review, of course. That, I think, is important in order that we have uniform and consistent and sympathetic interpretation of the provisions of the law. It seems to me unfortunate that today people have to go into court to test out the law in order to find out what it means, what its coverage is, because the Administrator can only give an advisory opinion which is binding on no one and which protects no one, even though it is followed in good faith.

And so, I hope you will support that very important amendment which I regard as a great necessity to making this statute mean what we all want it to mean.

I have been very much concerned for the last three or four years about the rash of unfavorable State legislation which has been introduced in various State legislatures to cut down the period under which these employee suits may be brought. Two States had a period as short as six months, but only applying to working men—not to their creditors. Their baker, their butcher, their grocer could sue them for a much longer period of time. But only when it was a case of the wages which they were lawfully owed was a limitation put on the time when they could sue for those wages. And so, for that reason, in order to head off this unfriendly State legislation I have proposed to the Congress that there be a uniform Federal statute of limitations applying to claims under the Fair Labor Standards Act which would supersede shorter periods provided by the State legislation.

I think that is one of the most important amendments which we must be sure the Congress provides in this coming session and I hope that you will give that your support also.

Furthermore, I have proposed that a differential be made according to the degree of seriousness of the crime and that the wilful, persistent and intentional violator should be given a heavier penalty than the man who makes an honest and unintentional slip-up, because he didn't know what the law was and couldn't find out without going into court to testify.

I think that is fair and inherent in our Anglo-Saxon system of justice.

Now, I have taken as much time as I have to go over in as much detail as I have these specific amendments—one by one, because I have no other opportunity to in the course of the year to meet with all of you together. You are very generous to me in inviting me to speak to your state federations—and I cover a large number of them during the course of 12 months. But I have here before me the leaders of the American Federation of Labor who set the policy and who decide what the program of the Federation as a whole is going to be. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of being as specific as I have in order that you may understand fully what the issues are and can weigh them carefully in making up your mind as to the position which you want to take.

May I say in closing that a great many

people advised me not to risk exposing the Fair Labor Standards Act to the perils of a legislative fight. A great many seasoned observers, including some of those in Congress who would have to carry the ball for us, thought it was hazardous in the extreme, that the law might be emasculated, if not entirely repealed, and that we had better roll along with what we have instead of risking losing all that we have.

After giving that very careful consideration I decided on a different course, and I have no regrets. I don't feel in these matters that one can stand still; he must either move again or go backwards. I thought we had nothing to lose. I thought our case was so strong that we could stand on it before the American people, and it was therefore gratifying to me that not one member of Congress, one Representative or one Senator stood on his feet and said 40 cents an hour is enough in 1946 for Americans to live on. Everybody conceded that the minimum ought to be raised. The only argument was how much.

Now, that is a very great victory for the American working man and woman and also for the American people because their interests are identical. It means that we have established this principle for once and for all; that it is here to stay, and that we can therefore safely build on this sure foundation.

Now, of course, in all fairness, when we have obtained these objectives we will not be satisfied. That is not the way of America. We will be substituting for them still better standards as a future goal. That is the way we have always made progress in this country, but we have, at least, laid a sure and stable foundation.

So, in the months and years to come I hope that you will continue to push ahead these goals so that we may come nearer to realizing that common objective which we all have for the welfare of America, the well-being and happiness and prosperity of its most precious resource—its working men and women. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I want to thank Chairman Walling for his visit here this afternoon and for the much appreciated address which he delivered just now. We are glad to have him here and hope his visit will be a pleasant one.

I deem it a very great honor to present to you our next speaker. I know you are all looking forward to the address which he will deliver to you this afternoon. The Secretary of War is a great American. He served with distinction and great credit as a judge, as Assistant Secretary of War, and now as the Secretary of War. He measured up to the high standard of excellency we have set for him in this honored position in which he now serves.

In order that you may understand his attitude toward organized labor and his appreciation of its value I want to repeat what I stated on the first day of this convention, that when a great undertaking was begun at Pasco, Wash., he called upon the representatives of labor to meet with him. We met with him

and he requested that we help him. He specifically asked us to find capable, skilled workers in different sections of the country and have them move to Pasco, Wash., for the purpose of serving our country at an extraordinary period in its history.

I interpreted his action in asking us to do that as evidence of his appreciation of the value of the service which we could render as an organization during the great war emergency. I know you will understand his sympathetic attitude and appreciation of the value of the service we can render by referring to that incident.

Now it affords me very great pleasure to present to you the Secretary of War, Honorable Robert P. Patterson.

## HON. ROBERT P. PATTERSON

### (Secretary of War)

Thank you very much, Will Green, and members of the American Federation of Labor; thank you for the cordiality of your welcome. I was touched by the reception committee, Mr. Bates, Mr. Durkin and Mr. Edward Brown. Like so many other of your members they were of great aid to me all the time throughout the war and in the critical days just preceding the war.

I recall in particular each of those three men being with me in 1940 and 1941, when it was of the most urgent importance to the safety of this nation that the Army's building program get under way and be prosecuted without delay. They threw their organization solidly behind those programs so that they did go through on schedule.

Then we had a very urgent time in 1944, when we had the atomic bomb project under way, most secret in character, we had to do two things, we had to produce the atomic bomb and we had to keep its production secret and when you have 120,000 people working on a project it is some job to keep it secret, but they readily responded to my appeal to them, and although they did not know the nature of the work in detail and were content to take my description of it as the most important war project of this or any other war, their response was characteristic and typical of labor's response to the needs of the nation all through the war at all times and in all quarters of the nation. It is little enough on my part to come here and tell you of my appreciation of that patriotic service. It is a memory that time will never fade and I will never cease to be grateful for it.

Your President, Will Green, made a speech to a group of Army officers 21 years ago. He said:

"We are confident that industry and the elements of production will play an increasing part in the conduct of any future war in which our government may become engaged."

What a wise man he was, and how thoroughly we have seen his prediction come true. In World War II it was American industry and the elements of production that supplied

our fighting forces with the better weapons and better equipment that meant the difference between victory and defeat. It was not a case of "too little and too late," we got plenty, and we got it on time.

The vital contribution of American labor is a matter of record. No history of the war can be written that does not devote many chapters to the unparalleled output of war materials that was supplied by our workers. That production effort was far more than a matter of cold statistics. When I think of war production my mind goes back to a trip I made to a shell-loading plant in Ohio in the winter of 1945, at a time when we were most anxious about shells. I saw the midnight shift come to work, many of the workers from a distance of 30 miles—two hours in a bus. And that was very cold weather.

They were people who were well over military age. When you asked them about the work, they would tell you, "I have two boys fighting in the Third Army," or "I've a son with MacArthur in the Philippines; I'm working so that he can come back safe and sound."

That same scene was enacted that night at thousands of plants in the length and breadth of this land—millions of loyal Americans doing their part to save their nation from defeat and bring their boys back.

During the war and since, we have heard a good deal of talk about the Army having had the desire to move in and take command of civilian industries. There is not the faintest ray of truth in such talk. The War Department has always, before, during and since the war, urged that in time of war as well as in time of peace the necessary controls over civilian economy should be lodged with a civilian agency of the government, with power to decide what measures and restrictions are necessary for equipping the armed forces. We are still firmly of that opinion. As long as I am head of the War Department that will be the policy, and I tell you we are all, in the Army, firmly of that opinion.

I saw the other day a speech made 15 years ago by an Army major, in which he laid stress on the point that mobilization of industry in time of war to meet war needs should be the responsibility of a civilian agency specially created for the purpose, not controlled by the War Department. That major's name was Dwight Eisenhower.

I read another statement made in 1931, the same year, by an Army officer in support of a plan that in the event of war the necessary steps in overall direction of the nation's industrial and production effort should be the function of a civilian organization of the government. That officer was Douglas MacArthur.

In 1942 and again in 1944 I made it plain, in testimony before committees of Congress, that in the opinion of the War Department, control of industrial mobilization in time of war was properly placed in the hands of a civilian agency, staffed by civilians with experience in industry, commerce and labor.

Our prime objective today is prevention of war. We have many problems of the day, but I believe that the winning and maintenance of lasting peace overshadows all other issues, for it affects the safety and fortunes of us all.

No true American wants war. We have no designs on neighbors' lands or on their goods.

The Army does not want war. Your military leaders, General Eisenhower, General MacArthur and the others, share your fervent hope that war can and will be abolished. They know full well the price of war, in loss of lives, in ruin and devastation, and in mountainous burdens of debt. Like all patriotic Americans, they want our country to get rid of the curse of war and to enjoy the blessings of lasting peace.

But it is plain enough that the mere resolution of our people to have lasting peace is not enough. If peace is to be a reality rather than a product of wishful thinking, the other great powers must have the same resolution. Friendly relations among countries is not a one-sided matter. This country cannot safely disarm while other nations maintain powerful forces. Military weakness has never led to peace. Running away in the face of aggression has never prevented involvement in war. We have tried weakness; we have tried appeasement; and we have been thrust into war after war—two of them within our own generation.

We saw last week the climax of the Nuremberg trials, the conviction and sentence of death in the case of the German war leaders. There will be scattered criticism. There is not a single murderer who does not get sympathy from a few who forget his crime. But the mind and conscience of the civilized world will give whole-hearted approval of the verdict. They will remember that these were the men who, by deliberate design, started a great war, in order to steal the property of inoffensive neighbors—a war in which 20,000,000 people lost their lives, a war that forced millions more into the most degraded human slavery and subjected still other millions to the torture of the concentration camp, a war that brought misery and suffering on a scale never before imagined. History has no record of such concentrated wickedness.

There is lasting significance in the punishment of the leaders who launched a powerful nation on a war of aggression. The Nuremberg trial marks the end of the old doctrine that in cases of war guilt the higher-ups, the people who have set in motion the machinery to plunge the world into war, should not be touched.

I am sure there is a deeper significance. It was clearly brought out at the trial that those Nazi leaders could not have carried their plan forward if they had not first suppressed liberty in their own land. Their first step was to put down freedom of speech and freedom of the press, which meant that the German people received only such information as the conspirators saw fit to let them have. They knew full well that only by control of information or misinformation could they bring their people to support a war program. In no nation, not even in Germany, do the mass of the people want war, unless they have been persuaded that someone has done them a great injury or is about to attack them. The Nazi leaders were able to sell the German people on war by tall tales of the Czechs attacking Germans, the Poles attacking Germans—lies that would not have been believed if there had been a free press in Germany.

In the long run the greatest measure in prevention of war will be the spread of free speech and free press throughout the world.

When men are at liberty to give and receive information and to take part in discussion, without the hand of the secret police on their shoulders, and without dread of that knock on the door in the night that means the start of the journey to the concentration camp!

When that time comes it will do more than anything else to prevent a ruling group at the top from throwing the manpower and the resources of a great nation into aggressive warfare. When that time comes, and I am confident that it will come, we need have no great concern about involvement in war. It is not yet at hand, however, and in the meantime we must rely on our own readiness and resources.

The United Nations, which means a world organized for peace, offers us a concrete program for relief from recurrence of war. If it is firmly supported by the great powers, the chances are bright that we will see no more wholesale slaughter. But until we can be sure that the necessary support will be forthcoming, it stands to reason that we must look to our own defenses for our security. When all is said and done, it is our ability to protect ourselves that counts in a world that still talks in terms of planes, tanks and guns.

I cannot lay too much stress on the importance of showing to the world, friend or foe, the readiness of the United States to defend itself. In the present day and age, that readiness is the most effective guaranty of peace that can be devised. No foreign power, no combination of powers, will go to war with the United States or will follow policies that involve the risk or war with us, if they look us over and conclude that their prospects of success in a fight with us are not good.

In the 1920's and 1930's this nation permitted its military establishment to go to pieces. The mood of the American people at that time demanded that course. What was even worse, a large group of our people took it on themselves to broadcast to the world that we would not resist in case of attack, that under no conditions would Americans fight. It is a proven fact that Japanese and German leaders, in launching their plans for world rule, counted on the United States having neither the means nor the will-power to go through with a hard war.

The Japanese, we know now, made no plans to invade and conquer the United States. Their plan was this: to seize everything in Asia and in the Pacific quickly, before the United States could get ready to fight, and then to hold what they had stolen until war weariness on our part should induce us to accept a peace that would confirm the Japanese conquests. They made a great mistake, but it took this country four years of hard fighting to prove it. It is as certain as anything can be that there would have been no World War II if our means to fight and our willingness to repel aggression had been plain to the Japanese war lords and to Hitler before they started on their world rampage.

In the future we will have no interval of time in which to build up our defenses from nothing. The speed and sudden destruction of any future war will not permit us to remain helpless until war is just around the corner, as we have done in the past. Those who put their faith on our industrial strength forget

that it took us two years to put that industrial strength into full use in the last war. The fighting done by our allies gave us those two years, but we will not be so fortunate the next time.

Last week a Navy plane flew non-stop from Australia to Ohio—11,000 miles in 55 hours. That is almost halfway around the world. A few days later an Army plane started from Hawaii, flew over the North Pole region and finished in Egypt, a distance of 10,000 miles non-stop. Yet it is certain that those records will be beaten in a matter of months. A guided missile, with a range far greater than the German long-range rockets, is also a probability in a matter of months. If war should come again, we may be certain that in speed, range and power of weapons it will make the war just finished look like a fight with old-fashioned muzzle loaders.

The charge has been made that this country is arming to the teeth, and it has been claimed that out of a total budget of \$36,000,000,000 for this fiscal year, \$28,000,000,000 is for national defense. The fact is that the appropriations for the Army and Navy are \$11,000,000,000. The figure of \$28,000,000,000 is arrived at by adding to the \$11,000,000,000 appropriated to the Army and Navy an additional \$17,000,000,000 that represents the cost of paying for past wars, but has nothing to do with present or future national defense or security. The \$17,000,000,000 include the expense of interest on the public debt, the cost of veterans' benefits, terminal leave pay for servicemen who have already been released to civil life, contributions to UNRRA, the cost of operating OPA, and a host of other items that have no bearing on our ability to resist aggression at the present time. The tremendous cost in carrying these burdens of past wars is a very powerful argument for keeping out of war, but it does not show that we are armed to the teeth. What it proves, in fact, is what we already know, that we were not armed to the teeth, or even to the knees in 1940.

Take the figure of \$11,000,000,000 for the Army and Navy. One billion dollars of that figure is for the cost of activities that are the responsibility of the Army and Navy, but do not contribute in any way to military strength. I refer to the cost of feeding, clothing and caring for half a million displaced persons in Germany and Austria, of looking after Army property that has been declared surplus and is held awaiting disposal, and of similar activities. So the actual figure attributable to national defense in this fiscal year is \$10,000,000,000.

We are not armed to the teeth. We have an Army of somewhat over a million men, the greater part of them spread out thinly over occupied areas overseas. Our forces are not comparable in manpower to the Russian Army, which still has five million men.

Ten billion dollars is indeed a very large sum of money and I sincerely hope that as the years go on and our international organization grows stronger and stronger, and our needs for troops of occupation grow less and less we will be able to reduce those figures substantially.

But this is the year 1946 with all kinds of doubtful possibilities. We have not yet secured signatures on a single treaty of peace. We

are in the transition period between war and peace. We have not yet won the peace. We must have strong military forces to insure us against war. We have an annual national income of \$161,000,000,000, and our appropriations call for \$10,000,000,000 for protection, a premium of about 6 per cent, a high premium, to be sure, but a necessary one in the world of today.

I assure you your Army is dollar conscious and is eager to reduce its cost to the taxpayer, but your Army is also defense conscious and feels that our present defense program is on sound lines.

The Army's plan for national security is a plan to keep us out of war as well as a plan to enable us to win a war if we should become involved in one. There is no element in it of regradinization of the military. I can say, from an experience covering nine years of my life, that the personnel of the regular Army, up and down the line, are thoroughly imbued with the tradition that they are soldiers of the Republic, and that the civilian arms of the government are predominate over the military, that their sole duty is to carry out the will of the people as expressed by Congress and the President.

No effort in this country will succeed without the support of organized labor. I am indebted to John Frey for the information that in the Civil War the first great leader of the International Molders Union organized, trained and led a company recruited from members of his union. Labor has never failed the nation in any war. It is made up of patriotic Americans, Americans who are fully aware of what citizenship in this country means, in responsibilities as well as in rights. Never forget that the Army is your Army. It exists only to carry out the will of the people. We know that we can count on you, as organized labor and as citizens, for whole-hearted support in preserving the liberty that is so dear to all Americans.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I am sure that all of us are conscious of the fact that the Secretary of War occupies a position of great responsibility and is constantly associated with preparation for war, the production of war materials and necessities to the development and growth and expansion of the military forces. No one serving in an administrative capacity and a responsible position with the Government lives closer to war preparation, production of war materials, the development of the Army and Navy than does the Secretary of War.

Our distinguished guest and impressive speaker this afternoon lived and served through one of the most important periods in the history of our nation in that capacity, close to the Army, close to war preparations—yes, even close to the productive activities of the army of production. In view of that fact who is there in the United States who can tell the story more accurately of the production service of the workers of America than the Secretary of War? He comes to us as a man associated with neither labor nor industry, partial to neither, calmly and carefully balanced in his relation to both. For these reasons I have just

referred to I want to tell him from the bottom of my heart that we appreciate more than words can ever express the great tribute he paid to labor this afternoon. We regard it as a great event.

He made the trip from Washington, left his many duties there and traveled to Chicago for the express purpose of telling us and the world that labor did not fail at any time or in any period during the great war emergency.

Now when the enemies of labor, those who are biased, criticize and find fault with labor, make unfounded accusations against us, charge us with being indifferent and failing during the war, we will present to them the speech that Secretary of War Patterson made here this afternoon, as an answer to such unjust accusations.

It has been my privilege to know Secretary Patterson, to work with him and to understand him. There is no man I have associated with in connection with government whom I hold in higher esteem than the distinguished Secretary of War, and I want to say to him that he has addressed between six and eight hundred experienced, qualified, devoted representatives of labor in this hall this afternoon. But I want him to forget the six hundred. He talked to them, but I want him to think about the 7,100,000 members of the American Federation of Labor these delegates in this hall represent. Secretary Patterson, you were speaking to a great army of free Americans, skilled and unskilled workers who measured up to new heights all during the war and made a great contribution to the winning of the war.

I thank you profoundly and from the bottom of my heart, Secretary Patterson, for your visit here this afternoon and for this most inspiring and educational message you brought to us.

I now recognize Secretary Meany for an announcement.

Secretary Meany submitted the following:

#### Supplemental Report of the Executive Council

At the August meeting of the Executive Council held in Chicago, the Council considered an appeal of the Memphis Trades and Labor Assembly, Memphis, Tenn., from a decision rendered by President Green on August 1, 1946.

The decision had to do with a conflict between the Memphis Trades and Labor Assembly and certain affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor in Memphis regarding the payment of back per capita tax on the part of a suspended union which desired reinstatement.

At the August meeting, the Council reaffirmed the decision made by President Green on this subject. The Memphis Trades and Labor Assembly has appealed from this action of the Executive Council to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council at its meeting held on Sunday, October 6, directed that this appeal be brought to the attention of the convention and that it be referred by President Green to



the appropriate committee and that the record of the appeal be turned over to said committee for the purpose of having this matter properly brought before the convention.

President Green has directed that this matter be referred to the Committee on Resolutions and the records have been turned over to the committee.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now I want to present to you a regular attendant at our conventions, one whom I have known over a long period of time, whose name is known by all of us, one who has served with honor and distinction as Labor Relations Counsellor for the International Labor Organization. His head office is in Washington. He has attended many State Federation of Labor Conventions. He has served in a capacity that challenges our admiration.

I am happy indeed to present to you this afternoon our friend and co-worker, Daniel W. Tracy, Labor Relations Counsellor at Washington, D. C., for the International Labor Organization.

### MR. DANIEL W. TRACY

#### (Labor Relations Counsellor, International Labor Organization)

President Green, officers, delegates and friends:

I have been asked by many of my friends since becoming associated with the International Labor Organization what that organization is and what it does. I thought it might be well for me to speak briefly to you today, outlining to you again what the International Labor Organization is and what it does for the workers of this world.

The International Labor Organization with headquarters in Montreal, Canada and Geneva, Switzerland, may seem far removed from the every-day problems of the American wage earner. The chances are, in fact, that neither he nor his employer has more than a vague knowledge of what the organization is, or what it does.

The International Labor Organization was born at the close of World War I. The American Federation of Labor during that war strongly urged that the rights of workers who had suffered most heavily from the war should be considered in the peace treaties when the war was over. Labor movements in other nations joined with and supported the position of the American Federation of Labor. A special commission was established in connection with the Peace Conference to draft labor provisions of the peace treaties and out of this development grew the charter of the International Labor Organization.

Samuel Gompers, then president of the American Federation of Labor, was chairman of the commission which drafted the constitution for the International Labor Organization. One of the important statements in the charter of the Organization is that universal peace can be established only if it is based on social justice. The men who pioneered the I.L.O. realized that in the modern world, economic movements are an important part, hard to

interpret but impossible to ignore. They knew that the pressure of nationalistic rivalries is usually economic in origin and that the 1914 conflict was in substantial measure a fight for economic expansion. So there was included in the treaties drafted at the end of World War I a general charter of labor's rights including the following principles:

First: The guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second: the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third: The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life so this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth: The adoption of an eight-hour day or a 48-hour week as the standard to be aimed at when it has not already been attained.

Fifth: The adoption of a weekly rest of at least 24 hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth: The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh: The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth: The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth: Each state should make provision for a system of inspection, in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

In considering the standard proposed, it should not be forgotten that they were adopted in 1919—nearly 30 years ago. Many advances have been made by the labor movement in the United States and other countries since that time. But as a whole the charter of the I.L.O. stood as a beacon light to wage earners and still points the ways to desirable minimum standards for the protection of wage earners.

In some instances, as in the matter of maximum hours of labor, higher standards are now being established than those specified in the charter. The International Labor Organization has adopted conventions or treaties providing for the 40-hour week in certain industries and is now working on the 40-hour standard for all industries.

The International Labor Organization works through the Governing Body, or Board of Directors; the International Labor Office which comprises the staff; and the International Labor Conference which meets each year to prepare and adopt standards which are called Conventions or Labor Treaties.

What impresses the American labor representatives who have attended an International Labor Conference is its democratic form of government and the resemblance of its proceedings in many respects to collective bargaining in our own country through the American Federation of Labor.

In recent years the I.L.O. has made a great contribution toward solving the war-time labor



problems of the free nations and in preparing for a peace based on social justice and social security.

This was a thing that people had dreamed about and fought for during many years.

Millions of men, women and children have had their lives made easier by the action of the I.L.O.

The I.L.O. has behind it a tradition of service to humanity, molded under that great leader, Samuel Gompers. In general, the activities of the I.L.O. are closely bound up with those of the American Federation of Labor. The I.L.O. is entitled to the full cooperation of the American Federation of Labor.

I hope that the American Federation of Labor will retain forevermore its present position in the I.L.O. and will continue to give that cooperation to which this organization is rightfully and justly entitled.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I thank Brother Tracy for his address and for the information he brought to this convention. He has always stood with us for the defense and the right of the American Federation of Labor, because of its representative position in the United States, to be accorded the privilege of assigning a labor representative to International Labor Organization conventions.

We appreciate very greatly the help, the service he has rendered us both while he was Assistant Secretary of Labor and now while he has been serving as counsel or labor advisory counsellor on the I.L.O.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**VICE PRESIDENT DUBINSKY:** The Committee on Law will meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock in Room F on the next floor. The committee will have for its consideration the Report of the Executive Council on pages 55 and 56 dealing with the subject matter of American Federation of Labor revenue. Any delegate who wants to be heard will have a chance tomorrow morning either for or against the recommendation. This will probably be the only meeting. If any delegate desires to appear, he should do so tomorrow morning.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I hope that some of the committees will be prepared to submit at least partial reports for the consideration of the delegates in attendance at the convention tomorrow so that we can proceed with the consideration of committee reports to the convention.

Are there any other announcements?

Several committee chairmen announced the time and location of committee meetings.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** It now seems as though we have completed the day's work. The Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Upon motion by Delegate Kovaleski, the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned at 4:05 until 9:30 o'clock October 11, 1946.

### ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS

Following are additional resolutions received during the day and referred to appropriate committees:

#### Free Trade Union Committee

**Resolution No. 190**—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers of North America.

WHEREAS, The Free Trade Union Committee of the Labor League for Human Rights has, for the past two years, warned American trade unionists of the consequences of the destruction and demolition of free and democratic trade unions throughout the war-torn world and the need for help in rebuilding these trade unions, and

WHEREAS, Free and democratic trade unions form a true basis for future peace and security in all countries where the scourge of war has been deeply felt, and

WHEREAS, The Free Trade Union Committee through its representatives in Europe and Latin America has already assisted in rebuilding the free and democratic unions of various countries through the funds made available by generous contributions of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, More financial aid and material is required to help the free trade union leaders in Europe, South America and Asia to rebuild strong organizations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in sixty-fifth convention assembled endorses the work already carried out so gloriously to help our brothers and sisters in the free and democratic trade unions of other lands and urges all A. F. of L. members to support morally and financially the noble aims and purposes of the Free Trade Union Committee of the Labor League for Human Rights.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Labor League for Human Rights

**Resolution No. 191**—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers of North America.

WHEREAS, The Labor League for Human Rights, created by the American Federation of Labor, has initiated and encouraged voluntary contributions during the war years of more than \$140,000,000 from American trade unionists to local Community Chests, the National

War Fund and the National American Red Cross, and

WHEREAS, The Labor League for Human Rights has sponsored and developed the plan through which almost 10,000 A. F. of L. trade union members have been given positions of responsibility and authority on important committees and boards of directors of health, welfare and relief organizations named above, and

WHEREAS, The Labor League for Human Rights has conducted an overseas Labor Relief Program in excess of \$10,000,000 to bring food stuffs, medical supplies, rehabilitation centers and workers' rest homes to the war-devastated areas throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, The Labor League for Human Rights in this peace-time period will advance its full support to the final campaign of the USO and in developing to the maximum Community Chest programs in the field of voluntary health and welfare programs throughout the United States by cooperating with the Labor-Employee Participation Department of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., through officially designated staff representatives in said Department, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in sixty-fifth convention assembled hereby endorses the past record and accomplishments of the Labor League for Human Rights, A. F. of L., commends its support of this final USO campaign as well as its future work with Community Chests and Councils, Inc., for the fullest support and assistance by every member of the American Federation of Labor and recommends that the Labor League consider calling upon local Community Chests in industrial communities to employ officially designated A. F. of L. staff representatives to further the program within the community and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor looks to the Labor League for Human Rights, A. F. of L., as its guide and advisor in bringing greater advantages in the field of voluntary health, welfare and recreation to every American community.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### John Fitzpatrick

**Resolution No. 192**—By Delegate Gus Moline, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, John Fitzpatrick, for close to a half century, served the Chicago Federation of Labor as its chief executive, and

WHEREAS, Those sterling qualities of heart and mind, which prompted his selection for that responsible office, were manifested in every subsequent thought, word and action of his official career, and

WHEREAS, His unswerving adherence to the creed of partiality to none, but justice to all, early won for him the sobriquet of "HONEST JOHN", and

WHEREAS, Both his physical and moral courage proved inspirational qualities of leadership, prompting action that clothed the Chicago Federation of Labor with the unique distinction of being heralded as the most militant of all city central bodies operating under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This peerless director of the Chicago Federation of Labor's destiny in his unselfish devotion to the advancement and protection of the welfare of the men and women toilers, gave so unstintingly of his strength and energy, that when illness visited him, his reserves were exhausted to the point that on September 27, 1946, death entered his home at 3421 Parnell Avenue, Chicago, and at the age of 76 years, stilled a heart that had made unending service for the benefit of others, a labor of love, to the pursuit of which, he had dedicated life itself, and

WHEREAS, For the reasons as recited, labor in general and organized labor in particular, owes to its champion and brother, JOHN FITZPATRICK, an unpaid debt of gratitude, that can only be expressed in reverential action that leaves no doubt in the public mind, that though gone in the flesh, in spirit, JOHN FITZPATRICK will ever be with the Chicago Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Illinois, October 1946, hereby goes on record as expressing its reverential respect for our departed leader, John Fitzpatrick, and that same be recorded in the minutes of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Lea Bill

**Resolution No. 193**—By Delegate Neil J Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting in Chicago, August 12th, 1946, adopted the resolution hereinafter set forth whereby the Executive Council pledged its support and the support of the American Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Musicians and its President, James C. Petrillo, in the defense

against the prosecution of James C. Petrillo for alleged violation of the so-called Lea Bill passed at the last session of Congress, and

WHEREAS, Said prosecution is still pending and in force and effect, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, opening in the city of Chicago October 7th, 1946, affirms the action taken by the Executive Council on August 12th, 1946, and adopts the resolution as its own action in the matter:

### "Prosecution" Under the Lea Bill

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has thoroughly discussed the question of the Lea Bill and the prosecution instituted by the Government against Mr. James C. Petrillo, President of the American Federation of Musicians, for alleged violation of that law.

It is the unanimous conviction of the Executive Council that this statute represents the lowest point in our history of national labor legislation. Never before has any Congress so arbitrarily and completely struck down the basic right to strike for plainly lawful purposes. Never before has any Congress so openly indulged in such flagrant discrimination in favor of a powerful industry, the broadcasting industry, and in unfair opposition to the workers, the American musicians, who made possible the phenomenal success of that industry. Never before has any Congress manifested such wanton disregard for simple economic justice and for the cherished, elemental rights preserved by our Constitution.

While the Lea Bill, with gross unfairness, singles out for attack a single union in a single industry, it contains principles and imposes restrictions which, if upheld, would crush the freedom of all American workers and destroy the American trade union movement. In waging their valiant fight against this vicious law and those who sponsored it, the American Federation of Musicians and its president, Mr. James C. Petrillo, are fighting for the liberties of every worker in this country and for the very existence of every trade union in these United States. They richly deserve the unlimited support and cooperation of all who value freedom and trade unionism.

With firm determination that they shall succeed in this vital struggle, the American Federation of Labor will exert its entire strength and resources in the fullest support of the American Federation of Musicians and Mr. Petrillo to the end that this hideous law be completely wiped off the books.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**S.2051**

**Resolution No. 194**—By Delegates Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, August Wolf, International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, The Longshoremen and Harbor Workers Compensation Act became law in 1927 and no major amendment has been made since that time, and

WHEREAS, Bill S.2051 was introduced in the 79th Congress, with the endorsement of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, but was not enacted into law, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, does endorse such legislation and pledges its aid and the aid of its legislative agents in bringing about the passage of amendments in line with S.2051 in order to liberalize the Longshoremen and Harbor Workers Compensation Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**United Association of Plumbers  
and Steamfitters—Change of  
Title**

**Resolution No. 195**—By Delegates Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Peter Schoemann, Charles Rau, Robert Lynch, R. J. Picard, United

Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, Trades lines of demarcation within the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters have been a fruitful source of internal jurisdictional strife, and

WHEREAS, The delegates to the 25th convention of the United Association in convention assembled at Atlantic City, New Jersey, during the week of September 9, 1946 did by an overwhelming majority vote and decide to eliminate these trade lines of demarcation within the United Association in order to eliminate the cause of internal jurisdictional disputes, and

WHEREAS, The delegates to the 25th convention of the United Association also decreed that the name of the organization should be changed to read, "The United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada", so as to reflect the elimination of trade lines of demarcation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be requested to acknowledge and to officially establish the new title of our organization, to wit, "The United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## FIFTH DAY—FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

Chicago, Ill., October 11, 1946

President Green called the convention to order at 10 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We have been waiting for the minister who was to deliver the invocation this morning. For some reason or other he has not arrived, and we must forego the pronouncement of the invocation for that reason.

First of all, I want to announce that General Erskine, of the Retraining and Re-employment Administration, has arrived in the city and will address the delegates at 10:30 o'clock this morning. I will appoint as a committee to escort General Erskine to the hall the following: Richard Waish, of the International Association of Theatrical Stage Employees; George Lynch, of the Pattern Makers League of North America, and James Duffy, of the Pottery Workers Union.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for an announcement.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** The chairmen of the various delegations will go to the wardrobe room and pick up the souvenirs given by the Chicago committee. They are listed under the name of the organization.

## STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I am happy to announce that we have in attendance at this convention two delegates from the Territory of Alaska. They have traveled a long way in order to be in attendance at this convention. I know that I voice the sentiments and the feelings of all of you when I extend to them in your name a hearty welcome to the convention.

We have a splendid movement in Alaska. Just a few years ago we established the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor, and that splendid organization has been functioning in a most valuable way. The representatives of the organization of the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor are here. They have a matter of interest they want to report upon to you, and I am going to present them to you now and they can tell their story.

First I want to present to you Brother Thomas Moore, President of the Alaska Federation of Labor.

**DELEGATE MOORE:** Thank you, President Green and fellow delegates. The Alaskan delegation wishes to share our good news. The voters of the Territory have voted two to one in favor of Statehood. We of the Alaska delegation bring you greetings from the 49th State of the Union.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now I take pleasure in presenting to you the sweetest one of the

delegation from Alaska. I know you will agree with me when she stands before the microphone. I present to you Sister Louise Collier, Vice President of the Alaska Federation of Labor, from Ketchikan, Alaska.

**DELEGATE COLLIER:** Thank you, President Green. I was very happy to meet President Green in New Orleans. One of the things I will always remember was that many delegates were asking about the Territory of Alaska. They all thought that I was sitting on the edge of an iceberg, with a polar bear for a playmate, or that I lived in an igloo. That is not true. We come from a rainy belt where we must wear Southwesterners and gum boots four months of the year.

All I have to say is if you read this morning's Sun you will find our Governor's picture casting his ballot for Statehood for the 49th State, Alaska.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Our two friends representing the Territorial Federation of Labor advise me personally that the Alaska Federation had led in the fight and was accorded primary credit for the winning of the fight for admission to Statehood in Alaska.

I will call upon Brother Keenan to read this message of greeting to the convention.

Brother Joseph D. Keenan read the following messages:

New York, N. Y.,  
October 10, 1946.

William Green, President American Federation of Labor, Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.:

On behalf of National Committee for Labor Palestine we express to you and to the convention of American Federation of Labor our greetings and deepest gratitude for your generous cooperation in alleviating suffering of uprooted Jewish people. Palestine is the only sustaining hope in the wrecked lives of Jewish victims of Hitlerism languishing in displaced persons' camps in Germany. Your continued forceful support of Histadrut and Jewish hopes for liberation will encourage Palestine labor movement to carry on their just fight.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,  
National Chairman.  
ISAAC HAMLIN,  
National Secretary.

Mexico City, Mex., Oct. 9, 1946.

William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The National Confederation of Workers, through the undersigned, sends fraternal greetings to the convention of the great American Federation of Labor because workers realize

that meetings of the great trade union movement of North America will be of fruitful benefit to all the working class and make fast the ties of friendship with all the workers of the world. I salute you. Cordially,

EUCARIO LEON L.

Mexico City, October 10, 1946.

To Mr. William Green and George Meany,  
American Federation of Labor Convention.

National Confederation of Workers fraternally greets the members of the American Federation of Labor, wishing the best of success in the work to be developed during the convention. Coming from Montreal, Comrade Manuel Rivera, secretary of this committee, will convey personally our sincere greetings to you.

Fraternally,

ENRIQUE RANGEL,  
General Secretary.

PRESIDENT GREEN: President Mitchell, of the Farm Laborers Union, is here in attendance at this convention as a delegate representing that splendid organization. It was chartered as an international union just a few months ago. It is made up of farm laborers, those who work for wages on the farms of the country. This organization has made splendid progress under the most trying and difficult circumstances. I know that you will be pleased to learn that it is an integral part of the American Federation of Labor. I want President Mitchell to tell you briefly something about that organization and its activities.

I now present to you Delegate H. L. Mitchell, President of the Farm Laborers Union.

**MR. H. L. MITCHELL**  
(President, Farm Laborers Union)

President Green and fellow delegates to the convention: Our organization, as President Green has told you, is one of the youngest, if not the youngest international union in the American Federation of Labor. We are not new to this job. We were organized first as an independent union 12 years ago. Today we have approximately 30,000 members, most of whom are in the Southern States. They are employed on the large cotton plantations as wage workers and as sharecroppers.

Our organization was first known as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Some of you may have heard of it in the past 10 or 12 years. We have had quite a fight to organize in this very difficult field. We have been through the mill. We have faced everything that the other unions in the American Federation of Labor have in the past 65 years. In the beginning we were looked upon as outlaws; then we came to be tolerated and now we are to the point where we are beginning to be recognized.

During this time we have had difficulties with the Communist element. We fought them and we licked them, and we are glad to be here in this convention and take our part in

the deliberations of the American Federation of Labor.

We have a big job to do. There are 2,000,000 workers on the large scale farms and ranches and plantations of this country. They are without protection, they are without Social Security laws, they are barred from the benefits accorded other wage workers by the National Labor Relations Act.

We need the help of every other national union. We need the help of all of the members of the American Federation of Labor to make these people first class citizens of this country. We need your help. We have a difficult job to do and we are going to do it.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know you are happy as well as I because of the presence with us this morning of a distinguished military representative and a distinguished American. General Erskine, who is here to address us this morning, responded promptly to the invitation I extended him to come to Chicago for the purpose of meeting with us and for the purpose of delivering an address. He is here with us and I am happy to announce his charming wife, Mrs. Erskine, is also with him. We appreciate her presence here with the General very, very much.

Now, I am happy to present to you Gen. G. B. Erskine, of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration. General Erskine.

**MAJ. GEN. G. B. ERSKINE, U.S.M.C.**  
Administrator, Retraining and Reemployment Administration

President Green, distinguished guests, delegates to the convention and ladies and gentlemen: It is a distinct honor to be here with you this morning and it is a great opportunity for the purposes of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration that I am able to come to your convention in accordance with Mr. Green's kind invitation. I assume that our purposes are in many respects similar to yours. I have been told of the work of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations in the post-war reconversion of the Nation's human resources. You have a record of which you should be proud.

The Retraining and Reemployment Administration, as you may know, is not an operating agency of the Government, but rather a coordinating one. We have the responsibility of coordinating the activities of some 40 major Federal agencies in the broad fields of reemployment, retraining, vocational rehabilitation and vocational education.

Our particular mission is to eliminate overlapping of the functions of these various agencies and to endeavor to coordinate their efforts with the efforts on the state and community level.

In almost all of our activities we are constantly working with organized labor as consultants, advisors and as members of cooperating groups seeking solutions to major problems.

Among the many activities with which we have concerned ourselves has been bettering

of the lot of the migrant workers through a Federal Interagency Committee.

At the present time we are studying this problem and we have hopes of being able to present recommendations that will improve the lot of this group of workers.

We have also set up a committee to check on employment practices of the Federal Government in regard to veterans and non-veterans.

During the war that ended a little more than a year ago, great praise was heaped upon the forces of American labor for its contribution in the production of materials for winning the war.

There can be no question any longer that American labor was a major factor—not only in the achievement of victory for our own country—but in winning the war for the elements of freedom and justice throughout the world.

Actually, it was not until hostilities had ended that we learned of the whole contribution of labor toward victory. While the fighting continued, national security demanded that a large part of labor's efforts be concealed. Since security regulations have been lifted, we have learned more fully of the part played by technicians, electricians and machinists and other skilled workers, who fought and struggled both within our borders and overseas. We know better now the contribution they made—for example, in the Army Engineers and in the Navy Construction Battalions. We know of their hazardous role in many operations in the field.

The heroic efforts and dramatic results of labor's war efforts have become common knowledge.

It is a matter of record that during the first year of the war, our labor forces increased by nearly four million. Those engaged in the production of war materials increased by more than ten and a half million.

Against the isolated complaints you may have heard, I would like to express my thanks as a military man, for the steady flow into the fields of munitions, equipment, food and other necessities for the unrelenting battles in which the armed forces were engaged. Without labor's work, the war could not have been won.

Although hostilities have ended, we still have a war on our hands. You've heard that said before. It has become a hackneyed expression. It remains true, nevertheless. Indeed, this Nation has not yet seen fit to declare an official end of the war.

Apart from the general unrest and critical conditions that pervade the rest of the world, we have a continuing war in our country. And a large part of the battle devolves upon American labor.

Our objective in the Retraining and Reemployment Administration is the reintegration into normal peacetime life of approximately 14 million demobilized servicemen and women and a considerable number of the 17½ million workers whose wartime jobs no longer exist.

These people who fought and worked for victory are entitled to the fruits of victory and the comforts of peace. They are entitled to suitable, gainful and productive employment.

Here is where the leaders and members of the American Federation of Labor come in.

I have had reports on the concessions made by various member-organizations of the A. F. of L. for admitting new apprentices. I have had reports also of returning servicemen being denied their chosen jobs because of union restrictions.

It appears that some of your unions are giving preference to war veterans in new membership or apprenticeship. Some unions have widened the age-limit for new apprentices to permit the admission of men who expended their apprenticeship years in the armed forces. Some are giving credit for in-service training. Many have waived initiation fees for war veterans.

As I said at the outset, you have a good record. But you can do better.

I feel that you can do better by extending and developing the examples set by some of your affiliated unions. I doubt that there is a single labor union that has not lost a number of members on the battlefields of the late war or on one of the seven seas. Surely, these brave men must be replaced, either as apprentices or journeymen. You can pay them no greater tribute than by making openings for their surviving comrades.

There are many other ways in which you can help in this over-all problem of human reconversion. There are a number of seemingly small ways of helping the returned war veterans, the displaced war workers, their survivors and their dependents.

I don't want to take up your time with a long list of suggestions, but to give you an idea of what I mean, let me tell you about one example set by one of your affiliated organizations.

In Cincinnati, Ohio, the local Metal Polishers' Guild had written into its contracts with all employers a stipulation that a fixed percentage of all metal polishers employed should be persons with physical handicaps.

It was not required that these employees be war-disabled veterans. The provision applied equally to all union members, and this is as it should be.

However, when one of my staff members attended a State convention of the American Federation of Labor only a few hundred miles from Cincinnati, he found that none of the delegates to this particular convention had ever heard of this type of contract.

I would like to suggest that your national headquarters, the leaders of your affiliated unions and their State and local headquarters undertake to exchange specific ideas of this nature. I suggest that each of your organizations set up a clearing house of information, in order that each may benefit from the best brains and the finest impulses of the others.

Speaking of the disabled workers, let me remind you that this is National Employ-the-Physically-Handicapped-Week.

The official observance of this particular Week, as designated by President Truman at the request of Congress, will end tomorrow. But it is no part of our intention to drop the campaign for rehabilitation and productive employment of the physically handicapped with the end of this Week.

In planning for the official observance of National Employ-the-Physically-Handicapped-Week, I have consulted personally with approximately 100 representatives of private or-



ganizations. These included labor, religious, fraternal, civic, business, social welfare, and veterans' organizations. Among the first consulted was the American Federation of Labor.

The representatives with whom I talked agreed unanimously that the campaign for rehabilitating and employing the physically handicapped should be a continuing, year-round program.

The affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor can be—and I hope that you will be—a tremendous help in this campaign. It is not enough to convince management and Government that it is "Good Business to Hire the Handicapped." Organized labor also must accept the fact that the physically disabled make good union members.

Apart from the disabled, we have had some very optimistic reports on the high level of national employment. It has been said that our postwar goal of "sixty million jobs" will be reached way ahead of schedule.

I do not wish to dispute these opinions. I would like, however, to point out to you certain other aspects of the situation.

For several months past, we have had a steady load of approximately 1,700,000 World War II veterans drawing jobless payments at a monthly cost of \$135,000,000. With the opening of the fall school term and as a result of concerted action on the part of the responsible government agencies, the number of veterans receiving these allowances has declined to 1,322,000 for the week ending September 28—a substantial decrease. Among war veterans employed in manufacturing industry, the quit-rate has been 50 per cent higher than among non-veterans.

More than 300,000 disabled persons, veterans and other civilians who are qualified for work have been unable to obtain suitable employment. Approximately one million non-veteran workers, according to the last report, are drawing unemployment compensation.

Among the war veterans, many are at a disadvantage in employment experience because of the time they have given in the defense of their country. Among war workers, many are at the same disadvantage for having devoted their time to war work which no longer exists, and I feel these people deserve our fullest consideration.

With this thought in mind, I called together a special committee of representatives of management, organized labor and national veterans' organizations. The committee worked out a set of basic principles of employment that I recommend to all elements of our national economy.

I propose to read them to you now, for the American Federation of Labor can do a great deal toward their application. Indeed, several of your more prominent members, Mr. Robert Watt, Mr. Boris Shishkin and Mr. Frank Fenton were of invaluable assistance to me in the formulation of these recommendations.

First, I will read the principles that are considered applicable to all workers. Then there are some that apply to the employment of war veterans only.

1. All workers should be employed in jobs commensurate with their skills and capacities. Wartime skills, training and experience of veterans and other workers should always be evaluated in connection with all job opportunities.

Perhaps at this time I should say when we use the term "veteran," we mean any person who served in the armed forces on or after September 16, 1940, and prior to the termination of the present war, and who has been discharged or released from service under other than dishonorable conditions.

2. Qualification for the job and performance on the job should be key standards for selection and retention of workers. Sex, race, creed, color or physical impairment should not be factors in the selection or retention of workers or in the amount of compensation paid.

3. Entrance into training of a sufficient number of trainees or learners should be promoted in order that the number of journeymen in the apprenticeable trades and the number of other skilled workers will, within a period of five years or less, be at least sufficient to meet current industrial demands. Qualified physically handicapped individuals should be included in apprentice training programs.

4. All positions should be evaluated from the standpoint of minimum physical requirements in order that the physically handicapped may be fully utilized. In addition, appropriate mechanical devices should be installed and special training should be conducted to assist handicapped workers in adjusting themselves and advancing in their jobs.

5. A program of business guidance should be undertaken at the community level in co-operation with Federal, State, and local agencies for the benefit of all persons who are interested in promoting small businesses.

6. The employer and labor group concerned should assume prime responsibility for the proper placement of each employee who cannot continue with his usual or regular work, because of injury or disease suffered while on the job.

7. All unemployed, both veterans and others who participated in the war effort, should actively participate in the search for suitable employment and thereby become contributing factors in the national peacetime economy.

Now for those principles of employment that apply only to veterans.

8. All veterans having reemployment rights under Federal statutes should be accorded these statutory rights as a minimum.

9. When recruiting in excess of lay-off commitments, employers with due regard to collective bargaining or other formal agreements, should give preference to qualified veterans.

10. Employers should promote and establish in-plant training programs for the benefit of reemployed veterans in order that these workers may assume their places at the competitive level of employees having the same seniority who received promotions while the veterans were serving in the armed forces.

11. Related training and experience received by veterans while in the armed services should be accredited toward shortening the apprenticeable periods.

12. Upon their return to work, veterans should be allowed seniority credit and participation in related benefits offered by employers equal to their previous tenure of employment, plus time spent in the armed services and in recuperation from service-connected injuries

or disabilities, either through hospitalization or vocational training.

13. Newly-hired veterans who have served a probationary period and qualified for employment should be allowed seniority credit, at least for purposes of job retention, equal to time spent in the armed services, plus time spent in recuperation from service-connected injuries or disabilities, either through hospitalization or vocational training.

14. Leaves of absence should be granted to veterans having reemployment rights who apply for reinstatement within the statutory period but who wish to take advantage of the educational or vocational rehabilitation features of any Federal or State enactment for training connected with any jobs in their employer's organization. Such leaves of absence should not jeopardize veterans' statutory rights.

15. Physically handicapped veterans should be given the highest employment priorities to jobs within their physical capacities and abilities. Where necessary, employment policies and union agreements should be revised to allow for this priority.

I believe that if these principles could be placed into practice by all elements of our national economy, we would be taking a long step toward solution of some of the post-war readjustment problems with which we are still struggling.

I hope that the American Federation of Labor—as a national organization, and its component unions, both national and local—will give the fullest possible consideration to the suggested principles of employment you have just heard, to the promotion of employment of the physically handicapped and to the proposal for a mutual exchange of ideas to facilitate our processes of human reconversion.

In conclusion, let me remind you that we won the fighting war by teamwork on the battlefields and by teamwork on the home front.

If we are to win this peace, which after all is a battle for full production and stable and gainful employment, we must have industrial peace and teamwork on the part of Government, labor and management.

Let me also say that in the accomplishment of the teamwork between Government, labor and management that is necessary to achieve the objectives of full and speedy reconversion to peacetime conditions, our first consideration in the settlement of all differences must be given to national security and the general public welfare.

The common good of our country and our individual citizens is too precious a national asset to be jeopardized by any single group—whether that group be Government, labor or management.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I know I can truthfully say that we all deeply appreciate the visit of General Erskine with us this morning and the very interesting and educational address which he delivered. In your name and in your behalf, I thank the General for his visit here to this convention and for his splendid address.

## REPORT ON MONTREAL CONFERENCE, I. L. O.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The officers and delegates in attendance at this convention have no doubt noted in the public press that for the last two weeks the International Labor Organization was holding a very important meeting in the city of Montreal, Canada. We are all deeply interested in the I. L. O. meetings, and this year we were especially interested in the work of the Montreal Conference which completed its work yesterday or the day before.

While the Conference was still in session I officially extended an invitation to the representatives of workers' organizations in Latin America to come to Chicago and be the guests of this convention for a short period at least. They are here this morning. They represent splendid Latin American organizations.

Brother Watt, who attended the Montreal Conference as a workers' delegate from the United States is also here. Brother Romualdi, who attended the Conference as a representative of labor, assigned to the work by the International Ladies' Garment Workers, is here also.

I am going to ask these men and women to come to the stage now so that they may meet you and greet you, so that you may know who they are. Then I will call upon Robert Watt, the Workers' delegate from the United States to the Montreal Conference, to make a brief report. Please come forward now and take your seats on the stage. (The representatives of the Latin-American labor organization came to the platform and were seated.)

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now, in your name and in behalf of those you represent, I wish to extend to the delegates from the labor organizations in the Latin-American countries a most cordial and hearty welcome to this convention. We want them to feel that they are visiting with real, true, loyal devoted friends. We are happy indeed to have them as our guests. It is our sincere desire and purpose to develop the most friendly, cooperative and cordial relationships with the organized labor movement of Latin-America.

This afternoon we will set aside an hour when these splendid delegates will speak to you, through their interpreter, and convey to you their messages.

At the moment I am going to call upon Brother Watt, who is here now as a delegate with the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers and who has been in attendance at the I. L. O. Conference as a Workers' delegate. Brother Watt.

## MR. ROBERT J. WATT

President Green, distinguished colleagues from South America, and delegates to the American Federation of Labor: This subject is somewhat dry, but I appreciate the oppor-

tunity of making a brief report of the three weeks' session of the International Labor Conference which just adjourned yesterday in the city of Montreal. Representatives were present from 46 Member Nations while two countries were represented by observers. Almost all of the delegations were tripartite, with the qualified representatives of employers and workers participating on a par with those of government.

It was an important occasion for this democratic international organization, the only one which constitutionally requires the participation of non-governmental delegates chosen in agreement with the most representative organizations of workers and employers respectively. It was historic because the Conference accomplished the revision of the Constitution of the International Labor Organization, in order that the I. L. O., founded in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles in association with the League of Nations could carry on independently, or as a specialized agency in relationship with the United Nations.

The details of the constitutional revision had been prepared by a "Working Party" in London in January and February as described in a recent issue of the *Federationist*. Therefore I need not go into the details here except to say that the draft of the "Working Party" was accepted in all important details and modified only in details after free and exhaustive examination by a tripartite committee on which I served with Mr. Darling, former President of the Train Dispatchers, as my substitute.

By acclamation the Conference approved the terms of the agreement negotiated with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations as described in a recent issue of the *Federationist*. That agreement now awaits only the approval of the Assembly of the United Nations, the Secretary-General of which, Mr. Trygve Lie, has expressed his confident expectation of such approval. As he said, when he addressed the Conference, he had long known the I. L. O., having attended a session as long ago as 1925 when he was an adviser to the Workers' Delegate from Norway.

As usual, the I. L. O. concentrated its attention on the non-sensational but highly essential task of framing international conventions on labor standards which must be submitted to member governments for satisfaction and implementation. Following the groundwork laid at Paris in 1945, the Conference adopted conventions on medical examination of children and young workers for employment and on restriction of night work of children and young persons in non-industrial occupations.

In this committee Jennie Matyas, Vice President of the I. L. G. W. U., acted as the representative of American workers and made a splendid contribution by her alert and vigorous representation.

On the far-reaching subject of Conventions concerning social policy in dependent territories, John L. Spalding of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters acted as the United States Workers' Representative, and had the satisfaction of seeing the report of the committee headed by Senator Albert Thomas of Utah receive the acclaim of the Conference. A second discussion on this subject will be heard during the 30th Conference

at Geneva in June, 1947, before the texts are in treaty form for ratification by governments.

Another important committee is that which reviews the application of conventions to determine how each is being put in force by those countries which have ratified it. Mr. V. S. Gauthier, of the International Association of Machinists, served on behalf of the United States workers on this committee, whose report was approved by the Conference.

The Resolutions Committee, upon which J. C. Lewis of the United Mine Workers served for the United States workers, considered one highly controversial resolution concerning so-called indigenous workers. The Workers' group as a whole supported the resolution which, after a substantial amendment, was adopted overwhelmingly.

Another resolution concerning a tribute to war victims had been introduced by the Argentine delegation. Many delegates expressed concern that the resolution as presented would be embarrassing. After much discussion I presented a resolution to the conference as a substitute, and the delegation from India withdrawing amendments of their own, joined me in sponsoring it. It is so brief and concise that I think it might well be stated here.

"WHEREAS, The International Labor Organization was established to build the economic and social foundations for enduring peace, and

"WHEREAS, Hundreds of millions of men, women and children suffered untold anguish from war, disease and famine because of the failure of the world to establish social justice and true democracy; be it

"RESOLVED, That the 29th Session of the International Labor Conference pay tribute to those brave people who suffered and especially to the millions who died in the struggle for liberty and freedom and herewith ask all Member Governments to develop and strengthen their democratic institutions and social principles in accordance with the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of Philadelphia, to prevent the reappearance of Fascist exploitation anywhere."

During the Conference the preliminary amendment of the Constitution which had been initiated at Paris came into force when the notice of ratification or acceptance by more than three-quarters of the membership was received. This fact, coupled with the previous dissolution of the League of Nations, makes the I. L. O. a fully autonomous organization, with independent responsibility for establishing and collecting its own budget. Even when the pending relationship between the I. L. O. and the United Nations is established, the financial responsibility of the governing body and the Conference will continue to be much greater than in previous years, when the League of Nations had the responsibility of financing the I. L. O. except in the case of non-League members. Under the new Constitution, the Finance Committee of Governments reviewed the budget and scale of contributions prepared by the governing body and upon its recommendation.

The major controversy of the Conference developed over the attempt of the French Government delegates to alter the pending amend-

ment with respect to the provisions concerning representation. Even though the proposal had been thoroughly discussed in the Working Party in London in February, and the opinion of governments solicited without favorable result, during subsequent months, the individual sponsor of this proposal sought Conference support on the allegation that it might "encourage Russia to reconsider its non-affiliation with the I. L. O." Since his proposal would have gone far to destroy the tripartite character of the I. L. O., it was opposed by the entire United States delegation and the great majority of the Conference.

I consider it was a privilege to have had the responsibility of opening the two-day debate over this question and to have made some contribution to the overwhelming rejection of this scheme.

During the 100th session of the governing body all the delegates from the United States supported the reelection of Myrddin Evans of Great Britain as Chairman. Everyone who had the privilege of participating in any of the activities of the I. L. O. during the past year agreed that Myrddin Evans supplied the highest qualities of statesmanship in guiding the I. L. O. from its isolation as the only great inter-governmental agency surviving the dissolution of the League of Nations into a period of new usefulness, greater resources and wider opportunity than ever before.

I should add that the Conference was held at the beautiful new University of Montreal, where even the most diligent search failed to disclose any of the "rusty bottoms" which the head of a minority labor organization recently declared in an emotional outburst were running the organization.

The workers of the world again declared that peace depends on the practice of civilized economics among the peoples of every nation. They declared we must decide whether we will share prosperity or risk poverty in common. Unless we are ready to share our bread, the peoples of the world will be investing in guns for the defense of the resources which might make bread enough for all to enjoy in peace.

And let's not be sanctimonious about it. Our first task is to make our democracy work here at home. We have a long way to go. We must practice as well as preach it. We can civilize ourselves at home and hope that the example will be contagious. Toward that objective I ask the cooperation of the most democratic organization in America, the American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know you all appreciate this brief report submitted by Delegate Watt, and we thank him for it and for the service he rendered labor through his attendance at the I. L. O. Conference in Montreal.

I repeat what I formerly said, that this splendid delegation from the labor movements of Latin America who attended the I. L. O. Conference and who are here as our guests this morning will speak to us this afternoon. I know you will be waiting with deep interest to hear them. They will speak at about 2:30 o'clock, when we reconvene.

### Escort Committee for the Attorney General

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Attorney General of the United States, the Honorable Tom C. Clark, will attend and address our convention this afternoon. I am advised by his representative that he will arrive in the city in time to speak to us about 4:00 o'clock. It will be indeed a pleasure for us to listen to the Attorney General of the United States.

I will appoint as an Escort Committee to escort the Attorney General, Vice President George Harrison, Brother Harry Acreman, representing the Texas State Federation of Labor, and Brother Edward J. Volz, of the Photo Engravers International Union.

### Message from Director of Reconversion

PRESIDENT GREEN: I extend an invitation to John R. Steelman, Director of Reconversion, to attend and address this convention. He sent me a telegram expressing regret, advising me that because of pressing matters requiring his attention in Washington it was impossible for him to come. He told me to convey to his friends and the delegates in attendance at this convention, all of you, his expression of deep regret over the fact that he could not be here to extend his best wishes and personal greetings.

May I inquire if there are any committees prepared to report? Apparently not. Are there any announcements?

### Announcements

ACTING SECRETARY JOSEPH KEENAN: The annual conference on Workers' Education will be held tonight at 8 o'clock P. M. in the Embassy Room of the Hotel Morrison. Reports and discussions on workers' education programs in all sections of the country will be heard. Everyone is invited.

VICE PRESIDENT KNIGHT, Chairman of the Committee on Adjustment: The committee will meet this afternoon at 2 o'clock in the Embassy Room to consider resolutions 158, 78 and 42. Anyone wishing to appear before the committee on either or all of these may do so.

### Re-reference of Resolutions 132 and 167

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to announce the re-reference of Resolution No. 132 from the Committee on Resolutions to the Committee on Adjustment; also Resolution 167 from the Committee on Resolutions to the Committee on Adjustment.

LOCAL COMMITTEE MEMBER JOSEPH KEENAN: In behalf of the Entertainment Committee I wish to announce that the train leaving for South Bend will be at the Randolph

Street station of the South Shore Electric at 8:30 o'clock tomorrow morning. Cars will be set aside for delegates who are making the trip.

On motion of Delegate Murray, which was adopted, the rules were suspended and the convention recessed at 11:45 o'clock A. M. to 2 o'clock P. M.

### Fifth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

#### Special Order—South American Labor Representatives

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now we will proceed with the first order of business as I outlined it to you before the noon adjournment. We have a short but delightful program in which our visitors and guests from South American countries will participate. Brief though it may be, the program will be impressive and appropriate. We are going to present each one of them with a guest badge of this convention, and then these representatives of labor organizations in South American countries will submit a message to you. I know you will appreciate it.

We will proceed now to present to each of our guests on the platform a guest badge as a reminder of their visit with their real friends in this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor. Each of them, as his name is called, will step up to the speaker's desk and receive his badge.

President Green then presented badges to the following:

A. Alpuy, National Federation of Federal Workers; Assistant Secretary, General Confederation of Labor, Argentina.

Juan B. Ugazio, National Union of Municipal Employees; Treasurer, General Confederation of Labor, Argentina.

Guillermo Tamasi, Executive Secretary, General Confederation of Labor, Argentina.

Renato Soci, National Federation of Maritime Workers, Brazil.

Bernardo Ibañez, President, Confederation of Labor of Chile, Chile.

Miguel Angel Guzman, General Secretary, Garment Workers Confederation; Assistant Secretary, Confederation of Labor of Ecuador.

Cesar Enrique Coronel, Secretary, Confederation of Catholic Unions, Ecuador.

Manuel Rivera Anaya, National Proletarian Confederation and Mrs. Manuel Rivera Anaya, Mexico.

Augustin Carrillo, Mexican Confederation of Workers and Peasants, Mexico.

Roberto Cornejo Cruz, Mexican Confederation of Electric Workers, Mexico.

Arturo Sabroso Montoya, Textile Workers' Union; General Secretary, Peruvian Confederation of Labor, Peru.

Jose D'Elia, Uruguayan Federation of

Commercial and Industrial Employees, Uruguay.

Jose Marcano, President, National Association of Salaried Employees, Venezuela.

Jesús Salvador Barreto, Secretary, Oil Workers Syndicate "El Tigre," Venezuela.

Luis Tovar, President, Petroleum Workers National Federation, Venezuela.

The several speakers were then presented to the convention, and delivered their addresses in their native language, the addresses then being read in English by Secretary Meany.

The addresses are as follows:

#### REMARKS BY ANICETO ALPUY

##### Assistant Secretary, General Confederation of Labor of Argentina

In the name of the General Confederation of Labor of the Argentine Republic, that is in the name of all the workers of my country, I wish to express my appreciation for the opportunity given me to greet this convention of the American Federation of Labor. Through you, I wish also to extend these greetings to all the workers of the United States of North America.

In my greetings to you I cannot conceal the rejoicing for the fact that the labor movement of Argentina, after having been subjected—intentionally or otherwise—to such confusion and misinterpretations, as a result of maneuvers of international politics, has again been interpreted in its true meaning and real democratic and trade union aims.

Now that justice and reason have prevailed and the workers of Argentina have received, at the recent I.L.O. Conference, demonstrations of solidarity and cordiality from the workers' representatives of America and Europe as if it were a sort of reparation, it is a source of satisfaction for me to point out that the General Confederation of Labor of Argentina, having forgotten the mistakes, follows, as ever, the straight line of those sound principles which guide the trade union activities of the most progressive labor organization in the world.

I wish also to take advantage of this opportunity to publicly express my appreciation for all the attentions which the workers' delegates of Argentina at the 29th I.L.O. Conference have received from their labor colleagues, many of whom are present here today. Through them we send affectionate and sincere greetings to the workers of their respective countries.

Finally, from the workers and peasants of Argentina, whose sentiments I interpret as representative of the General Confederation of Labor, I wish to convey to the populous work-

ing city of Chicago the assurance of our highest esteem and the reiteration of our pledge to maintain fraternal relations with the workers of the rest of the world, for the benefit of all mankind.

### REMARKS BY RENATO SOCCI

**Member, Executive Committee, National Federation of Maritime Workers of Brazil**

As the Brazilian workers' delegate to the I.L.O. Conference recently held in Montreal, I had the great pleasure of meeting my colleagues from the American Federation of Labor who were so kind to invite me, in the name of this great organization, to pay you an official visit.

I wish to express now, not only my personal satisfaction for such a distinguished honor but also the deepest appreciation of the Brazilian people, of the Maritime Workers' Federation to which I belong, and of the other labor organizations of my country.

It has always been our sincere desire to maintain friendly relations based on the concept of solidarity with the great labor organizations of this country; and now that I have had the opportunity to know you, and to be acquainted with the true objectives of your loyal cooperation with us, I shall be proud to convey to the working class of Brazil the sentiments of good will which inspire the relationship of the United States of America with our country and the other Latin American Republics.

Let us resolve that there shall be among the workers of the American continent complete unity and mutual understanding and that we shall help each other in building a powerful Inter-American Labor Confederation, so that a permanent form of relationship and cooperation may exist among the labor organizations of this country and those of Central and South America.

We are convinced that with the millions of organized workers in the United States, we can forge a chain whose links of friendship and solidarity no power in the world shall ever be able to break.

With this objective in mind I salute you all, and wish success to this convention and to the future of the great American Federation of Labor.

### REMARKS BY BERNARDO IBANEZ

**President, Confederation of Labor of Chile**

I have accepted with great pleasure your fraternal invitation to visit this convention. With the Latin American comrades present here today, I share the belief that this meeting augurs well for the future of labor relations in our America.

During the last decade many of us have devoted a great deal of our efforts to establish sincere bonds of solidarity and mutual cooperation among the labor organizations of all the Americas, as the first step towards

the realization in the near future of a similar labor solidarity and cooperation in the wider international field.

In this effort we have often met with misunderstandings and misgivings, and we may have more of them today and tomorrow. But we are already faced with concrete deeds which give us right to definite hopes.

We, in Latin America, are by now well acquainted with the fact that there exists in the United States a powerful labor movement; that, thanks to its struggles and victories, the workers of this great country have reached the highest standard of living in the whole world; and that the gigantic degree of production resulting from the development of your industrial technique—a veritable industrial revolution—has helped considerably in bettering the living conditions of our brothers, the workers of North America.

On the other hand, the great majority of you are aware that south of the Rio Grande, all along the Caribbean islands and down to the farther reaches of our southern half of the continent, there exists what is called Latin America, a vast land where people, generally speaking, are still faced with low standards of living, and whose workers still suffer under a system of brutal exploitation, with pitiful wages and unbearable working conditions. You have also learned that our labor organizations are still weak and in many of our countries just at their beginning.

In common, we have also learned that many of our struggles are directed against the same enemies. We have found out that some of the great corporations against which you fight here in the United States are the same corporations which resist the just demands of our labor unions in Central and South America—with this difference, however, that while we fight with weak weapons, supported only by the ideals of labor solidarity and emancipation, you are able to face the enemy with the strength of your number and your great resources. Together we are engaged in a great fight for the achievement of social security and full employment, but I know that you well realize that you will never reach here the complete security of a decent life if your brothers in Latin America suffer under a low standard of living, if the industries there are stagnant and unable to prosper, if the machines we need to multiply our human efforts are not coming.

The opportunity you have offered us in this convention to exchange views of mutual interest must be used by us to make stronger our bonds of solidarity and learn how to regard each other as comrades-in-arms engaged in a common struggle for the attainment of a higher degree of social justice, for the consolidation of human progress and human liberty.

The workers affiliated with the Confederation I have the honor to preside over—the Confederation of Labor of Chile—and in whose name I extend to you, sisters and brothers of the convention, the most fraternal greetings, wish to say to you, through the medium of my inadequate words:

"We in Chile fight hard against every form of tyranny—the tyranny of capitalistic exploitation which oppresses morally and materially the men and women of the working



class; and against the ideologic tyranny of totalitarianism, which attempts to impose a uniform way of thinking and a uniform way of life.

"We fight for the triumph of democracy in its wider conception and interpretation. We fight so that some day we may see the disappearance of misery, ignorance and fear, and that happiness and material welfare be within the reach of all men.

"But we know that in order to win these great objectives we need the solidarity and the help of all our brothers in America. In my salute to you, I wish also to express my hope that the future may witness a wider understanding of our problems, a greater solidarity among our labor organizations; a true, sincere, fraternal and everlasting cooperation."

### REMARKS BY CESAR CORONEL

#### Spokesman for Ecuador's Labor Delegation to the A. F. of L. Convention

The Ecuadorian workers' delegation to the 29th conference of the I.L.O. has accepted with pleasure the kind invitation of the American Federation of Labor to come to Chicago in order to visit its convention. We wish to express our deep appreciation and ask you, Mr. President, to convey this sentiment to all the delegates.

To know your country is of great interest to us. Here we find in your colossal industrial enterprises and public works the meaning of man's domination over nature. Here in the United States, where the people have given an example of the true exercise of democracy, we are particularly interested in learning the North American way of life, its ideological conceptions, the form and type of its institutions and everything else that makes up the national characteristics of the American people. It is so important for us to learn that because, although peoples of the same Continent, perhaps we know too little about each other.

The gigantic industrial development of the United States has inevitably produced in its labor organizations certain peculiar aspects which are different from those of our workers' institutions. But in the hard struggle to attain a higher cultural level, to gain better wages and working conditions, to increase the general standard of life of the people, we may find a common ground of action.

There is no need for me to point out the necessity to work together for the welfare of all the people of this Continent, harmonizing aspirations and eliminating contrasts and avoiding, above all, that the welfare and plenty of one people be built on the misery of another.

We sincerely wish to this convention of the American Federation of Labor all the success in its deliberations for the benefit of the American worker.

We are taking back with us the most pleasant impression of the United States and Canada. We hope to be able to carry with us also some of your spirit of civic discipline, of your formidable capacity for production,

and many other qualities that have made the United States a first-class country.

In conclusion I wish to reiterate my thanks for the opportunity to be with you today, and my sincere good wishes for the future of the American people, for the progress of its labor organizations and for the most cordial and sincere friendship and cooperation among all the peoples of this Continent.

### REMARKS BY MANUEL RIVERA ANAYA

#### Spokesman for the Mexican Labor Delegation

It is of great significance to the Mexican Confederation of Electrical Workers, the Confederation of Workers and Peasants and the National Proletarian Confederation, on whose behalf I have been designated to speak, to be present at this important labor convention, which represents the interests of more than 7,000,000 wage earners, organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, whose history is known and admired in every part of the world.

The workers of Mexico are always willing and ready to strengthen their good relations with those workers of the United States and Canada and the rest of the American Continent, who are prompted by the same desire to unite their organized labor forces on a sincere program of economic and social welfare, for the progress of the working people and their respective countries.

These concepts are not the expression of a mere theoretical desire or of opportunistic conveniences. They express in reality a common ideal to the attainment of which Washington and Lincoln struggled in the United States; Hidalgo, Morales and Juarez in Mexico; and Bolivar in South America. From them we received our political independence and learned the fundamental principles of civic duty.

Furthermore, as we are guests of this great industrial city, which in 1886 was the scene of one of the most touching dramas in the history of the labor movement, when the martyrs of Chicago gave their lives to the cause of social justice, we, the workers of Mexico, cannot fail to remember our bloody days of Cananea in 1906, of Rio Blanco in 1907, and the popular revolutionary uprising of 1910, led by Francisco Madera, which finally gave to Mexico our present constitution. Articles 27 and 123 of this constitution are the basis upon which we have built all the social and economic conquests of the Mexican labor movement.

We believe, therefore, that there exists a striking resemblance in the origin of the trade-union movement in our country and in yours. We also believe that we have at present identity of purpose, in the aims to preserve the gains in wages, hours of work and social legislation, but also in the determination to reach even higher levels. We, too, like you, are determined to safeguard the welfare of our people by fighting with all our might against racial discrimination and every type of dictatorship, no matter what form or color.



During the war we were with you, side by side. We have contributed our share to the victory of the democracies. The workers of Mexico join with you in demanding a just and lasting peace for all the people.

These are the thoughts, dear sisters and brothers, we associate to our fraternal greetings and to our wishes of success for this convention. We want also to express our gratitude for the invitation to be with you today in this magnificent assembly.

We hope that the true unification of all the progressive labor forces of the American continent shall be a reality in the very near future. We visualize this unity as based on well-defined principles of social and trade union solidarity, respect of the sovereignty of our respective countries, and the preservation of human liberties.

### MR. ARTURO SABROSO

#### General Secretary, Confederation of Labor of Peru

Mr. President and delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention—I greet you on behalf of the workers of Peru, and I am delighted for the invitation to come to Chicago.

I have learned much of the history of the American Federation of Labor and am aware of what is being said abroad in reference to our relationship with you. I have come to the conclusion that most people are misled by ideological partisanship and lack of knowledge. For this reason we believe that this visit will do a lot of good to dispel this misunderstanding and bring about better relationship.

Last year I made a trip from Paris to New York on an American steamship manned by an A. F. of L. crew, and I was favorably impressed, not only by the working conditions prevailing on the boat but also by the strong feeling of trade union solidarity shown by those members.

The issue of inter-American solidarity is being hotly debated in every Latin American country.

There are two aspects in our relationship which I wish to examine, the one which we may call the diplomatic relationship, which is of exclusive concern to our Governments and the people's relationship, which can become a reality only if it is taken up in the labor organizations. In our American continent we have unlimited natural resources, but at the same time there is a widespread misery. For this reason we believe it is of great importance to favor the conclusion of generous commercial treaties and interchange of goods and machinery so that it may be possible to raise the standard of living of the people south of the Rio Grande. To achieve a higher degree of industrialization it is necessary that the countries of the North do not look at us as mere sources of cheap labor. We want equal pay for the same type of work, and if the labor organizations of the American Continent get together, I think we can end for once and for all any kind of wage discrimination which we greatly resent. In our country there are few progressive-minded employers as you may have in the United States. We

still have to struggle hard to make acceptable to our Governments and to our employers the most elementary principles of social justice. Nevertheless, Latin America is now occupying a very prominent position in world affairs, and if peace and plenty should be the rule of the future this goal will never be achieved without the cooperation of Latin America.

I firmly believe in the necessity of strengthening the relationship between labor organizations of North America and those of Central and South America. However, the workers of the American continent do not need to be guided or influenced from abroad. Our forefathers, in addition to giving us independence, have left us a rich heritage of moral, social and political codes. In our relationship there can be no room for ulterior motives nor for intervention in each other's internal and political affairs.

I appeal to the workers of the United States to join hands with the workers of Latin America so that our forces may always be ready to defend the great and eternal principles of democracy.

### REMARKS BY JOSE D'ELIA

#### Member, Executive Committee, Uruguayan Federation of Commercial and Industrial Employees

As a militant member of the labor movement of Uruguay, it is for me a great satisfaction to bring to you fraternal greetings from the workers of my country.

The working class of Latin America is particularly interested in establishing closer fraternal relations with the other people of the Continent so that it may be able to fight with greater efficiency and success against the dark forces of feudalistic reaction and imperialistic exploitation, which have subjugated and stifled our national economy. It realizes, however, that it cannot isolate itself from the rest of the world, and particularly from our brothers of North America.

We have problems that are not of our exclusive concern. Our efforts to raise the standard of living of our exploited masses represent, for instance, a problem which could rightly be called also your problem.

The industrial development now taking place in Latin America may cause serious disturbances to your economy if we do not succeed in gaining for our workers a scale of wages that would give them the standard of decent living required by any civilized society and also a greater purchasing power.

Our capitalists are always on the alert for ways and means to cut down wages, to pay less taxes, to secure more privileges, to feed their insatiable appetite. To avoid all that, we must tighten the bonds of solidarity which unite our class, especially today that all the world seems determined to achieve greater political, economic and spiritual unity.

We are confident that by sticking to the path of true labor democracy we shall be able to achieve our goal of a better economic life without sacrificing our individual and collective freedom.

I wish now to conclude by renewing to you,

President Green, and to all of you, sisters and brothers, my personal greetings and deep appreciation for the privilege and honor of being with you on this momentous occasion.

### REMARKS BY JOSE MARCANO Spokesman for the Labor Delegation of Venezuela

Mr. President, delegates to the American Federation of Labor: I wish to be forgiven if I attempt to deliver this speech in English, but having heard really so many speakers in the Spanish language, I am sure you will excuse me for this audacity.

On behalf of my colleagues of the Venezuelan workers' delegation to the I.L.O. Conference, I join with other representatives of Latin America in expressing our sincere appreciation to you, President Green, and the leadership of the American Federation of Labor for having invited us to attend this convention.

This is the first time in the history of the labor movement of Venezuela that we have participated at a meeting of any labor organization of your country.

Venezuela's chief contribution to the winning of the war has been its petroleum. Our workers have given their best during the war years without asking anything in return more than the pre-war wages. After the war our petroleum workers' organization felt the need of asking the oil companies to grant them a regular agreement, which we had never before possessed. We wanted an increase in wages and better working and living conditions for the Venezuelan workers.

By peaceful negotiations we obtained some of our demands, but the employers were stubborn in their refusal concerning others; so that we thought that a strike would be the only way out. We had already resolved to call on you, brothers of the American Federation of Labor, and on other labor organizations of the United States, for solidarity. But at the last moment a complete agreement was reached on all major points and industrial peace prevailed. The president of the Petroleum Workers Federation, Brother Tovar, and the secretary of one of its largest affiliates, Brother Barreto, are here with me, as you already know.

Venezuela is at present ruled by a revolutionary government, headed by President Romulo Betacourt. The workers of Venezuela support this government. As a matter of fact, they were the leading part of last year's revolution, together with the students and the military youth of the country. It was the only way out to break the long succession of corrupt regimes which had made a mockery of democracy and had completely forgotten the plight of the workers. Venezuela is now on the eve of a general election for the Constituent Assembly. Labor is participating in this election because we want to have a voice in shaping the democratic future of our country.

Our chief economic problem in Venezuela is how to get modern agricultural and industrial machinery. We do not produce enough food because we do not have sufficient instruments

to till our land. We can only get this machinery from the United States. We have the money. A Purchasing Commission, headed by our Minister of Industry and Commerce, has been in the United States for the past few weeks trying to get at least a portion of what we so sorely need. Frankly speaking, I believe that the best material contribution that the workers of the United States can offer to the workers of Venezuela today is their pressure upon their Government to let us have this machinery as soon as possible.

I firmly believe in the necessity of uniting on a plan of concrete trade union cooperation all the workers of the American continent, without distinction of nationality, language, race, color or ideology. From Canada all the way down to Argentina, we are all Americans and we must act as one unit. But we are also firm believers in democracy, so that this inter-American labor unity should be a bulwark of democracy and not a menace to it.

In conclusion, let me repeat, on behalf of myself and my two colleagues, our sincerest thanks for this invitation. And let me express to you our good wishes for the future, which we want to extend through the medium of the American Federation of Labor to all workers in the United States.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** That completes the speaking program arranged for this special occasion.

I am confident that you have all been deeply impressed with the messages that have been brought to us this afternoon by these most capable representatives of organized labor in Latin American countries. We are happy indeed to listen to these addresses. We have all learned much through the submission of their points of view, the sentiments expressed and the information transmitted through these impressive addresses.

I want to say to them for you that we are deeply interested in the success of the organized labor movements they represent in the South American countries. I asked them to interpret our invitation to them to be our guests on this eventful occasion as convincing evidence of our deep interest in their economic, social and industrial welfare.

The American Federation of Labor has grown from a small beginning until today it holds within the family of labor 7,100,000 paid-up members in good standing in the American Federation of Labor. So these representatives of the South American countries were speaking directly to the delegates in attendance at this convention, but in addition they were speaking indirectly to the 7,100,000 members of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, we have experimented in the development of trade unionism. These experiments on our part have been carried on over a long period of time, for almost one century. We have learned much, through experience during this long period in the history of our nation, but we have found out one convincing

fact and truth, and that is that the economic welfare of the working people in our nation depends upon the thoroughness with which and by which we can establish free democratic trade unions. We have made progress in America just in proportion as we have mobilized our economic strength. We ask you from South America to study the record we have made, measure and weigh well our achievements in the economic field, compare, if you will, the standard of life and living we have established here, through the use of the agency of the free democratic trade unions in our country, and then determine for yourselves whether the welfare of the working people in South America can be promoted by pursuing the same course in South America as we have pursued in the United States of America.

We are of the opinion that the workers of South America can lift their standard of life and living through the mobilization of their economic strength into free democratic trade unions, to center themselves and their activities toward the establishment of these free democratic trade unions organized by the workers in the countries south of the Rio Grande, administered by them, managed by them, directed by them, free from government interference and free from political affiliations and control. We are confident that their objective for a better life, a better standard of living can be realized through the pursuit of such a policy rather than to indulge in ideological experimentation and the consideration of some academic means.

There are two voices that appeal to the workers in South America. One is the voice of the American Federation of Labor, speaking out of a century of experience and pointing to a record made here in America as a result of the pursuit of a well-developed constructive policy. The other voice that appeals to them is the voice of ideological experimentation, an appeal to the emotions alone and not to the judgment of the men and women of toil.

It occurred to me that I could very appropriately speak to them in this sincere way this afternoon because I am conscious of the fact that they realize we are true friends to them, desiring to give and to serve and to help lift the standard of life and living in South American countries.

We want to assure you and those you represent that the American Federation of Labor will stand by you and with you. We ask only for an opportunity to cooperate and help. We ask that we be accorded the widest opportunity to render service.

We thank you sincerely for your visit here this afternoon. We shall long remember this occasion. We ask you to carry with you in your memory the feeling of pleasure that you

have enjoyed, I know, over your delightful visit with us this afternoon.

Now, I want to present to you one who is closely related to our movement and who has served as an ambassador of good will from the American Federation of Labor to South American labor organizations. Our good friend, Mr. Romualdi, who speaks both the Spanish language and the English language fluently and well, has visited the Latin American countries and carried to the workers in those Latin American countries a message of good will from the American Federation of Labor. No one can adequately appraise the value of his service rendered as an ambassador of good will to South America.

I want him to speak to you now for a few moments.

### MR. SERAFINO ROMUALDI

#### (A. F. of L. Representative for Trade Union Relations in Latin America)

President Green, allow me first to take a few minutes to give a resume in Spanish, for the benefit of our visitors, of the marvelous and most inspiring remarks that you have made in commenting upon this visit of our guests.

[Mr. Romualdi translated in Spanish the remarks made previously by President Green.]

[Continuing] President Green, members of the International Labor Relations Committee, delegates: It was only nine months ago that I received the honor and the privilege of being appointed as American Federation of Labor representative for Trade Union Relations in Latin America. I believe that this meeting is of historic significance. I wish that the newspaper men and molders of opinion in the United States and many government officials, including those in high brackets who for the last several years have insistently repeated that organized labor in Latin America is dominated by a single totalitarian-minded individual, could be here and see the true representatives of democratic labor organizations in Latin America, who happen to be the overwhelming majority of all organized labor south of the Rio Grande.

This is not the result of our work. Loyalty to democracy was in the hearts and minds of these comrades for a long time. We simply made the mistake of not being active or not seeking their company and their collaboration. Now, I believe that the situation has changed and it will be changed. They know more about the American Federation of Labor. Of course, if these comrades in Montreal, instead of having Robert Watt as the workers' representative from the United States had found a delegate from another organization, I don't believe that such a demonstration as we have witnessed today would have taken place. I don't believe that the friends of the United States, the friends of democracy throughout Latin America would have had occasion to rejoice, as they will rejoice tomorrow morning when they will know by reading the newspapers of this demonstration of Pan-American solidarity and cooperation.

We have read in the last few months often in the newspapers about Communist and totalitarian infiltration in Latin America. It is true. They are doing a great job, from their point of view.

But the best way to fight totalitarian infiltration in the American continent is not to confine ourselves to pious enunciations. We must give concrete evidence to our brothers in Latin America that we really mean to help them, not only through theoretical assertions of good will and solidarity but through a practical demonstration of our interest in their daily lives and in their struggle to attain a better future.

One of the things they need most is training in labor organization, and if it is necessary I hope that our richest and largest international unions will in the near future establish scholarships so that ten or fifteen or twenty young trade unionists in the textile fields, or among the miners, or the port workers, or the printers or any other craft which is now growing in importance in Latin America could come to the United States and stay for at least one year and live among our workers, get acquainted with our way of trade union technique and expression, and I can assure you that they would go back home and try to follow your policy which, as you happened to say, President Green, is the only policy that is a guarantee for the achievement of a higher standard of living in Latin America.

I believe also the time has come, when we are occupying ourselves with international matters, that we should come to the open conclusion that there is no possibility for a successful defense of the American continent from the political and from the military point of view unless we achieve complete democratic unity among the workers of the American continent. It is not sufficient to sign an inter-American military pact. We must at the same time reach a close understanding in cooperation and unity of international purpose with the workers of Latin America, because those who control the port workers and others are far stronger than several military divisions.

So, our work in trying to reach an understanding with our brothers in Latin America and in the hope that soon there will be organized an Inter-American Federation of Labor is not only confined to the wide fields of trade unionism but it is also confined and also interesting the wider field of democratic defense of the American continent and also for the defense of the American way of life.

I hope that these will be taken into consideration by those responsible for our foreign policy, and particularly by those responsible for the American section of our foreign policy who have for too long a time remained silent and continue to remain so, if not openly allied, definitely so openly supporters of groups in Latin America who are enemies of the American way of life and who are followers of the Communist Party line.

I hope that our voice will be heard and will carry more weight, and with this in mind I take the liberty in confiding to you, President Woll of the International Labor Relations Committee, and members of this same committee and delegates to the convention, to keep in mind when you are about to chart

our future course for the next year in the international field, keep in mind the meaning of this inter-American demonstration of trade union solidarity and cooperation.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for a statement.

## SECRETARY GEORGE MEANY

### American Federation of Labor

I desire to impose very briefly on the convention in order to try to impress upon you the significance of what has taken place here this afternoon.

For many months the entire civilized world has been thinking of world peace. What has taken place here this afternoon is a demonstration of the determination of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate fully with those in Latin America who are devoted to the same ideals and principles of freedom and democracy as those to which we are devoted and can well be taken as a real step in the direction of world peace. The greatest bulwark on this side of the world would be a solid front for world peace among all the working people of the Western Hemisphere.

When we look back into history we find that despots and dictators have always looked to the natural resources and riches of a land before they set out on their aims of conquest. Latin America represents one of the richest parts of the world's surface. Before the last war we had a demonstration of the dictator's interest in those countries. Hitler's Germany had infiltrated into many sections of Latin America. They were pretty well established when our Nation came into the war in December of 1941, and it took the greatest effort on the part of President Roosevelt in the early days of the war to prevent the Nazi groups that had infiltrated into Latin America from sabotaging our war effort on this side of the world.

Today we find another type of dictatorship looking with eager eyes upon Latin America. A tremendous wave of anti-American sentiment has been created in a few spots by representatives of another totalitarian regime. It is up to the American Federation of Labor to see to it that the workers of Latin America understand our philosophy, understand our desire to create a solid front among the working people of this hemisphere and to see to it that these people do not listen to the mouthings of those who receive their orders from Moscow.

We hear a great deal of talk on the part of the Communist leaders in Latin America about Yankee imperialism. I think we should let these Latin American brothers who are here today know that we are keenly conscious of the sorry spectacle that some American capitalists have made of themselves in Latin America. We should let them know that we spend all our waking moments to keep American capital from exploiting American labor, and that we are just as much opposed to American capital exploiting Latin American labor as we are to American capital exploiting American labor.

We would like to see the development of Latin America pressed forward with the assist-

ance of American capital, but any capital that goes to Latin America should go in the spirit that capital can be a blessing and should not under any circumstances be a curse.

For several years now the American Federation of Labor has been disseminating among the working people of Latin America a Spanish-language newsletter, released twice a month, in which we let these workers know what is going on in labor circles in this country, in which we let them know that despite the high standard of living, despite the achievements of this great organization, we are not satisfied, and that we are going to press ever forward for a still higher standard of living. We have let them know, through representatives and through communications and through our publications, that we extend to them the hand of fraternal brotherhood, that we want to help them to raise their standard of living, we want to help them to achieve the type of free government that we enjoy in this country, and that our last desire is a desire for full and complete cooperation and by no means can we be placed in the same category of the emissaries of Moscow who do not want to cooperate with these people but to dominate them in the same manner as Hitler sought to dominate them.

Thank you.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now the Chair will recognize the chairman of the American Federation of Labor Committee on International Labor Relations. Chairman McSorley.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MCSORLEY:** Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the Committee on International Labor Relations has examined several sections of the report of the Executive Council. We have prepared a report and are now ready to submit same, which I believe will clearly show the attitude of the American Federation of Labor to the workers in Central and South America. Secretary Woll will present the report.

(Committee Secretary Woll submitted the following report.)

#### INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

(Pages 72-73, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee on International Labor Relations has considered carefully and thoughtfully those sections of the Executive Council's report dealing with Latin American trade union problems and the activities of the Federation as related to these problems.

We are greatly and most favorably impressed with the progress of fraternity realized and with the future possibilities of uniting the workers of the Western Hemisphere into an ever greater degree of solidarity.

As the most populous country in North and South America and as a nation which plays so important a role in world affairs, we in the United States must place the problem of our relations with all our American neighbors first on our agenda. In the light of the critical international situation, active cooperation by all the peoples of North, Central and South America for common democratic goals is our most vital concern of the hour. Note that we speak of all the nations. There can be no full and effective inter-American unity unless and until our northern neighbor, Canada, shares equally with all the American republics in meeting the tasks and needs of both continents and in fulfilling our common responsibilities to the entire world community of nations.

Therefore we must, at the very outset, stress the urgency of our own Government and all other American Governments soliciting and securing effective participation by Canada in the management and direction of all inter-American affairs. There cannot be and there will not be any full inter-American unity without the Canadian Government being appropriately and actively represented in the Pan-American Union.

It is hardly necessary to tell our convention of the decisive part which the labor movements, the trade unions, the working peoples of the United States and all other American countries must play in establishing unity in the New World. We of the American Federation of Labor hold that the most extensive and intensive cooperation among the democratic ranks of organized labor throughout the Americas is the very first prerequisite for sound and effective unity of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. There is no better and there is no other way of turning the Western Hemisphere into a fortress for world peace and freedom.

This is not a new idea or aim with us. These are not mere words or pious wishes. There is life to our plans and realism to our purpose. We firmly believe in translating our words into deeds. Eloquent and encouraging proof of this is right here at hand. We have with us today the vigorous and forthright representatives of the democratic labor movements in eight republics south of the Rio Grande. We are honored and privileged to welcome these stalwart spokesmen of our Latin American brothers as equals in the front ranks of the struggle for democracy and liberty, for a better life, and a more peaceful and happy world.

Since our last convention we have redoubled our efforts, greatly extended our activities, and registered real strides towards practical and active inter-American labor solidarity. Bona fide free trade unions are the bulwark of democracy. The Act of Chapultepec, signed by all the American republics last year in

Mexico City, contains clear-cut provisions guaranteeing freedom of trade union organization. We can all be proud of the decisive role played by our General Secretary-Treasurer George Meany and the other labor advisors to the United States delegation in securing the adoption of these provisions. We realize, however, that the best of treaty clauses mean nothing unless supplemented by energetic application in life.

We are pleased to note that the Executive Council spared no effort in developing closer contacts with the fraternal labor movements of our Latin American brothers. It lost no time in promoting an exchange of ideas and a better understanding between ourselves and the free trade union forces of the other countries in the Western Hemisphere. It is most gratifying to report that the Executive Council has attained real results through publication in the Spanish language of the North American Labor News—the semi-monthly "Noticiero Obrero Norteamericano." Within the past three years the circulation of this clip-sheet has more than trebled. It has proved to be a very effective instrument for cementing the ties of friendship which bind the trade union movements of this hemisphere. It has likewise served as a valuable aid to our Government in pursuing a genuine good neighbor policy. The Latin American trade union leaders who are sincerely endeavoring to build labor organizations based on our common democratic ideals and principles have found this organ to be of indispensable educational help and of paramount assistance in their constructive and worthy activities.

The North American Labor News has not shied away from or taken the defensive in fighting against the dogmas and deeds of totalitarianism and dictatorship in Latin America. It has hit hard and telling blows to the apostles and advocates of Nazi, Fascist and Communist ideology and intrigue. These destructive elements have in recent years enormously extended their pernicious activities. We cannot exaggerate the vehemence and vigor with which the Communists in Latin America have been conducting their campaign of vilification against the democratic ideals and the champions of the democratic way of life. The struggles against this totalitarian plague is not necessarily one of defending the policies of the United States or any other American government in the eyes of the Latin American peoples. There is something much more fundamental at stake.

Many of the slanders levelled by Russia's Communist agents in the Central and South American countries against the people of the United States do not deserve to be dignified by an answer. Besides we have no desire to compete with these toadies and tools of dictatorship, with these dangerous reactionaries hiding behind radical phrases, in name-calling.

The best answer our own country and all American democracies can give to the purveyors of totalitarian germs is to treat each in a just and humane manner and to cooperate honestly and wholeheartedly in the pursuits of peace and the advancement of human welfare—in securing a better and fuller life and more freedom for the common people. It is in this spirit and towards this end that we of the American Federation of Labor are striving and working—and fighting against the encroachments and aggression of the new menace of post-war totalitarianism which is infiltrating the Western Hemisphere. Our big job has been and will be to defend and strengthen the basic ideals and aims of democracy as a way of life far superior to Nazism, Fascism, Communism, and all other breeds of totalitarian tyranny and dictatorship.

In order to promote and strengthen this democratic solidarity of the free labor movements of North, Central and South America, the A. F. of L. has also given practical aid to the workers in their own domestic struggles against injustice and oppression, against native reaction as well as against the disruptive manipulations of those elements that are interested only in playing politics with the needs and problems of the toiling masses in order to further the aggressive interests of a foreign dictatorial regime. Hence, we have published a Spanish edition of the "Special Bulletin" on international affairs gotten out by our Free Trade Union Committee. Right now we have on the press a Spanish edition of the Bill of Rights which the A. F. of L. has proposed to the United Nations for adoption and inclusion in the general peace treaty.

We have not limited ourselves to printed words. We have established direct personal contact with our sister movements in the Latin-American Republics. Together with Belarmino Tomas, the esteemed head of the Spanish Federation of Miners now in exile from his native land, Brother Serafino Romualdi has served as our representative in making an extensive and fruitful tour of our neighbors to the south. We are happy to report that they have met with a warm and magnificent response from the toiling people below the Rio Grande. This visit and the other missions which we are contemplating will help assure the free labor movements of both continents more healthy growth, fuller cooperation and a decisive role in building the unity of the free peoples of the New World.

We have made only a beginning. We have very much more to do. Today more than ever, the nations of the New World are organically bound up with each other—culturally, economically and politically, for a common defense of common ideals and interests. The more close and friendly our rela-



tions will be, the more they will be mutually advantageous. Today more than ever does the welfare of the people of the United States and that of the people of other American democracies depend on true and full good neighborliness. In the economic sphere, modern life is not narrow national self-sufficiency but international economic cooperation and interdependence. In waging the victorious war against the Axis menace, our own country has depleted many of its natural resources. Production and prosperity in the U. S. now depend to a very large extent on our ability to secure, through fair and square international trade and commerce with our Latin-American neighbors, certain vital raw materials. Similarly, the improvement of the working and living conditions of the Latin-American peoples are, in large measure, dependent upon their ability and readiness to supply us with these materials and at the same time to develop in their own countries modern industrial techniques and skills.

In both of these respects, the Latin-American nations need the cooperation and assistance of the United States with its vast industries and enormous capacity for providing manufactured goods. The peoples of South and Central America may be assured that the A. F. of L. will do everything in its power to secure just and sound economic relations between our country and theirs which will prove to be of greatest benefit to all the nations concerned. We shall continue to give all possible help to the free trade unions and to the forces working for free trade unionism in Latin-America to help them become much stronger and to be fully equipped for meeting the many complicated problems of modern economic life. All our decades of experience and struggle as a free trade union movement, all the lessons we have learned in dealing with employers and governmental agencies in our endeavors to improve our conditions, raise our wages, shorten our hours of labor and gain fuller social security and greater rights and democratic liberties are at their disposal.

Our sole aim is to help only through voluntary and honest cooperation as equals in a great crusade for humanity and freedom. We are absolutely against every form of outside interference and intrigue. We would not tolerate any foreign intrigue and machination for the control of our own labor movement, and we do not seek any such sinister influence or domination of other labor movements. The welfare and progress of the U. S. demands free, strong and prosperous Latin-American Republics. And the welfare and progress of all Latin America requires just as much a healthy and prospering democratic U. S. Here is the common need, the goal, of the entire Western Hemisphere. And of course only a truly democratic and prosperous Western Hemisphere can render effectively

the moral, material and spiritual aid which the countries of the Old World need so desperately today.

This session on inter-American labor relations is being held on a most fitting occasion. We are on the eve of an epochal day—a day which is a landmark in the annals of human progress. Tomorrow, October 12, is Columbus Day—the day marking the discovery of the New World by that intrepid Italian genius, that courageous and far-visioned Genoese mariner. To our Latin American friends, tomorrow is a stirring holiday—THE DAY OF THE RACE. We share with them in rejoicing and in acknowledging the inestimable contribution of ALL the Latin peoples to human advancement, to our common western civilization. And we must all of us in the Western Hemisphere equally share in discharging the enormous debt of the New World to the Old World. It is truly an immeasurable debt, rather than an account measured in dollars and cents. It is a human, a cultural, a spiritual indebtedness. This occasion cannot pass without paying very inadequately it is true, the homage and tribute of the A. F. of L. to another great Latin nation—to the Italian people whose illustrious son Columbus discovered the Western Hemisphere and thus made possible the founding and building of the New World. It was the genius of this Italian mariner that gave world democracy its safest, strongest and most secure home—where its ideals could grow and flourish and where the oppressed and liberty-loving of all lands could flock and work and live together in peace and harmony as humans of all races and creeds, colors and tongues enjoying evermore the blessings of freedom and progress.

It is, therefore, with a feeling of deep sadness that we note the utterly unjust treaty now being imposed on the young Italian Republic. Let us do our all to enlighten and lift the cruel burdens imposed on them, to speed the rebuilding of war-torn Italy which for more than two years was our gallant fighting partner in the war against a common enemy. Let us determine to hasten the day when the Italian people can take their rightful place in the society of free and great nations.

It is in this solemn spirit that we strongly reaffirm our unalterable opposition to every form of imperialism and aggrandizement and assure our fraternal labor movements in Central and South America that they can count on our unstinted support to help them in their struggle against the feudal system of exploitation still maintained by some foreign-owned industrial corporations in their country.

We underline our wholehearted readiness to cooperate in the exchange of information, technical knowledge, trade union experience, and in endeavors of mutual assistance between the bona fide labor movements of the West-



ern Hemisphere. We shall do this through the medium of publications, literature, personal visits, exchange of missions and other practical and constructive measures.

It is our fondest hope that as a result of such growing solidarity and community of purpose, that as a consequence of such solid cooperation, the day will not be far off when there can be proclaimed the establishment of a permanent Inter-American trade union association of democratic, independent and effective labor organizations.

Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

This concluded the program in courtesy to the Latin American delegates.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We have all been waiting for this moment with a feeling of pleasant anticipation. I recall when I first announced to you that the Attorney General of the United States would visit with us this afternoon and deliver an address that you spontaneously manifested a feeling of deep pleasure and satisfaction. The Attorney General is here, and we are grateful indeed to him for the sacrifice—may I put it that way—that we know he has made in leaving Washington and coming to Chicago for the express purpose of delivering a message to the delegates in attendance at this convention.

It has been my pleasure to become acquainted with the Attorney General of the United States, to know him, and because of my acquaintanceship with him and my knowledge of his sincerity of purpose and his able qualifications, I hold him in high regard and high esteem. I know he has an interesting message for you, and now, without further ado, I present to you the Honorable Tom C. Clark, Attorney General of the United States.

### HON. TOM C. CLARK

#### Attorney General of the United States

President Green and delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention: Regardless of any sacrifice that I may have made in coming here today I would not have missed this opportunity to come and greet each of you, to look you in the eye, and in this way have a little session, you might say, with 7,000,000 people whom you represent all over this great nation of ours.

I understand that this is your 65th convention and that some 700 of you have come here as representatives of over 7,000,000 workers of America. I am also pleased to be here because sitting behind me are some old friends from Texas whom I used to work with down there. I remember some years ago when we were trying to help the barbers of Texas my good friend here was right in there working with us on it. In fact, he was the ringleader.

Your president has been most generous in his remarks in introducing me and I am

deeply grateful to him. I think you are indeed fortunate in having him as your president, and in having as your General Counsellor Joe Padway. We have lots of dealings together. Sometimes we are on opposite sides, but I have found that Joe always goes at a thing from the side that he thinks is right, and when he decides it is right, from then on out it's everybody for himself. I remember one instance—and this is a rare instance among lawyers—where he came in and you might say practically confessed to me that the Department of Justice was right. You don't find that often.

I am also glad to be here because of my good friend, Mr. Woll, who is the father of our United States District Attorney here in the great city of Chicago and who is doing an outstanding job in this District.

I have just returned from Europe, and so I am used to flying through bad weather and a little rain now and then. Your president was speaking about my having come here under somewhat of a stress of time, and it made me think of one incident in London. Your president said that I was one of the big lawyers, but down in Texas you might say that I am just a small-town lawyer, and this incident reminds me of that. I went over to see the Prime Minister and we talked a few minutes and he said he would like for me to see some of the courts of England. I told him I would love to see the courts. Some of them had been destroyed by the bombing, but there was one where there was no destruction. He turned me over to the Solicitor General of England, and I was hopeful that I would find one court in session. We did, and the Solicitor General and his wife and Mary, my wife, and Colonel McEnerney were there, along with people who had business with the court. The Solicitor General went up to the judge and whispered to him that the Attorney General of the United States was there and he would like to present him. The judge said, "I would like for you to do that, but you know he hasn't got a wig with him." Well, I didn't have a wig, and I knew Mary didn't have a wig. He came back and said that possibly he could not present us, and then his wife said, "You know you have two wigs downstairs. Why don't you see if one would fit the Attorney General?" So we went down to his office, and you should have seen your Attorney General in a wig. I came on back upstairs, but there was no recognition on the part of Mary or the Solicitor General's wife or on the part of Tim. But the Solicitor General, after we took our seats in the hall of the court, got up and said, "Your Honor, I am most pleased and honored to present the Attorney General of the United States." The court looked down. He was gowned in his red robes of satin and he said, "The Court recognizes the Attorney General of the United States." And the ceremony was over. But I will tell you as I went out from the courtroom that day Mary came along behind me and she whispered to me, "It's sure a good thing he recognized you, because I never would have."

My friends, I am indeed happy to be here today and be able to talk to you. As you all know, I came here to Chicago rather hurriedly after a meeting of the Cabinet in Washington today. On account of the stress of cir-

circumstances I have not prepared what you might call a profound speech or utterances, and I want to bring to you just some of the more intimate things that your Attorney General feels. There are two of these things I want to call to your attention today.

One is upon the spirit of cooperation which I think is becoming so necessary in the reconstruction period that we are now going through. Let me say this, that I differ very much with some of the phraseology that is used in identifying the stormy, unsettled times through which we are now moving. It became the fashion some time ago, before the end of the war in fact, to call the future period, the one that we are going through, the period of rehabilitation. This, I think, emphasizes more the human element in the transfer of large numbers of our fighting men from their service in the armed forces overseas to their pursuits here in civilian life.

The next word which came up was "reconversion," which indicated the beating of the swords back into plowshares, you might say, and the turning of the product of our arsenals from war to peace time uses. However, as we look back upon the history of our country we find that following each war the period is that of reconstruction rather than anything else, because war exercises such a devastating effect upon the normal habits and economy that nothing short of building from the bottom up is sufficient for a complete return to normal conditions.

I am not one of those in or outside of government whose memory is short concerning the problems of labor. I believe that the present position of organized labor in our economic life has been reached after a long and grueling travel over a road thorny with hostility and stony with obstruction. Each of you workers in labor's arsenal is familiar with that road. You know who helped you, and those whom you represent, to construct that road. In my opinion, it was Franklin D. Roosevelt. My friends, from the time that labor's road was a blueprint of engineers, station by station on that road, down until it became a paved highway, he was working shoulder to shoulder with you. And now that highway today moves more employment than ever before in history, at higher wages, too, shorter hours and better working conditions. Working men and women today, I believe, enjoy a fuller life and more prosperity than ever before in history. And, too, I believe you know who has been working, trying to bring that about, and that is the successor to Franklin D. Roosevelt, President Harry S. Truman.

Of course, it is open season today for criticism. People who have more wealth, more stability, more reason for realization than ever before in their life are crying crocodile tears—we call them down home—about you, labor, and me and everything and everybody that they do not happen to like or whose ideas they do not happen to agree with. But every time I hear labor criticized or denounced or castigated I always recall the serfdom of the sweatshops, the 60-hour weeks, the unemployment, the lockouts, the oppression within and without the law, child labor and woman labor, and finally the very demeaning of the dignity of the laboring man himself by exploiting

bosses and brutal administration of industry. That is what I recall.

It is true that the pendulum has swung away from these injustices and labor has achieved, you might say, an emancipation worthy of this country and worthy, too, of this civilization of ours. I do not mean by that that the life of the working man has become a Utopia. The present favorable position of labor, however, in my opinion, will not be permanent unless you, the representatives of labor and those whom you do represent, make it permanent. I say this to you with full cognizance of your own ability to take care of yourselves at this time, but I warn you the material and social advances for the working man must be vigilantly guarded not only by you—oh, no, but by the elected and appointed officials who are informed, able, liberal, and who have the will power and the determination to carry on your fight.

In every period, and each year and almost each month nowadays, there are concrete trends which come to the fore as national and international events transpire. Organized labor watches these trends as do we in the government, and I refer to them especially in view of my statement that organized labor, as well as the government, should be alert in maintaining the just gains of labor in this country of ours.

As you know full well, in a reconstruction period such as the present, as well as that after the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War and almost every other struggle that our country has ever been involved in, including, in my opinion, the first World War, there has been a terrific rejuvenation of reactionary elements in order to bring about what they call "the good old days."

The reactionary is particularly dangerous in these times because no government formed of human beings can settle each and every governmental problem in a manner satisfactory to every man, woman and child in the country. Above all, we must fight reactionary influences which have been found detrimental in the past. In this particular period every anti-labor agitator feels this is a chance to bait you, labor, and to steal from labor some of its gains won with so much difficulty and after so long a period of time.

Therefore, labor, as well as government, operates under the hypercritical microscope of all kinds of dissident elements, and it is for this reason that I exhort you in these times and at this moment to watch these trends, to defend yourself and to give support to those in the past and those who will in the future work for your better interests.

Cooperation must be a reality rather than just a watchword—cooperation in bringing your problems to the forefront, in bringing your problems to the attention of government and in government bringing its problems to your attention.

We in Washington are not infallible. We need the help, the suggestions of people like you. That is why I came here today, just so that I might meet you and look you in the eye and shake your hands and get your ideas and get your views. Perhaps I can carry something back home.

You know, when I became Attorney General of the United States a little over a year ago

I had been in the Department of Justice for some eight years. When I came in the Department I knew there was an Attorney General because I had seen his picture in the paper, but I had never met an Attorney General. I felt that there were things that I could help with in the Department, and after I had been there a few months I thought I would like to bring out a suggestion, an idea, to send up to the Attorney General. I mentioned it to one of the boys who had been in the Department a little longer than I, and he said, "I don't believe I would do that, you can't tell where that memorandum would go. It might get in the wrong hands. Perhaps some would think you were critical of them."

So, I didn't do it, but after I became Attorney General I thought of that and I thought I would like to have the suggestions of every person in the Department as to how to better the Department. So, I put outside of my office door what I call a suggestion box. It is just about this high, and it has a padlock on it, and I have the only key. I wrote a little mimeographed letter to each person in the Department and I told them that I had this suggestion box there and that I had the only key to it, and would like to have their suggestions. If they could sign them I would know they believed in them; if they couldn't sign them I would give them the credit and the weight that they should have.

So, about a week later I went out and scooped up a bunch of the suggestions and put them in my brief case to take them home with me. I have to take a lot of mail home with me at night, and I was signing these letters and finally I got down to the suggestions. Written on the typewriter, anonymously, was this letter:

"Dear Mr. Attorney General: You should not wear bow ties, and besides the bow ties that you wear are much too gay."

And then there was a new paragraph:

"Your wife should change her hair-do. The hair-do that she wears is not becoming the wife of the Attorney General of the United States."

Well, I didn't dare wake Mary up because she wouldn't have slept any more that night, but the next morning I was showing her the letter and she said: "You know, Tom, I would like to know who wrote that." I said, "Now, listen, we asked for this. We said 'send her in, sign it. If you don't want to sign it, send it in anonymously and we will give it the weight that it deserves.' Now, this weight means the wastebasket, I guess."

I was going down town that morning, after talking with her in that way—and you know I did have this bullet-proof car in the Department. Edgar Hoover gave it to me as a gift. Edgar, you know, is head of the F.B.I. I wondered why he gave me this bullet-proof car, so one day I said, "Edgar, do you think that the reason they gave me this car is because I am hotter than you are?" He said, "No, the reason I gave it to you is because the Congress gave me a new one." Well, I was sitting in that bullet-proof car, and I got to thinking about that letter. I decided that I would like to know who wrote the letter,

so I went on down to the office and I called Edgar. I said, "Do you reckon you can find out who wrote a letter here?" He said, "Oh, sure, I believe I can." He came around and got it and two or three days later he came back, and I asked him whether or not he found out who wrote the letter. He said, "Sure, we found out. We always get our man." I said, "Well, who did it?" He said, "Well, I tell you what we did. We sent this letter around to the typewriter section and we found out that it was a typewriter that was bought by the Department in 1938 which wrote the letter, and we found out, too, that five people use that typewriter and it is in one of your offices here in the Attorney General's office." I said, "Well, that doesn't do. I must know the exact person." He said, "Well, I rather thought you wanted the exact person, so I sent it around to the fingerprint section and right there in front of that letter was a fine fingerprint." And I said, "Well, who was it?" He said, "Well, I don't think I ought to tell you, Tom. You told them that you wouldn't look into it." "Well," I said, "Mrs. Clark wants to know about it." He said, "Well, I'll tell you, it was your own son, Ramsey." Ramsey is a Marine and he is six feet four, and he is over in France, and that is why I am wearing bow ties today.

I used that story in order to illustrate to you that I mean this business about cooperation and about suggestion, and I do hope that you will let us have your suggestions, not only on your problems, but on the problems of your nation and my nation and your people and my people.

Now, the second proposition I want to discuss with you today—I had not intended to speak to you at this meeting about it, but, as you know, there is a political campaign going on and there are a lot of things said about what Cabinet officers said or what they didn't say, and sometimes they are twisted to fit, you might say, the political enthusiasms of those who write about it or those who might talk about it on the radio.

Now, I think, and I am sure it is true, that my views about totalitarianism and particularly Communism are pretty well known in these United States. As a matter of fact, right here in Chicago where you meet today, last June I made a speech which set forth my beliefs, and inasmuch as I am not a Red baiter or a witch hunter I thought that would be sufficient for any person. I am sure that the American people know where I stand, just as you know where I stand.

But this is a political year and there are those who cry Communist or Fascist, as I said a few minutes ago, about anyone they dislike or might not agree with them. There are those who call all of labor Communistic. I want to say this, that labor is composed of the most law-abiding, the most patriotic, the most God-fearing Americans in this land. On this score I am sure that the public is not deluded nor is it misinformed. The public will not be deluded or misinformed, but I want to say this, that I will, as your Attorney General, continue to do this: I will examine closely and fairly the actions of all subversive groups in America, including the American Communists, the Fascists and all the rest of them. I will not deny them free speech, and I will not

deny them the exercise of their civil rights. That is guaranteed by our Constitution and our laws to all persons who live here. But I will protect them only so long as they operate within the orbit of these rights that they have under the Constitution and the laws of this country of ours. I will investigate and study subversive activities in the United States for any signs that threaten our internal security. I shall guard against any group advocating the overthrow of our government by force. Any activities by these groups that are in violation of any Federal statute will result in prosecution before the courts in the due processes of the law.

I think it is of great importance in the labor movement that loyal American workers are not misled by subversive elements which would like to capture power in key unions such as communications, transportation and the like. A capture of such power enters into the field of internal security in the United States and could make us highly vulnerable.

You people of labor certainly have been alerted by your leaders many times. Only yesterday I read in the paper of a great speech by your president. I met with your vice presidents in Washington with Joe Padway and with your president, and I heard them with my own ears and saw them with my own eyes and shook hands with them, and I know how those leaders feel. You have been alerted by these leaders many times that these subversive elements, unless controlled, could have within them the power to destroy your internal democracy. As I stand here today and talk to you I know that you will never permit a subversive clique to take over the labor unions of America. As long as there are meetings like this and representatives of labor like this, I know that labor will stick to the creed of Americanism, no matter how late the hour or how lengthy or succulent the debate might be.

I stood recently in Rome at the catacomb of St. Calixtus where two thousand years ago bodies of Christians were buried to preserve them from the pagan hordes. I was told the tragic story of horror, only a few feet from where I stood that day some three weeks ago, of hundreds of Italians who were slaughtered by the Germans and cast into a pit there. These Italians were picked up in the streets and taken out of the prisons by the Germans in a ten-to-one reprisal for the killing of a few German soldiers in a bomb explosion.

My friends, after nearly two thousand years imagine on this same spot ten lives were taken for one life in this manifestation of Hitler's Neo-paganism.

As I stood there and this priest told me of that night, which he witnessed, I reflected that the Italian people had their liberty taken away from them by Mussolini, by subterfuge, by deception, and by inaction on their part. Their own carelessness enabled one man to rule the millions of Italians in that land.

Let us make sure that here in America our own carelessness in not watching the affairs of our nation, of our states, of our cities, of our towns, yes, of our labor unions, does not result in the usurpation of authority by internal enemies of this democratic system of government of ours. Today we stand at the crossroads.

Shall we move on along this road of democ-

racry that you constructed with so much sweat and so much toil? Or shall we go back to the days of reaction? My friends, the greatest friend of totalitarianism is reaction. Its next greatest friend is careless Americanism. Its greatest foes are Americans like you, who consistently advance the cause of true freedom under our flag. For my part I am counting on Americans like you. Good night.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We have all listened with a feeling of deep pleasure and satisfaction to this magnificent address delivered by the Attorney General of the United States.

We were pleased to note that he mingled with it a sense of humor that is characteristic of him. Those who know him, those who have been acquainted with him, know that he possesses a very keen sense of humor.

We are grateful to you, Mr. Attorney General, for the expression of confidence in the American Federation of Labor and in its membership which you emphasized so strongly this afternoon. As you have well said, there are those who castigate labor, those who are fundamentally against labor, those who are so embittered toward labor that there isn't any one thing that labor can do that will change their state of mind. It is mighty helpful to labor, when we know these facts, to listen to the voice of one who occupies such a responsible position in the Government of the United States and one who is known from Texas to Washington as a great American, to hear him say that he has full confidence in the men and women of labor and that he comes to Chicago, this great industrial city in the middle west, for the purpose of telling us and the world how he admires the work we have done.

I am pleased, as you were pleased, to know that there is associated with him in the Department of Justice, as he stated in his address, a young man who is the son of a veteran in our movement—a vice president of the American Federation of Labor—Mr. Albert Woll, the son of Matthew Woll, who is doing an excellent job here in Chicago. I present to this convention Hon. J. Albert Woll, United States District Attorney for this District. (Applause.) I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart, and in the name of and in behalf of the officers, delegates and visitors to this convention for your visit with us this afternoon, and for the magnificent and impressive address which you delivered.

Now, we have a very short supplemental report from the secretary of the Credentials Committee.

## SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Tipton submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has ex-

amined the following credential and recommends that the delegate be seated:

International Association of Fire Fighters—Glenn Thom, 91 votes.

Your Committee on Credentials was requested to make the following changes on the delegation representing the National Farm Labor Union, and we recommend the seating of delegates:

J. E. Clayton in place of F. R. Betton; A. E. Cox in place of Barney B. Taylor; each with two votes.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KNIGHT:** The Committee on Adjustment has been working this afternoon. On Resolution No. 167 no one appeared for or against it to tell us what it is all about. We are meeting at 7:30 tonight in Room 534 and would like to have someone interested in that resolution appear.

I understand that Resolution 47 is being referred to the Committee. We will handle that this evening, and anyone caring to have anything to say on it should be present.

### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 10, 1946.

American Federation of Labor,  
Sixty-fifth Convention,  
Attention: Secretary George Meany,  
Hotel Morrison, Chicago.

Greetings and best wishes from the patients and directors of the Los Angeles Tuberculosis Sanatorium in grateful appreciation to the American Federation of Labor and its great international unions for financial and moral support.

**SAMUEL H. GOLTER,**  
Executive Director, Los  
Angeles Tuberculosis Sanatorium,  
Duarte, Calif.

Oct. 9, 1946.

Committee, American Federation of Labor,  
Chicago.

Congress of International Federation for Housing and Town Planning welcomes greet-

ings and message from committee American Federation of Labor. The congress agrees the principle of a decent home for everyone and sends its greetings.

**PEPLER,**  
Chairman.

### RESOLUTION

**SECRETARY MEANY:** The following resolution has been received within the time limit as specified in the constitution and therefore does not require unanimous consent. From the United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association—request for change of title.

### ROOFERS—CHANGE OF TITLE

Resolution No. 196—By Delegates Charles D. Acquadro, Homer J. Myers and Ben D. Vetter, United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association.

**WHEREAS,** The name United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association is too cumbersome and awkward for daily use, and

**WHEREAS,** At the tenth biennial convention of the United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, which convened on September 16, 1946, at Denver, Colo., a resolution was adopted recommending that the name of the organization be changed to International Union of Roofers and Waterproofers, therefore be it

**RESOLVED,** That the name of the organization presently known as United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association be changed to International Union of Roofers and Waterproofers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Reassignment of Resolutions Nos. 63 and 76

**SECRETARY MEANY:** I wish to announce the re-referral of Resolution No. 63 from the Committee on Legislation to the Committee on Resolutions; also Resolution No. 76 from the Committee on Legislation to the Committee on Resolutions.

There being no further business to come before the convention, at 5:25 o'clock, P. M., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, October 14.

## SIXTH DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Chicago, Ill., October 14, 1946

The convention was called to order by President Green at 10 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We have with us this morning Rabbi Eric Friedland, K. A. M. Temple, Chicago, a leading Chicago Rabbi and a real friend of labor, who will pronounce the invocation.

## INVOCATION

(Rabbi Eric Friedland, K.A.M. Temple)

Our God and God of our fathers, Thou art He who didst fill our blessed land with beauty and abundance, with towering mountains reared like pillars, with fertile fields filled with grass, with the incalculable wealth of the boundless deeps. Thou hast placed man at the summit of creation, giving him the choice of creating, even as Thou hast, a good and kindly world.

Alas, selfish indulgence leads him astray and stubborn rebellion fills his heart. Men work in field and in factory, on land and sea and receive only a niggardly share of their labors. We should have learned justice and loving kindness, brotherhood and peace; yet petty prejudices, class enmities and envious conflicts for worldly gain divide our household.

How quickly we forget what we owe to the labors of others, how they dig far from the sun that we may be warm, enlist in outposts of peril that we may be secure. How numberless are the blessings poured into our laps by those unnumbered men and women who work in Thy vineyard.

Ours is the task of recognizing that the security and well-being of even the least of us are the only means to achieving social and economic stability here or anywhere throughout the world. For we are only stewards of what we possess. May we be among those who struggle for the triumph of social equality and economic progress among men. Indeed, this is an intimate part of the tradition of this great and venerable American Federation of Labor. And as we seek to find the techniques and the strategy necessary for the common weal of labor, may our achievement move others to emulate us so that the walls of prejudice and pride shall crumble and all unite to build the cohesive and peaceful world we so desperately need. Amen.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

New York, N. Y., Oct. 10, 1946.  
Sixty-fifth Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor,  
Chicago.

Behalf 150,000 members sponsoring organizations the Labor Zionist Committee for Re-

lief and Rehabilitation sends its fraternal greetings to the 65th annual convention American Federation of Labor and expresses its gratitude for the humane solicitude your great body over plight hard pressed Jewish people in Europe, and particularly for establishment Jewish National Home in Palestine. An outgrowth of the Labor Zionist movements underground resistance during Nazi occupation, this committee appreciates assistance American labor tendered ghetto fighters and in task of rescue and rehabilitation. Fundamental justice demands that those who were first victims and greatest sufferers at hands of Nazi fascism be given opportunity rebuild shattered lives as free workers all lands and especially own free homeland otherwise all human liberties and rights of labor everywhere not secure. American labor must take lead display greatest generosity in supplying relief, in demanding immigration opportunities for refugees to this country and in struggle for Jewish labor commonwealth Palestine.

## LABOR ZIONIST COMMITTEE FOR RELIEF AND REHABILITATION.

LOUIS SEGAL,  
Chairman.

Z. BAUMGOLD,  
Director.

Shanghai, via RCA, Oct. 12, 1946.

President William Green,  
Morrison Hotel,  
AFL, Chicago, Ill.

Heartfelt appreciation for your strong support in our critical times, and hearty congratulations to the success of 65th convention.

CHU HSEU FAN.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Chairman Bates of the Committee on Executive Council's Report. The committee is prepared to submit its report now.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

**VICE PRESIDENT BATES:** The report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report will be made by the secretary of the committee, Miss Selma Borchardt.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY BORCHARDT:** Before submitting the formal report of the committee I should like to express appreciation of the efficiency and ability of the chairman to organize our work and thereby make our path much pleasanter and much easier. Mr. Chairman, we thank you.

The first item submitted to this committee is under the caption, "Selection of Fraternal Delegates."



### Selection of Fraternal Delegates

(Page 75, Executive Council Report)

Your committee notes with pleasure that Secretary-Treasurer Meany and Vice President Doherty represented the A. F. of L. at the British Trades Union Congress, which met at Blackpool, England, on September 10, 1945. Your committee would commend the forthright presentation of our position to this congress by our delegates.

Such full, frank statements do, by their very forthrightness, bring us closer to our friends in Britain.

Your committee noted that the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, like the American Federation of Labor, did not hold a convention in 1945. It is noted also that because of this fact, Vice President Woll did not then go to represent us, but your committee is pleased that he did represent us at the meeting of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress this year.

Your committee is pleased that in answer to the invitation to the A. F. of L. from the British Trades Union Congress that the Council has designated Brother Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers and Brother Ed J. Brown of the Electrical Workers to serve as fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress which will convene at Brighton at the end of this month.

We send with our representatives our hearty well-wishes, and through them to our fellow trade unionists in Britain and Canada a greeting to them who, with us, fight to preserve and promote free trade unions in a democratic nation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Government Employees' Council

(Page 76, Executive Council Report)

Your committee notes with pleasure the formation of a Government Employees Council which serves as a clearing-house for united action for unions which have members working for the Federal Government.

It is obvious that coordinated effort, well directed, will greatly enhance the best interests of all government employees.

Even in the short period in which this council has been functioning, it has already rendered valuable service to our thousands of members employed in the government.

May its good work continue, and its field of service be even more enlarged!

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers

(Page 76, Executive Council Report)

It is with very great pleasure that we "welcome home" the United Mine Workers of America.

The Council refers to this reaffiliation as "deeply significant." It signifies not only the bringing of 600,000 workers back into our fold; it means that these men, their families, their interests, their work is now joined closely with all of us, as we are with them, to promote the common good of our American economy.

President Green spoke of the great social significance of the establishment of the welfare fund by the United Mine Workers, which he said he hoped would point the way for similar approaches by other unions. May we continue to profit from their devoted zeal to the workers' welfare and may they, in turn, be greatly bettered because they are again where we all want them—in the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Change of Titles of International Unions

(Page 78, Executive Council Report)

Your committee notes and recommends approval of the Council's action to change the name without changing the jurisdiction of the following unions:

*The International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union*, to be known hereafter as *International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union*.

*The Retail Clerks' International Protective Association*, to be known hereafter as *Retail Clerks' International Association*.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Dissociation of the International Association of Machinists from Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor

(Pages 78-84, Exec. Council Report)

The report of the Executive Council relates in detail the steps which led to the dissociation of the Machinists from the A. F. of L.

Your committee is exceedingly sorry that this large, forceful group of trade unionists is temporarily not in the A. F. of L.

It is encouraging, however, to note that negotiations marked by some success have been conducted to effect the reaffiliation of this organization with the A. F. of L.

There are obviously strong differences of opinion regarding jurisdictional matters. Your



committee submits that the proper way to settle these differences must ultimately be on the convention floor. We would urge, therefore, that our fellow workers in the Machinists take steps in their organization to bring them again soon into our family—properly, their family—so that as members they may plead their case on the floor of the convention, and as members approach our common problems.

We frankly state we need them and want them in our family, and we think they need us and we trust they will want to rejoin their family soon. The prospects are brighter now for such a reunion.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Formation of the Maritime Trades Department

(Page 84, Executive Council Report)

Your committee heartily approves the creation of the Maritime Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The establishment of the department at this time has a two-fold significance. In the first place, it recognizes the great growth in numbers and power of the various maritime unions in the A. F. of L., and their importance, acting as a coordinated group, for the common good of all, with all the strength and prestige that their being a department of the A. F. of L. will afford them.

In the second place, this move at this time shows our appreciation for the great work of this group of unions in fighting not only for their own economic betterment, but even more in fighting for the security of our nation. No group in our America has had to fight more determinedly against the Communists than have our maritime unions. For this, the reason is clear; they are a highly strategic and absolutely essential group in maintaining our country's security.

Your committee would, at this point, recall to our members the heroic fight which this great segment of our organization has made since the work of totalitarian forces threatened our country's security. We would recall how in those dark days of the Nazi-Communist Pact, when the Communist-dominated waterfront unions were refusing to carry food and other supplies to the free nations and free peoples of the world, how our men then risked their lives—and many, indeed, gave their lives—to help those who as free men were fighting for a free world.

We recall that before June, 1941, our men from the maritime unions fought the Nazi terror even as today they continue to fight the forces of Communism and all other forces from the right and the left which seek to exploit and destroy free men on the waterfront and on the seas.

Mr. President, as we recall the great sacrifices of these men before Pearl Harbor, during the war, and since the war, sacrifices which in fact emulate the record of Andy Furuseth, who so magnificently gave his all for the cause of freedom—we pause to give a solemn thought of appreciation to their work, and to consecrate ourselves to help them in their fight to keep our waterfront free.

We are happy to realize that in and through this new department our maritime workers may now the better help themselves, and serve us all.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### New International Unions Chartered (Page 85, Executive Council Report)

Your committee notes with enthusiasm the chartering of four new internationals:

1. National Association of Postal Supervisors.
2. Radio Directors Guild.
3. Office Employees International Union.
4. National Farm Labor Union.

The chartering of new groups of workers is a further indication of our growth and our further opportunity thereby to serve the common good.

The chartering of the first two named groups indicates that in their respective fields they will cooperate with other workers in other crafts in the same fields, each to help the other and all to help serve their common purpose.

The chartering of the last two named groups indicates our embarking on newer fields. True, for a number of years the office workers functioned as Federal labor unions. But now the time has come when their numbers justify their being allowed to function as a distinct international union. To them there is presented a challenge to develop a technique whereby individual workers, working often as individuals in relation to their respective employers, can the more efficiently serve such employers while at the same time each worker in this field joins with others to evolve and develop common standards for the common good. At the same time, theirs is the task, as in other unions of working out higher group standards for the large as well as the smaller offices. The very nature of their work often demands a high degree of mutual, personal, as well as professional confidence between employer and employee. May their code of union ethics serve as a means not only of aiding the workers but also of giving the employer a better understanding of the sense of responsibility which a good union instills in its members.

The chartering of the last named group, the National Farm Labor Union, marks one

of the most significant steps in the growth and development of the American Federation of Labor. In the first place, it indicates the functional oneness of our rural and our urban economy. In the second place, it indicates that agriculture itself is now becoming industrialized and that these industrial farm workers as well as all others must unite and bargain collectively for their own betterment. In the third place, this new group may well serve as a further means of bringing our own cooperatives into closer practical relations with all of our members.

We are well aware that the last census showed that the United States is no longer a rural nation; the majority of our people today live in cities. Furthermore, all studies indicate that while the number of farm workers must be increased, the number of resident land owners will be decreased. The logical conclusion, therefore, is that a large number of workers will be employed on farms and ranches. Indeed, large numbers are today so employed, and it is a sad fact that this group of workers has been notoriously exploited.

Your committee would call to your attention that farm workers, tenant farmers, and ranch hands have often been cruelly exploited, alike by unscrupulous farm owners and by farm managers acting for the absentee owners. The barest necessities of life, nay, life itself, has often been denied them.

But that is not all. Not only have they been exploited by greedy, unconscionable employers, but, in addition, they have been victimized by political groups, particularly by Communist and Communist Front organizations, which have indeed exploited not only the workers but their very plight itself. How sorely they need honest and strong help! Bona fide farm organizations are not generally organized to promote the interest of this group of farm employees. They need just what they now have—a chance to join a bona fide free trade union and through it to protect and promote their interests, and through it to work with other groups—cooperatives, bona fide progressive farm groups—to promote the best interests of rural and urban America.

Your committee approves the action of the Executive Council and asks that all unions join in welcoming the new members into our family by giving them every possible help.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt this section of the committee's report.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** It would seem appropriate for me to report to you at this time, while this splendid report is being submitted, that in addition to the four or five new national and international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor, as reported upon by the committee, another splendid organization has come back to the American Federation of Labor while this convention has

been in session here in Chicago. Just a day or two ago arrangements were finally completed for the return of the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen, numbering from 17 to 20 thousand members of the American Federation of Labor. We are happy to have them.

This all represents expansion and growth and development of our great organized labor movement.

The motion to adopt this section of the committee's report was carried.

### Official Changes

#### (Page 86, Executive Council Report)

Your committee notes that on the death of Vice President Flore a vacancy was created on the Council, and that the vacancy was filled by the Council's selection of David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union to take the place then vacant on the Council.

Your committee further notes that when the Machinists dissociated themselves from the A. F. of L. that the position President Harvey Brown had held, who was serving as Tenth Vice President, became vacant, and that President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers was then selected to take the then vacant place.

Your committee asks that from this convention a message of condolence be sent to the family of late Brother Flore.

Your committee heartily commends the Council for the selection of President David Dubinsky and President John L. Lewis, two men who, as the Council states, are "well qualified and equipped to render valuable service." We congratulate them on their election and ourselves on having them to serve us.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Report of the Railway Employees' Department

#### (Page 231, Executive Council Report)

This stimulating report shows that a strong trade union group may benefit from its own organization work and from public support, and through law at the same time. This group has through free negotiation brought substantially all the railroad mileage of the United States under agreement. They have negotiated tremendous improvements in pay, in liberalization of vacation periods and in improving working conditions. In addition, they have secured by statutory amendments improvements in the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.

Not only have they helped their own members, but their great work has given support to similar fights now being made by other workers.

This report pays an especial tribute to President Jewell, who is now retiring after 41 years of devoted service in the labor movement. In this tribute we do most heartily join. He has earned our respect and won our affection. We thank him and wish him Godspeed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Trade Union Benefits

(Pages 91-97, Exec. Council Report)

Your committee notes with pride the record of trade union benefits afforded our members by their respective unions. Incomplete returns show that over \$43,000,000 was paid out last year by the internationals to their members. (Some two dozen internationals did not report in time to be recorded in this report. In addition, millions more were paid out by local unions.) Death, sick, unemployment, old age, disability, and various miscellaneous benefits are paid. It is to be noted that these benefits supplement public benefits such as social security, to which the workers as citizens are entitled.

We are proud of our record in this field and wish to point out that trade union benefits have pointed the way to other benefits from public sources; that each source supplements the other and that through these funds a higher degree of security is assured our members.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Metal Trades Department

(Page 230, Executive Council Report)

The magnificent wartime record of the Metal Trades Department gives us all grounds for pride.

The master shipbuilding agreements negotiated in 1941 by this department on the Pacific Coast covering some 480,000 members well exemplifies the spirit and the high degree of cooperation which made possible the great war production record of which we boast.

Emerging with the high production record demanded by the war, the unions have embarked on a peacetime production program almost as vast. This sound approach, we contend, is because the men who planned the program of this department did not issue blueprints conceived in abstraction to be performed in a vacuum; they planned realistically for a functional program, first for the period of conversion and later for a program in peacetime economy. They studied the resources of men and materials; they knew from actual experience how to plan realistically.

As a result we have practically no unemployment in the metal trades today.

May such sound planning be used ever to assure a functional approach to our problems.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Conclusion

In closing this report, your committee can but restate its high hopes and expectations that our labor movement may grow stronger each day and that our members may ever be the more aware of the great benefits which our free democracy affords them and of the great responsibilities which our movement places on them as citizens and as free trade unionists to preserve and improve our democratic way of life.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry C. Bates, Chairman  
Selma Borchardt, Secretary  
Robert Byron  
F. A. Fitzgerald  
Henry F. Schmal  
Leo J. Buckley  
George Q. Lynch  
Charles M. Rau  
Zera C. Wright  
Frank J. Coleman  
Irvin Barney  
Matthew Burns  
A. C. D'Andrea  
Edgar S. Hurley  
M. J. Sexton  
Charles S. Zimmerman  
Henno Lemkuhl  
Harry R. Lyons  
Milton S. Maxwell  
Leslie L. Myers  
Harry Gunderson  
J. A. Burks  
Bernard M. Egan  
John O'Hare  
William Mitch  
William Schoenberg

### COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

#### COMMITTEE SECRETARY BORCHARDT:

Mr. Chairman, I now move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to thank the members of the committee for their excellent report and for the valuable service rendered the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Ornburn of the Committee on Union Labels, who will submit a report.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ORNBURN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the Committee on Union Labels had no resolutions referred to it, but we do deal with that portion of the Executive Council's report on union labels, shop cards and service buttons. Secretary Merlino from the Barbers' International Union will submit the report for the entire committee.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

(Pages 242-245, Executive Council Report)

Committee Secretary Merlino submitted the following report:

Your committee had no resolutions referred to it, therefore we take leave to submit our report upon the material referred to your committee from the Executive Council's report, pages 242, 243, 244, and 245.

We note and compliment the Union Label Trades Department for having in affiliation 52 national and international unions that have adopted an insignia in the form of a union label, shop card or service button, and that the majority of the 52 affiliated unions have shown an increase in membership during the past fiscal year, which your committee takes as evidence of the interest of the affiliated unions in the growing popularity of the union labels, shop cards and service buttons.

As set forth in the Executive Council's report, the Union Label Trades Department was organized as a clearing house for all unions having an official emblem.

It is gratifying to your committee to observe year after year the continued cooperation of President William Green and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany and Director of Organization Frank P. Fenton. In this connection, we have noticed the liberal amount of space contributed to the educational and publicity program of the Union Label Trades Department by *The American Federationist* and the *A. F. of L. Weekly News Service*. It is likewise pleasing to note the splendid relationship between the Union Label Trades Department and all of the state federations of labor, central labor unions and women's auxiliaries. Union label leagues, affiliated directly to the Union Label Trades Department, have shown increased membership in local communities and have proved an important factor in creating a union label-conscious consumer market.

### Union Label Feature Service

We commend the Union Label Trades Department for providing the labor papers and labor journals with news releases, editorials and cartoons. Most gratifying is the fact that the labor editors have been so generous in allocating space to this service provided by the Union Label Trades Department. Your committee likewise desires to acknowledge its deep indebtedness to these editors of the official labor journals and labor papers for the co-operation accorded the Union Label Trades Department.

### The Union Label Catalogue-Directory

Your committee notes that for the guidance of the national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies, union label leagues and women's auxiliaries, the Union Label Trades Department publishes annually a buyers' guide, known as the Union Label Catalogue-Directory. Only firms using the union label are listed in this official buyers' guide. The lists of firms are provided to the Union Label Trades Department by the affiliated organizations, thereby making it possible for retailers throughout the United States and Canada to become familiar with the manufacturers in every line of merchandise who use the union label.

### Union Label Campaigns

In this connection, your committee finds that various communities have designated a seven-day period, known as Union Label Week, and that local union label exhibits are encouraged during these seven-day periods. These campaigns are popularized throughout the use of the radio as well as the labor press.

### Radio Broadcasts

Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in New Orleans, La., in 1944, we note that the Union Label Trades Department has utilized the services of the major broadcasting systems to carry its message throughout North America. In addition to a number of addresses delivered on the subject of the union label, we note that the department has dramatized the history of the union label, as well as stories of the outstanding leaders of labor.

Your committee has been informed that WCFL, owned and operated by the Chicago Federation of Labor, has been placed at the disposal of the Union Label Trades Department for radio broadcasts and that radio transcriptions are used by the Union Label Trades Department on independent radio stations most effectively.

### American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor

Your committee believes that every effort should be put forward by affiliated national and international unions to encourage the formation of women's auxiliaries. Your committee recognizes the fact that women are the actual shoppers in the home and it is only reasonable to assume that unless women are made acquainted with the problems of the American Federation of Labor that they could not be expected to demand union label merchandise and union services when purchasing merchandise or patronizing service establishments.

### A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition

We note that the second A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition is to be held in the Henry W. Kiel Municipal Auditorium, St. Louis, Mo., beginning October 29 and will run to November 3. Manufacturers having agreements with American Federation of Labor unions have been invited to exhibit. National and international unions are planning to exhibit. The various service organizations in the American Federation of Labor will demonstrate the type of service which they perform for those attending the exhibition.

Your committee commends the national and international unions who, by their participation, have assured the Union Label Trades Department of a successful undertaking.

We note the Mayor of St. Louis has proclaimed the period from October 29 to November 3 as Union Label Week, and we quote from the mayor's proclamation:

"WHEREAS the union label has come to mean in the United States that the products on which it is borne are made in a factory or shop where adult workers labor under fair working conditions; and

"WHEREAS the label is emblematic of the crusade which took children out of factories and shops and returned them to schools, where they may be inculcated with the highest principles of Americanism; and

"WHEREAS under the working conditions for which the label stands this nation outstripped the world in production, both for peacetime and wartime use, and attained what is by far the highest standard of living the world has ever known; and

"WHEREAS the product that bears this emblem represents the work of expert craftsmen who have subscribed to an exacting standard of skill and who have banded together for the maintenance and extension of benefits which are shared by every worker in the nation; and

"WHEREAS St. Louis will be the scene of a Union Label and Industrial Exhibition, to be held at Henry W. Kiel Auditorium during the period from October 29-November 3, 1946, at which time a mammoth exhibition of products made under A. F. of L. conditions will be staged by the Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L., in cooperation with St. Louis and East St. Louis locals and their employers;

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, A. P. Kaufmann, Mayor of the City of St. Louis, do hereby proclaim the period October 29-November 3, 1946, as UNION LABEL WEEK and call upon all St. Louisans to observe the week in appropriate manner and to attend the Union

Label and Industrial Exhibition at Kiel Auditorium, which will highlight the occasion.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the seal of the City of St. Louis, this 31st day of July, A. D. 1946."

In addition to the mayor's proclamation, we note the governors of the following states have also proclaimed various days, during the week of the exhibition, as Union Label Day for their respective states: Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Ohio, and Wisconsin. We note, too, that mayors of cities adjoining St. Louis have proclaimed the week of the exhibition as Union Label Week for their community.

The exhibition will open at 12 noon on October 29 with a broadcast over one of the major national chains. Your committee is informed that President Green, Secretary Meany, Governor Donnelly of Missouri, and Mayor Kaufmann of St. Louis will participate in the opening ceremonies to be broadcast over the radio, and that the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union will conduct a style show on the opening day. Throughout the week, music will be provided by an outstanding band from the City of St. Louis. The Associated Actors and Artistes of America is cooperating in providing outstanding stars of the stage, screen and radio in order that the very highest standard of entertainment may be provided for the visitors at the exhibition.

Facilities have been provided to the Union Label Trades Department by WCFL for periodic broadcasts announcing and describing the type of exhibitors, including the service organizations, that will participate in the exhibition.

The Navy Department, the Maritime Commission, the War Department, the Department of Labor, veterans' organizations and the Red Cross and other charitable organizations have been assigned space in the great exhibition hall.

Your committee notes that admission to the exhibition is free, but by ticket only. Tickets may be acquired through business firms exhibiting, through national and international unions and local unions in the City of St. Louis and vicinity.

In combining the third convention of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor with the A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition, it is anticipated that the exhibition will prove to be the most thorough demonstration of actual labor-management cooperation ever sponsored by any organization.

Your committee commends the Union Label Trades Department for its effort in acquainting the consumers of the nation with union label merchandise and union services and urges all

members of organized labor to attend the exhibition, if possible.

Respectfully submitted,

I. M. Ornburn, Chairman  
 Anthony Merlino, Secretary  
 T. D. Harper  
 Joseph Belsky  
 Herman Finkelstein  
 Anne Peterson  
 Toney Gallo  
 Joseph Addy  
 E. M. Weston  
 George Higgins  
 Edwin L. Wheatley  
 John Zitello  
 Mary G. Morley  
 William Williams  
 Charles E. Rohler  
 Robert Lester  
 James A. Suffridge  
 Benjamin Haskel  
 J. Earl Collins  
 Frank W. Anderson  
 Harold H. Clark  
 John Paris  
 R. E. Tomlinson  
 J. Howard Hicks

#### COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS.

Committee Secretary Merlino moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ORNBURN:** Mr. Chairman, it seems only appropriate, since the committee reported that six chief executives of midwestern states have joined with the Union Label Trades Department in making this exhibition a success, that I should read to you the proclamation of the governor of the state in which the exhibition is to be held.

"WHEREAS the period from October 29 to November 3, 1946, has been set aside for an American Federation of Labor Union Label and Industrial Exhibition to be held in the auditorium in St. Louis; and

"WHEREAS by such an exhibition the citizens of Missouri may become better acquainted with the use and the purpose of the union label and the assurance it gives the product upon which it appears was produced under fair working conditions; and

"WHEREAS this exhibition shows how employees and employers in private industry may cooperate in a common understanding, resulting in advantages for both that will be reflected in more efficient production, in a better quality of products and in a higher standard of living;

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, Phil M. Donnelly, Governor of the State of Missouri, do hereby proclaim Tuesday, October 29, 1946, as Missouri Day at the American Federation of Labor Union Label and Industrial Exhibition at Kiel Auditorium in St. Louis, Mo., and

respectfully urge the citizens of Missouri to attend this exhibition.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of Missouri to be affixed this 20th day of September, 1946.

(s) "PHIL M. DONNELLY."

There are two or three other outstanding features in this exhibition that I want to call to your attention, and I want to thank both of the organizations in the postal service—the clerks and carriers—who have made it possible for the second day of the exhibition to be designated as United States Post Office Day. An active operating post office will be conducted in the exhibition.

I am certain that all of the delegates here will agree with me how futile it is to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in an organization campaign and then not be careful and cautious enough to direct the spending of their union earned money for union merchandise and union services. With the 7,100,000 members of the American Federation of Labor, if we were only consistent we would not need to employ so many organizers. I realize that it is carelessness on the part of a great many of the members of our organization not demanding the union label.

The purpose of this exhibition is to show America that the best in everything is manufactured under union conditions. In other words, it is a show room for things that are union manufactured by members of the American Federation of Labor and services produced by the American Federation of Labor.

Of course, we urgently invite all who are in a position to do so to attend this exhibition and help us to make it the great success we expect it to be.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Are there any further remarks? If not, all in favor of the adoption of the committee's report please say aye; those opposed, no.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair commends the committee for the fine report submitted and thanks them for the excellent service rendered.

The Chair now recognizes Vice President George Harrison, chairman of the Committee on Education.

**VICE PRESIDENT HARRISON:** The Committee on Education had before it four sections of the Council's report and four resolutions. Secretary Kuenzli will now submit the report of the committee.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Committee Secretary Kuenzli submitted the following report:

## FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION (Pages 158-165, Executive Council Report, and Resolution No. 64)

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor for many years has advocated Federal aid to provide better educational facilities for the children of the nation, and

WHEREAS, The largest and most comprehensive general Federal aid bill in the history of American education has been introduced in Congress, known as the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill (S. 2499), and

WHEREAS, This bill embodies the general principles supported by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The general principles of this bill have been endorsed by the American Federation of Teachers, the educational union of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Ill., October, 1946, reaffirm its traditional stand in favor of Federal aid to education, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill (S. 2499), subject to such changes and amendments as the Permanent Committee on Education and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor may desire to recommend.

More than 10 years ago the American Federation of Labor, concerned with the inadequacy of our public school system and believing that democratic government can succeed only on the basis of adequate public education, initiated a campaign to secure Federal funds to raise substandard levels of education and to equalize educational opportunities for children throughout the nation. A comprehensive resumé of the battle for Federal aid during the last decade is contained in the report of the Executive Council on this important subject.

That the concern of the American Federation of Labor for American education was well justified is evidenced by the serious crisis facing the nation's schools today. As indicated elsewhere in this report, thousands of classrooms have no teachers at all and many thousands more have teachers who are untrained for the highly skilled work of educating children. Even more alarming is the fact that, at a time when the colleges and universities are overflowing with students, very few young persons are preparing themselves for the teaching profession. While nearly all other departments in the institutions of higher learning are experiencing the highest enrollments in the history of American education, the enrollments in the teacher training institutions are at a very low ebb and many of the students who have enrolled are not well suited to the

teaching profession. Not only low salaries but unreasonable rules of boards of education—such as rules prohibiting women teachers from marrying—tend to make teaching an unattractive profession. The shortage of teachers has become so critical as to create one of the greatest crises in the history of American education.

Numerous articles on the present crisis in the schools indicate that the public is at least mildly aroused over the tragic conditions of the nation's schools. But publicity alone will do little to solve the problem. Year after year during the last decade the American Federation of Labor has been concerned with crisis after crisis facing the schools, until this year in 1946 we face a situation which requires immediate and drastic action. A crippled, struggling public school system is contrary to everything for which the American Federation of Labor has stood over the years. The problem is not one which merely involves organized teachers struggling for a decent wage scale but one which is related to the future welfare and security of the nation. The economic depression of the 1930's and World War II have demonstrated that in peace or in war, in adversity or in prosperity, a sound educational system is indispensable in a democratic society.

Why is it that in the United States—the richest nation in the world, a land overflowing with milk and honey—the work of training the nation's children is constantly hampered by crises which today have mounted to tragic and alarming proportions? Why is it that a profession which should attract the most capable and best suited students of the nation is being avoided almost to a degree of depletion? Why is it that—as indicated above—thousands of classrooms have no teachers at all and thousands of untrained and unqualified persons are acting as teachers at this time of peak prosperity in the nation's history?

Numerous conferences—national, state, and local—have been held and are being currently held to find the answer to these problems. During the month of June, 1946, a two-day conference was sponsored by non-union educational organizations at Chautauqua, N. Y., to find the answer to these problems. The real answer could be read in two minutes from the proceedings of the A. F. of L. convention in 1943, which stated:

"Today the whole nation is alarmed over the fact thousands of classrooms are closed because teachers are not available. . . . The compensation received by the teachers of the United States—the most wealthy nation in the world—is a disgrace to the nation. Teachers, representing one of the largest groups of highly skilled workers in the nation, have not yet raised their wage scales to the level of unskilled workers. This is the fundamental reason for the exodus of teachers from the profession and consequent shortage of teachers. Teachers cannot be expected to remain in the classroom at



starvation wages. Proper adjustment in wage scales will solve the teacher shortage problem definitely and immediately."

The mounting crisis facing the schools has resulted largely from the fact that the enemies of organized labor have also been the enemies of the public schools. During the last 10 years organized business and industrial groups have been assiduously working—often with highly skilled, highly paid personnel—to undermine the financial support of the schools for the purpose of reducing local taxes and increasing profits regardless of the results in the lives of children. Large corporations holding extensive properties have been quietly working, politically or otherwise, for many years to reduce their tax evaluations and thus throw the larger share of the costs of the schools upon the small homes. It is an ironical situation that the same anti-labor groups with which non-union teachers' organizations are cooperating closely at the present time, in their attempt to stop the unionization of teachers, have been active in wrecking the financial foundation of the public schools and thus compelling teachers to leave the profession to earn a living wage.

These crucial problems are directly related to the subject of Federal aid to education. The crisis immediately facing the nation is one of national concern. The welfare and security of the entire nation are at stake. It is time for action on a national scale. Just as early trade unions fought to establish the public school system of the nation, so now the great labor movement of the nation must fight to save the public schools. It is time for action on the part of every affiliated union throughout the United States in support of a program of Federal assistance to the schools which will place the schools on a sound financial basis, make possible salaries which will keep teachers in the profession, and eliminate once and for always the constantly recurring crises which face the schools year after year.

Your committee therefore recommends concurrence in that section of the Executive Council's report which refers to Federal aid to education, and in Resolution No. 64, which supports the general principles of Senate Bill No. 2499, a Federal aid bill including the basic recommendations of the American Federation of Labor.

### Teacher Shortage

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor throughout its entire history has advocated adequate public schools as the indispensable foundation of a successful democratic society, and

WHEREAS, The present generation of chil-

dren will be faced with the tremendous responsibility of rebuilding a war-torn world and should therefore have the best possible training for citizenship, and

WHEREAS, The success of our post-war society is threatened by an alarming shortage of teachers and overcrowded classes, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of classrooms have no teachers at all and many thousands more are occupied by teachers who are not properly trained and certificated for the teaching profession, and

WHEREAS, The nation is faced with an alarming increase in crime and child delinquency, with the great majority of the arrests in the teen-age group, and

WHEREAS, In addition to the incalculable costs in the lives of children, the ultimate financial costs of child delinquency and crime are many times greater than the costs of adequate facilities for education and child care, and

WHEREAS, It is socially and economically unsound to sacrifice thousands of lives and to spend billions of dollars to save our democratic form of government and then jeopardize the future of the nation by inadequate educational facilities for the children who suffered from the war but were in no way responsible for it, and

WHEREAS, The total sum spent by the United States—the richest nation in the world—for the education and care of its children is a disgracefully small fraction of the amount spent for luxuries, and

WHEREAS, These tragic conditions in the nation's school system have resulted largely from inadequate salaries, undemocratic administration in the schools and political exploitation in the school system, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Ill., in October, 1946, go on record urging all affiliated labor bodies to assist teachers in securing better salaries and better working conditions not only for the benefit of the teachers themselves but also in the interests of providing adequate educational facilities for the nation's children at this critical time in American history.

This resolution deals specifically with the problem of teacher shortage facing the nation, which has been discussed elsewhere in this report under the title of "Federal Aid to Education." While Federal assistance is necessary as an important part of the school finance program, it should be remembered that a large part of the school revenue must come from states and local communities. If the schools are to be financed adequately so teachers' salaries may be high enough to keep competent teachers from leaving the profession, Federal aid must supplement rather than supplant local revenues. The immediate solution to the teacher shortage problem is to be found in providing adequate school revenues from local and state sources.

Under date of September 25, 1946, President

William Green sent to all affiliated local, state, national and international labor bodies the following communication urging these labor groups to take the lead in solving the critical problem of teacher shortage by initiating programs for securing better salaries for teachers:

"To the Officers of State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies:

"Facts and information which have been assembled show that the teachers employed in the public schools of the nation are paid inadequate salaries. As a result there is a grave shortage of teachers in many of the public schools throughout the nation. In addition, because of the lack of incentive caused by the payment of inadequate salaries for teachers, young people are refraining from entering teacher training colleges and preparing themselves to follow the teaching profession. This is a serious question—one in which all classes of people, and particularly the membership of the American Federation, are deeply interested.

"No group of public servants renders more faithful, patriotic and efficient service to the children and people of our nation than the teachers employed in the public schools of the nation. It is clear the salaries of the teachers have not kept pace with the increases in salaries and wages which have been paid to those employed in all walks of life. In addition, the cost of living has increased for teachers in the public schools, the same as it has increased for all other workers, professional and otherwise.

"In view of these facts, I am appealing to the officers and members of state federations of labor and city central bodies to join in the nationwide effort which is being put forth to provide for the payment of adequate wages to teachers employed in the public schools of the nation. I respectfully urge that you inaugurate forceful campaigns in your community and in your locality, independently and in close cooperation with the American Federation of Labor teachers' local unions where they exist, in order to lift the economic standard of teachers and to bring about the payment to teachers employed in the public schools of decent salaries. Said salaries should be commensurate with the requirements of American citizenship and with the establishment and maintenance of the American standard of life and living.

"The American Federation of Labor and its chartered state federations of labor, city central bodies and organized units everywhere can lead in this great fight for a decent salary to be paid teachers employed in the public schools of the nation.

"I respectfully urge you to take action as herein suggested in support of this praiseworthy purpose. Work together with other civic groups which will join with you, and particularly with local American Federation of Labor unions of teachers in your locality where such local unions exist. Make it clear to the proper authorities who officially and legally deal with the question of the payment of salaries to teachers that the American Federation of Labor will not pause or cense its efforts until justice is done the teachers of the nation and decent salaries

are paid them for the service they render in the public schools of the nation.

"Very truly yours,  
(Signed) "WILLIAM GREEN,  
"President, American Federation  
of Labor."

Your committee recommends that this communication be made a part of the proceedings of this convention. The committee also recommends Resolution No. 65, which contains the same recommendations as President Green's communication to all affiliated bodies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Labor Education in the Public Schools

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Anti-labor organizations are flooding the public schools with materials for use in the classroom which are clearly designed to prejudice the minds of the children of the nation against organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The most able speakers available are being employed by the anti-labor groups to address assemblies of high school and university students, and

WHEREAS, Certain powerful industrial organizations, which have traditionally opposed legislation for the protection and welfare of workers and have constantly battled against unions, are carrying on cooperative programs with non-union teachers' organizations throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, Recent publications of these organizations show clearly that this cooperative program is being used as a means of attacking the labor movement with subtle but effective propaganda in the public schools, and

WHEREAS, These industrial organizations which are using the public schools as an avenue for anti-labor propaganda have previously shown no interest in supporting and improving public education except to the extent to which the schools may be used as a propaganda medium, and

WHEREAS, The labor movement cannot hope to match the millions of dollars which industrial organizations are pouring into their educational and public relations programs, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Illinois, in October, 1946, go on record in favor of a vigorous campaign on the part of all affiliated unions to promote teaching the true facts in the public schools about the history, objectives and accomplishments of organized labor as an important part of the democratic structure of our nation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That central labor councils be urged to investigate the anti-labor materials used in local school systems and the cooperation of non-union teachers' organizations with anti-labor groups, and, if necessary, to send a committee to discuss this matter with the superintendent of schools and the board of education, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated local and

state labor bodies be urged to cooperate in organizing the public school teachers in the labor movement as the most practical means of assuring that labor's point of view will be presented in a fair and unbiased manner and that teachers will be able to recognize propaganda materials which are intended to weaken or destroy the organized labor movement of the United States.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and desires to urge all delegates to stress in their local labor bodies the importance of seeking to have reliable information about organized labor taught in the public schools.

It is equally important that local and state labor bodies should constantly be on guard against anti-labor propaganda in the public schools. The committee also wishes to stress that part of the resolution which recommends the organization of public school teachers in the labor movement so they may be able to recognize and eliminate from the curriculum the anti-labor propaganda.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(Page 165, Executive Council Report)

Under that section of the Executive Council's report which refers to vocational education a recommendation is made that special attention be focused on the problem of securing adequate programs of counseling and guidance in local communities. Since this recommendation must be implemented largely on a local basis your committee urges that special attention be given to this problem by education committees of Central Labor Bodies in cooperation with consultants from the teachers' union. The committee also recommends that in relation to all counseling programs a special study should be made of the opportunities for actual employment in the trades and professions in the community. It is unfair both to the students in vocational schools and to the labor movement to direct large numbers of children into trades and vocations in which there are no opportunities to secure employment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### WORKERS' EDUCATION

(Pages 166-170, Executive Council Report, and Resolution No. 92)

**Resolution No. 92**—By Delegate Edward H. Weyler, Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The principle of collective bargaining is now accepted as the basis of sound industrial relations, and

WHEREAS, The development of stable union organization is dependent upon the education of the membership in the principles and ideals of trade unions, and

WHEREAS, The successful practice of collective bargaining requires that the union leadership be fully informed and technically trained in the principles and procedures of collective bargaining as well as the many union and community problems with which they are confronted, and

WHEREAS, There is an urgent and immediate need for teaching materials, instruction outlines, and other educational aids which can be used by unions in establishing and conducting such educational programs, and

WHEREAS, The Division of Labor Standards of the United States Department of Labor has, during the past four years, made a significant beginning in attempting to meet this need by the preparation of teaching guides and union manuals, and by working with labor organizations in developing their own programs, and

WHEREAS, The United States Department of Labor will be requesting from Congress an additional appropriation for the Division of Labor Standards' 1947-48 budget to expand such educational activities for and with unions, universities, and other labor educational agencies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention endorse fully the educational program of the Division of Labor Standards of the United States Department of Labor and the proposed expansion of these activities and request that the convention make known its views to the appropriate members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the Chairmen of the Senate and House Labor Committees, the Senate and House Appropriations Committee, to all members of the House Appropriations Subcommittee handling the Labor Department budget, and to heads of all state labor organizations.

Because of the current interest in Workers' Education, the Committee on Education discussed this subject at great length. The committee was deeply concerned that developments in the field of workers' education should be based upon sound principles of trade unionism. Recent bills in Congress and in state legislatures, together with activities in the United States Department of Labor, the United States Office of Education, and in universities throughout the nation are indications of an unprecedented interest in workers' education. This development generally is in line with the educational program of the American Federation of Labor and, in fact, is based to a large extent upon recommendations of the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. was the first large group in the nation to go on record in favor of a program of workers' education supported by federal funds. The A. F. of L. was the first group to demand, for organized labor, services similar to those provided for agriculture and industry.

However, the committee desires to call attention to certain dangers to the labor movement if current proposals for federally supported education should proceed in certain di-

rections. At its 1942 convention the A. F. of L. declared:

"For many years organized labor has sought to secure adequate service from governmental agencies and state universities. Ironically some of the very institutions which have emanated from the organized labor movement have been used as agencies to oppose organized labor rather than to assist in implementing a sound and successful labor program. State universities and other tax supported agencies have been reluctant to include courses and services in their programs which are of benefit to organized labor. Universities especially have not extended to labor the type of service offered to agriculture and industry despite the fact that organized labor represents a large proportion of the population. The 1937 convention of the A. F. of L. in Denver, Colorado, emphasized the fact that the schools belong to all the people. Government agencies also belong to all the people and both universities and agencies of government should offer services to the millions of members of organized labor.

"The American Federation of Labor was instrumental in establishing the United States Department of Labor, the only department of the federal government which is devoted entirely to human welfare. This department has rendered certain valuable services to the labor movement. These services should be supplemented by educational services by the universities and governmental agencies which should be made available to every bona fide trade union in the nation.

"However, the committee desires to emphasize the fact that organized labor must organize and control its own educational program. It is the responsibility of labor to educate its own membership in the history and principles of organized labor. Labor's request to the universities and to state and national governments is that these agencies provide facilities for meetings, research services, and such information on social problems—unemployment, social security, war problems, taxation, price controls, etc., as labor groups may request from time to time. The educational program, however, must remain in the hands of organized labor and be controlled by organized labor."

We desire to state emphatically that the American Federation of Labor is firm in its conviction that neither the Federal or State governments should sponsor or conduct courses in workers' education. The government should conduct research; make available to unions the tools of education; and supply such other services as organized labor may request. It is the duty of unions at all levels to educate their own members and to make them good union members. No outside agency can do this job. The sphere of activity of government

and the universities must be that of assisting unions themselves, in doing educational work among their members. For State or Federal governments to enter directly into a program of workers' education is contrary to the fundamental philosophy of a free labor movement and to the basic principles of democratic government. In the current developments in workers' education organized labor must be alert to see to it that the controls of educational programs are kept in the hands of the unions involved.

Programs of workers' education in universities should be set up in cooperation with the labor movement. Here again the functions of the university should be to provide the facilities so unions may conduct their own education programs. The training of teachers who can really teach labor philosophy and problems is a vital problem in workers' education.

With these words of caution, your committee calls attention to the services now available in the Division of Labor Standards of the United States Department of Labor and concurs in Resolution No. 92 which urges support for a larger federal appropriation for this division of the Department of Labor for the purpose of assisting unions in their educational programs.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE WEYLER (Kentucky State Federation of Labor): I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that Resolution No. 92, which is a part of the report just made, was unanimously adopted at the Kentucky State Federation of Labor convention.

For ten years in Kentucky we have been struggling to put on a good workers' education program. One of the difficulties, we find, is to get people to realize and agree upon what workers' education really is.

We agree to the report of the committee and agree that we must keep workers' education within our own ranks and must do the job ourselves in order that we be trained in a trade union way rather than in a Chamber of Commerce way, but on the other hand, Mr. Chairman, I from Kentucky ask of you where can we get this assistance? Where can we get these instructors who understand workers' education and who understand how to set up these workers' education programs in the respective localities? Our A. F. of L. has no school in which to teach such instructors. It is true that we depend upon John Connors' splendid department and service for assistance, but we don't give him enough money and it is only John and he has 48 states over which to work. One man can't cover that territory, Mr. Chairman.

Now, we don't like to have government intervention in education, no, but we have got

to get it from some place, and for that reason we have appealed to the government. We find that the Department of Labor has some very splendid assistants for any locality that wishes to set up a real workers' education program.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am a young man in the labor movement, but I wish to sound a warning now to the labor movement of this nation. If we remember World War I and what followed thereafter, we counted our membership in the millions. I think we had nearly four million. Remember after World War I when the depression came we lost that membership by the millions until we had less than two million.

Now why, Mr. Chairman? Chiefly because the workers had not been taught the true philosophy of the labor movement. They didn't understand what the movement really meant to them, and they left it.

Now, in World War II we are taking in members by the millions and we are bragging now of 7,100,000 members. But, Mr. Chairman, will we keep these members if we do not educate them to the true trade union philosophy? When the hard times come, which surely they will in the not too distant future, what incentive will they have to stay with our labor movement with no jobs, unless they do know why they are in the organization, unless they do know the glorious history of our labor movement, as few of them do?

Now, we all will defend the flag, and why? Because all through public school we were taught what the flag represents. But do we know what the American Federation of Labor represents—I mean, the rank and file, the 7,000,000 members that we have taken in and who are now members of our organization? You know, we initiate them by the droves and send them out, and in many cases many of them never get back into a union meeting again. They don't even know what the labor movement is before they are initiated. Now, how can we expect a militant fighting army unless we do educate the members of that army?

I appeal to this convention to please let's see that we give to our own department, headed by John Connors, more money so that he can do the job in the labor way and if we don't do that then let's depend upon such agents of government to give us the material and advice we need in order that we don't experience the same thing that happened after World War I.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON:** I think the brother who just spoke has called attention to a very important matter. However, another section of the committee's report deals with that subject, and I think probably it would be well to permit the committee to proceed with the next section of the report and then we will have the subject matter

that the previous speaker discussed in connection with the work and report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

## WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

(Page 170, Executive Council Report)

Your committee recommends that every delegate read carefully that part of the report of the Executive Council which refers to the activities of the Workers' Education Bureau. Few unions or agencies in the labor movement of the United States are carrying on such extensive programs on so small a budget. The Bureau, which is known as the educational arm of the American Federation of Labor, has a budget of less than one-third of a cent per year for each member of the entire A. F. of L. If so small a sum as one cent per member per year could be paid into the treasury of the Bureau the present program of this important agency could be multiplied many times. At the present time the director, Mr. John Connors, must serve not only as director of the Bureau but as field man as well. The demands for the services of the Bureau have become so great that several field men should be available. The absence of this personnel in the Bureau represents a serious failure of the labor movement to take advantage of an opportunity in the field of public relations. Many requests from universities and other organizations which are asking for speakers who will tell the truth about the program and objectives of organized labor must be rejected because the personnel is not available.

The enemies of organized labor are spending literally millions of dollars on educational and public relations programs. Free literature, films, and highly skilled speakers are being sent into the public schools and universities of the nation. In some universities whole departments are controlled by the industrial organizations which carry on a constant battle against the labor movement. The National Association of Manufacturers is carrying on a cooperative program on a national scale with non-union teachers' organizations. Recently an international conference on education, for the purpose of establishing an international teachers' organization controlled by non-union teachers' organizations, was held at the headquarters of the International Business Machines Corporation at Endicott, New York, and financed in part by this organization. The Endicott newspaper describing this international conference, which was distributed widely among teachers throughout the world, contained a front page story about labor leaders being convicted for racketeering. Such is the subtle propaganda which the labor movement is forced to battle against today.

In the days ahead labor will need especially to educate its own membership as well as the general public in the true objectives and principles of the labor movement. The skilled propaganda of the enemy often filters into the membership of organized labor itself. The Workers' Education Bureau should be equipped to assist unions in this program. It is worth far more than a penny a year to each A. F. of L. member to establish the Bureau on a basis which will make possible much more extensive services. We urge, therefore, that international unions, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, and individual unions give full support to the Bureau. The returns will be large for the labor movement as a whole. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, recognizing the growing need for workers' education has granted an increase of \$2,500 in its allocation to work of the Bureau. Urgent budget demands in other fields have prevented a larger increase in funds granted to the Bureau. Your committee recommends that when and if additional funds become available the Executive Council give serious consideration to granting additional funds to the Bureau.

We commend Director Connors for the extensive program which he has carried on with so small a budget and express to him the hope that affiliated unions will be able to assist him in greatly expanding the services and facilities of the Bureau.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt this section of the committee's report.

**DELEGATE NOLL** (United Automobile Workers): I am very much pleased with the report of this committee, recognizing today the very important phase of the work of this great Federation of Labor. All of us who have in some way or another supported or worked for the labor movement have recognized from time to time the necessity of a greatly expanded educational program. It is wondrous to recognize the work that has been done by the Workers' Education Bureau, with the very limited funds available to it up to now.

This work of labor today is becoming more complex because of the very important part that we play in the daily lives of the citizens of our nation.

Time after time we find ourselves confronted with problems that could easily have been answered and a definite approach made to the solution of these problems, had we had more educated leadership. We need it not only in the local unions, we need it also throughout the representative groups of our Federation.

Since attending this convention I have heard many discussions among different delegates, wherein they claim that a great many of our organizers and representatives, both those of the American Federation of Labor and the national and international unions affiliated

with the Federation, have not been able at times to properly represent the people they are supposed to represent, because of the inability to meet the stringent requirements placed upon all organizers today. We expect our organizers today to know a great deal more than it was necessary for organizers to know in the past. With our complex way of life we are meeting additional obstacles from time to time, such as regulations and so on.

I don't think it is necessary that we go into detail, but I know that if the delegates in attendance here would get up and say that they, too, had needed information that they didn't have in the past, there would not be very many here who would not respond.

I often wonder why our opposition, both in the rebel unions and the Manufacturers' Associations and the others, are able to recognize this field of propaganda, education and labor relations dealing with the public generally. Today labor is hidden; we are shoved to the background by overwhelming opposition from all sources. Labor is being damned day in and day out, but nobody ever recognizes the good work that is done by the Federation.

That is our job to bring that to the attention of the world, and we are not doing a complete job in that respect. I think it is high time that this convention here today take some positive action in establishing, first of all, adequate funds so that this department that has done such fine work in expanding the work it has been doing can go a bit further and work out a comprehensive, all-inclusive educational program, and, if necessary, call a special meeting again to do the job thoroughly. But before our next convention we ought to be rolling along in high gear, doing the kind of an educational job that all of us want. If we do that we won't have to worry about building the Federation or about retaining our membership, because once the truth is brought to light the development will take care of itself.

I am wholeheartedly in accord with the report, except that I don't believe the amount requested is sufficient. I think that whatever monies are necessary to really do this job, there should be a program arranged so that the money can be raised, if necessary, to go many times over the amount requested by the committee to do this job.

I hope the delegates here will take notice of these facts and when they vote, not only vote passively, as we do so often, but let's put our emphasis on the vote and put it over in this convention, and then carry out our job as we are called upon by this group or other educational divisions that may be established between now and our next convention.

**DELEGATE WEYLER** (Kentucky State Federation of Labor): Mr. Chairman, may I intrude for a remark on this report as well as the last?



PRESIDENT GREEN: If there are no other delegates who wish to speak. Apparently there are not. Proceed.

DELEGATE WEYLER: Mr. Chairman, in the report it was said that the department is to be supported by one-third of 1 per cent per capita tax. It was also reported that Brother John Connors, in doing his splendid, constructive job, must not only be director but must be field representative as well.

Mr. Chairman, that points out only one thing. There are a lot of organizations who are not paying one-third of 1 cent per capita tax that ought to be, or surely we would have enough money, because it seems to me with the 7,100,000 there should be a lot of one-thirds of a cent.

At our last convention down in Kentucky we set up our own Department of Education and Research, a part of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor. We increased our per capita tax 2 cents per month to try to do the job. I think, Mr. Chairman, if state federations of labor had the courage and the foresight and the willingness to carry such a load, if the local unions pay the increased per capita tax, then surely our national organizations ought to go along by supporting more fully our own national Department of Education, that it may do its job.

I think, too, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should give some consideration to more money for this program.

VICE PRESIDENT HARRISON (Chairman of the Committee): I would like to say one word in order to get the actual facts before the convention. The Workers' Education Bureau is the recognized arm in the educational field for the American Federation of Labor for workers' education. That Bureau is supported in two ways: First, by outright cash grant by the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor annually makes a substantial appropriation of funds toward the work of the Bureau. Then the Bureau seeks the support of all the affiliated national and international unions.

This Committee on Education, for 20 years to my knowledge, has repeatedly appealed to all of the affiliated national and international unions to become affiliated with the Bureau and to support the activities of the Bureau. The tax for the support of the Bureau payable by affiliated national and international unions is 1 cent per member per month. If the Bureau could persuade all of the affiliated national and international unions to support the Bureau we would have an adequate revenue in the hands of the Bureau to do a real, first-class job of workers' education.

At the present time there are only about a dozen national and international unions who are supporting the Bureau. The revenue

of the Bureau obtained from these affiliated national and international unions approximates one-third of 1 cent per member per month for the total membership of the American Federation of Labor. So the committee has emphasized the two aspects of the financial problem: First, it has said that the American Federation of Labor should, as soon as possible, give additional financial support to the Bureau. Why did we say it that way? We said it that way because it is a question of money in the hands of the American Federation of Labor to meet the many demands upon the Federation. And before this convention adjourns—I don't suppose I am telling any secrets out of school—you will be given a chance to vote on increasing the per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor, so that there will be more money available to carry on this and other important activities.

Consequently the committee, in its report, emphasizes the need for all of the affiliated national and international unions to support the Bureau, and I want to emphasize that part of the report of the committee by personally appealing to all of our affiliated national and international unions to become affiliated with the Bureau and give it your financial support. The Bureau can't do the job that ought to be done on its present resources, and it needs your financial and moral leadership to carry on this important work.

One more word. The Bureau is adequately equipped technically to carry on this great work of educating the leaders of the trade union movement in the various fields in which they need further knowledge to effectively do the work. But we should not confuse the work of the Bureau with the job of the national and international unions to make trade union members out of their own members. That is the job of the national and international unions. It is up to you fellows to go out into your local union meetings and teach the philosophy of the trade union movement, tell them what your organization is doing, acquaint them with your policies and point out the value of the labor movement and the great contribution it is making to the economic and social well-being of the multitudes that are in membership and those who are benefiting indirectly from the progress and the service that is rendered to the people of this country who are engaged in every-day working life.

If the international unions will get out and do their job of educating the rank and file, all the 7,100,000, and then the Bureau gets busy and does the job of training the leaders in keeping with the policies of the Federation and you will furnish that money, then the American Federation of Labor goes into a third aspect of the problem, namely an effective and comprehensive public relations pro-



gram, we will begin to do the job we ought to do. If you will give the Federation the money I know the Executive Council will see that you get what you desire in those particular fields. If you will just support these activities, then we can do the job with the tools we have at hand, and I beg of you to get out and support this work and do your job in the field of educating your membership.

DELEGATE MARTEL (Detroit Federation of Labor): I listened to the report of the committee and I was quite interested in that section of the report that refers to the central bodies and the state federations, a certain part of the activity that the Education Committee wants carried out. I also listened with a good deal of interest to the illustrious president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in the philosophy that he enunciates, that the Educational Department of the American Federation of Labor should be supported generally by the trade union movement, to all of which I heartily agree.

I think while we are discussing this phase of it we ought to give some thought to that voluntary theory of the trade union movement, that it is the duty of trade unionists to support the agencies of the trade union movement, including educational activities. I am at a loss to understand how the officers of a central body can contribute to the education of the membership that are affiliated with certain international unions when those international unions, as a definite policy, apparently, make no effort to see that their local unions have any contact with the central body. And until such time as those organizations cease to isolate themselves from their affiliated trade unionists in the grass roots level of the trade union movement, until such time as they recognize their responsibility to allow their membership to rub elbows with those who are in the central bodies and state federations, there is little we can do to contribute to advancing your program with that part of the membership.

Thank you.

DELEGATE REID (Michigan State Federation of Labor): I listened with interest to the report of the committee and the remarks of Brother Harrison, and I agree for once with Brother Martel that besides supporting the educational program of the Workers' Education Bureau and the general program of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Harrison's organization should also support the State Federation of Labor, of which I happen to be secretary. I am sorry to say that there are no Local Unions affiliated with Brother Harrison's organization who are in affiliation with the Michigan Federation of Labor, and I hope that along with his support to the educational program he will also give his support to all branches of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, to deal with the report of the committee, I am rather interested in workers' education. We have a program running out of the University of Michigan at the present time, and from what I hear it is considered a very good program, probably one of the best in the nation at the present time.

I notice also the United States Department of Labor has appropriated certain funds to help workers' education throughout the country, and I am rather disturbed about what line this particular program of the Department of Labor will take, whether they intend to set up an educational program of their own or whether they want to use it as a clearing house to furnish information and technical assistance to programs already in existence. I remember in 1918 when the American Federation of Labor got the Smith-Hughes Act for vocational education passed, and then we walked away and left the administration of it to academic teachers. They put the program in the hands of what they called industrial arts teachers, and we had a very bad program all over the country, we had a program on a hobby level, in vocational education, instead of on a trade level. Not alone that, but we had vocational schools planted in many of the low-paid industries in the factories, such as happened in Mississippi. In my own State of Michigan we had to drive the Director of Vocational Education of the State before we could develop a good educational program in the State, and I hope that the people representing the American Federation of Labor in Washington will take cognizance of this money that is being spent by the Department of Labor and have some say in the program, so that those of us who are out in the "sticks" will know that the program is being oriented for the benefit of the workers of the nation and not for the benefit of a group of academic teachers or bureaucrats who want to set up a program of their own.

I hope that the Executive Council will insist that they have the proper representation on the committee on this program so that it can be pointed in the proper direction, so we won't have to come in several years from now and clean up the same as we had to in vocational education.

DELEGATE DUFFY (Potters): Mr. Chairman and delegates of the convention, I am wholeheartedly for education. There can be no argument with genuine and real education, but I have noted the remarks of those who have spoken so far on this question. You have not only mentioned or stressed education and the value thereof, but you have also brought in matter with reference to some other resolutions in this convention as to increasing the per capita tax for many and varied purposes. I am somewhat concerned about that.

First of all, let us go on with the question

of education. There is an old saying that knowledge is power and I cannot take issue with that. But education and knowledge must be used with common sense.

There is also an old saying, an educated fool. We have seen the antics of educated fools in finance and in industry and in many, many fields. I wonder if this labor movement has been entirely free of our educated fools.

I have in mind at the moment this thought. Were the men in the American Federation of Labor who brought about a division in labor lacking in knowledge and education in the American labor movement, when they went out stupidly and brought about a division in our ranks? And who will take issue with me when I say the greatest detriment, the real obstacle we have to contend with in America today is this division in labor? Stop and think who the leaders were in that. Did they lack education? No, they lacked something within their hearts and within their minds, in my opinion; they did not have a real understanding, apparently, of the terrible deed they were about to be guilty of. They lacked the spirit within their hearts, otherwise they would not have stepped out and brought about this division in labor.

The pottery workers are conscious of the value of education, yes, and we are for it; we believe we have it; but I want to say to you here and now, getting back to this matter of increasing our assessment for this, that and the other purpose, I am concerned about that. We will do our part in the future as we have done in the past, but I am 100 per cent opposed to having our organization assessed simply for the matter of accumulating funds to turn over to people who, God only knows what may be their idea as to how that money should be used.

I believe, with Chairman Harrison, that this matter of educating our members is one that belongs to the national and international unions primarily and first of all. As to this increase of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor, I want to stress that.

A DELEGATE: Point of order.

DELEGATE DUFFY (continuing): I am not out of order. Mr. Chairman, other delegates have mentioned this assessment, and I am very much concerned about that element within the convention that seems to be unconscious of democratic ways and democratic processes. I am a delegate to this convention and we pay our per capita tax, and I think I have a right to be heard. I say again I am concerned about this talk of increasing the per capita tax. We are griping plenty about taxes in the Nation and in the State. We are crying out loud for relief in that respect, and it seems that it is a little late for the American Federation of Labor to be going into increasing the per capita tax without stopping to think, and think seri-

ously, as to where we are going in that respect.

In conclusion, let me emphasize again that an educational program is all right when properly directed, and directed with common sense and intelligence. I ask you again to think real seriously with reference to what Brother Harrison says about leaving this for the national and international unions. I think it can be best controlled from the standpoint of having the most done with the expenditure of the least money, and God only knows, we will have less cause to worry later on if some of our people come up with some cock-eyed ideas, because it depends a whole lot on who it is that is feeding these ideas into these young minds.

Let me say again, we can stand some education—not education perhaps, so much as some spiritual improvement among ourselves, a different attitude toward one another among the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, something more tolerant in our hearts, as to our jurisdictional rights, etc., respecting the laws of the American Federation of Labor and these jurisdictions as they have been meted out to these National and International Unions.

I say, brothers and sisters, God forbid that we increase our educated fools within the American Federation of Labor. We don't need any expansion in that regard.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

#### COMMITTEE SECRETARY KUENZLI:

This completes the report of the committee, which is signed by the following:

George M. Harrison, Chairman  
 Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary  
 E. E. Milliman  
 Carl H. Mullen  
 Edward J. Hillock  
 Thomas H. Gerraty  
 William Biggsdike  
 Kenneth J. Kelley  
 James Petrillo  
 A. L. Spradling  
 C. F. Strickland  
 William L. McFetridge  
 Harry H. Cook  
 Samuel Shore  
 Harry Lundberg  
 James J. Doyle  
 J. Duschak  
 W. L. Allen  
 Peter G. Noll  
 A. P. Bower  
 H. A. Bradley  
 Thos. Kennedy  
 H. L. Mitchell  
 G. A. Sackett  
 Frank P. Barry

#### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the

adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention for their report.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We have a very interesting visitor with us this morning. I know that all of you would like to know him and he will appreciate knowing you. He occupies a very important place in the Department of Labor. The work in which he is engaged touches us all very deeply. He knows something about the work, and all of us agree wholeheartedly that there is no branch of the government service, none in the Department of Labor that renders more exalted and excellent service than does the Conciliation and Mediation Department of Labor. I am pleased to present to you the Director of the Department, Mr. E. L. Warren, who is our visitor this morning. Mr. Warren, the Administrator of the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor.

### **MR. E. L. WARREN**

#### **(Administrator of the Department of Conciliation and Mediation, U. S. Department of Labor)**

President Green, delegates to this great convention of the American Federation of Labor, I bring you greetings from the 300 Federal Commissioners of Conciliation. I express for them their appreciation for the warm cooperation they are receiving from the American Federation of Labor and from its affiliated unions.

Few people are in a position to know better than I what heroic efforts your officers have made to maintain industrial peace during one of the most troublesome periods in our economic history.

I am glad to hear that you are putting your full reliance on a policy of free collective bargaining. Without the freedom to write your own contracts there can be little democracy and no labor movement in the United States. Today I am pledging to you the full cooperation of our Service to strengthen the freedom to bargain.

I ask you to remember that the Conciliation Service exists solely for the purpose of assisting both employers and unions to reach agreements without long and costly strikes. We have no law to enforce, no authority to dictate the terms of any settlement. Our services are voluntary.

Certainly, during the next year, the most important decisions for the United States will be made at the bargaining table. There, truly, are the peace tables of the home front. We of the Conciliation Service wish you a prosperous and a peaceful year.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I thank the Commissioner for his visit and for his address this morning.

The Chair now recognizes Vice President Birthright, of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

### **REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES**

**VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT:** The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies had one subject before the committee, the report of the Executive Council on the question of the survey of affiliations with state federations of labor and city central bodies. Secretary Quinn will make the report for the committee.

Committee Secretary Quinn submitted the following report:

Your committee had no resolutions referred to it by the convention. However, there was submitted to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies the following:

#### **CENTRAL BODY AND STATE FEDERATION AFFILIATIONS**

(Page 42, Executive Council Report)

In accordance with a resolution referred by the 1944 convention to the Executive Council, the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor has made a survey to show the percentage of local unions affiliated to city central bodies and state federations of labor.

On the basis of answers received to a questionnaire sent to all state federations and city central bodies, seventy-one (71) per cent of all eligible local unions are affiliated to state federations of labor and thirty-eight (38) per cent of all eligible local unions are affiliated to city central bodies.

Your committee, after a general discussion on the report of the survey, wishes to stress to the delegates the wide difference in the 71 per cent of local unions affiliated to the state federations of labor and the 38 per cent of local unions affiliated to central bodies.

There is usually, in a city where there is a large membership of the American Federation of Labor, a central body chartered by the American Federation of Labor, which is the coordinating body for that particular locality, and is at all times ready to give assistance to its affiliated locals of the international unions and federal labor unions. In view of the many local activities, including that of civic organizations, in which the central body is called upon to participate, your committee also wishes to stress this point, that at one time there was only one central body and that was the American Federation of Labor organization. Today we have the competition of a dual organization in many of our cities, and our local unions are not free from the methods used by this dual organization. However, when difficulties arise and our local unions are affected, they then turn to whatever agency of the American Federation of Labor exists in the community

to protect their interests. The ability to carry out this work depends upon the large degree of affiliations of the local unions to the central bodies, and state federations of labor.

With the activities carried out daily by central bodies and their various contacts with local activities, meetings either monthly or semi-monthly are held where the delegates make their reports and request whatever help that they may be in need of in that community.

With the activities of the state federations of labor conventions are held at stated periods, where the legislative program is prepared to be presented to the legislative bodies. Their functions also are to be on the lookout for legislation that is detrimental to the workers' interest. Therefore, the local unions who are not in affiliation share in the benefits put forth by the state federation of labor at the expense of those local unions who are affiliated and attend their respective conventions. The further activities are that of visiting and meeting with the political representatives to request them to either vote in favor of our legislative program and also to defeat various bills that are not in the best interest of labor.

The same can be said for the central bodies, who deal also with local legislation that may be promoted in the various localities. Therefore, any gains that are made on behalf of the affiliated local unions, those who are not in affiliation also share in same.

As a reminder, during the Second World War the state federations of labor and city central bodies accomplished much in cooperating to the fullest with the various government agencies, having representatives serve on various boards and committees to bring about victory for our great country.

The committee in calling attention to the affiliations of 71 per cent in state federations of labor believes that this should be increased and that 99 to 100 per cent of the local unions should be in affiliation.

We also wish to stress the report of the survey of 38 per cent in affiliation to central bodies. We sincerely urge also that before the next convention of the American Federation of Labor that it will be announced that there is the same proportion affiliated to the state federations of labor as to the central bodies.

Your committee therefore recommends that the American Federation of Labor forward a communication to all national and international unions to request that they call upon their local unions to affiliate with the state federations of labor and city central bodies in the various localities and also urge that a similar letter be forwarded to all federal labor unions to affiliate.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY QUINN: Mr.

Chairman, this concludes the report of your committee, which is signed by the following:

W. C. Birthright,  
Chairman  
James C. Quinn  
Secretary  
C. C. Coulter  
Joseph Marshall  
A. Adamski  
Sam Bonansinga  
A. F. Baker  
Elmer Spahr  
Alfred Rota  
Wm. McGuern  
J. W. Van Hook  
Lloyd Klenert  
Thomas C. Cashen  
Arthur J. Strunk  
Alex Rose  
Thomas A. Lenahan  
Ben Gilbert  
Michael J. Mungovan  
John Hawk  
Edward W. Kaiser  
Gus Moline  
John E. Briedenbach  
Peter T. Schoemann  
John V. Kearney  
D. T. Johnstone

#### COMMITTEE ON LOCAL FEDERATED BODIES.

Mr. Chairman, I move the report of the committee be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I wish to thank the members of the committee for the excellent report they submitted.

#### STRIKE SITUATION IN LOUISVILLE, KY.

DELEGATE STEVENSON (Molders): Mr. Chairman, I wish to make an announcement of a very important matter and call attention of the delegates to a strike situation existing in Louisville at the Standard Sanitary and Radiator Company. These men are out on strike and have been out for over two weeks. I tried to get a meeting a few days ago of the International Presidents, but today we have the secretary of the Central Labor Body of Louisville and also Brother Weyler here. They have a lot of information in connection with this strike, and I would like to request the Bricklayers, Carpenters, Electrical Workers, Firemen and Oilers, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Molders, the Painters, the Plumbers, Teamsters, Buffers and Polishers, Office Employee representatives, and Production Workers to attend a meeting. I don't know what room we can get, but I have taken the liberty of saying that we would meet in the Embassy Room at 1:45, and I hope that the international representatives will attend

this very important meeting, as this affects the national housing program.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Those interested please take note of this announcement.

### PRESENTATION OF BADGES TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now, just before this convention adjourns this morning's meeting I want to discharge a very pleasant duty. I want to present to our fraternal delegates specially selected gold plated badges. This is in line with the custom we have followed during all the years when the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress visited with us.

These are appropriately designed badges. They can be kept as beautiful souvenirs of the attendance of our brothers at this convention. I will now present them.

This one is for Brother O'Brien. You can see that it is appropriately and properly inscribed. I now present this to him with your good wishes and with your high admiration and appreciation of his visit to our convention.

In like manner I present a similar badge to Brother Watson, the coal miner. I don't think there should be any difference between a theatrical stage employee and a coal miner, so we will give him the same kind of a badge.

And to our very dear friend, President Bengough of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, I am happy to present this badge in your name and in your behalf and with your best wishes.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements.

### RESOLUTIONS

**SECRETARY MEANY:** The following resolutions requiring unanimous consent are presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for these resolutions by the special subcommittee of the Executive Council.

The resolutions are titled: Endorsing Statehood for Alaska (Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor); Organization of Farm Labor (National Farm Labor Union).

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** If there is no objection from the floor, the resolutions will be introduced and referred to the appropriate committees.

## SIXTH DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:10 o'clock, P. M. by President Green.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Tipton submitted the following report:

Hearing none, it is so ordered.

(The resolutions above referred to will be found at the end of today's proceedings.)

**SECRETARY MEANY:** The Local Committee has asked me to announce that delegates who have not received their pen and pencil souvenir sets should pick them up at the adjournment of this session.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Sister Nestor for an announcement.

**COMMITTEE MEMBER NESTOR:** Mr. President and delegates, we want to remind you of the breakfast tomorrow morning following the broadcast, and to have you tell your wives and also the women guests and delegates who are present here that everyone who has received one of those tickets is expected to use them, because we are making our reservations and our guarantee is on the tickets we have given out. Over the weekend we didn't want you to forget about it.

Now, this is going to be a very glamorous breakfast. We are going to have Don McNeil and his cast as guests. We are going to have the officers of the American Federation of Radio Artists and local organizations as our guests, and it is going to be a very entertaining and very interesting program as well as a good breakfast. I want to warn you that you can't go to the broadcast without a ticket. We were limited as to the number we could have tomorrow, which is 50, so we got tickets for every day and we have been distributing them, and those who cannot go to the broadcast tomorrow morning can still get a ticket for the broadcast for Wednesday morning.

If anybody has not seen us with regard to this breakfast please do so immediately after adjournment.

Several committee members announced the time and location of various committee meetings.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair wishes to announce that Brother Irving Brown, who has spent a long period of time as a representative of the American Federation of Labor and the League for Human Rights in Europe will report to this convention this afternoon. Please be present, all of you, and listen to what I know will be a most educational and informational address.

The convention will stand recessed until 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:15 o'clock, P. M., the convention recessed until 2:00 o'clock, P. M.

In accordance with request received from President C. M. Harvey of the Railway Mail Association, who has been called away from the city, we recommend the seating of Ole Twait with 76 votes, in his place, as one of the delegates to represent that organization.

Your Committee on Credentials has been re-

quested to substitute the names of E. L. Slaughter with 1 vote, representing the Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly, in place of Elmer Schaffer, previously reported, who was called away from the city, and we recommend the seating of the delegate.

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Federal Labor Union No. 20839, Connorsville, Ind.—Nelson E. Best with 7 votes.

Urbana-Champaign, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor—Sherdie C. Jones, 1 vote.

In accordance with information received from President James L. McDevitt, representing the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, who will be unable to serve due to the illness of his wife, we recommend the seating of Earl C. Bohr in his place, with one vote, as delegate to represent that organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair now recognizes Vice President Woll, chairman of the Committee on International Labor Relations, and following the report which will be made by Vice President Woll we will hear from Brother Brown and Brother Keenan.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Vice President Woll submitted the following report:

### FRATERNAL RELATIONS WITH THE CANADIAN TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS

A careful review of the fraternal relationship between the American Federation of Labor and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will show that on several occasions misunderstandings developed which after conference were adjusted to the mutual satisfaction and benefit of both organizations. Such misunderstandings could have been avoided had there been set up a joint conference arrangement to consider and adjust whatever differences might arise.

With world affairs becoming ever more closely interwoven with the vital interests of our respective labor movements, it is clear that if we are to promote and protect our mutual interests there must be a full measure of understanding and a larger sphere of cooperation. Indeed it is essential every effort be exerted to strengthen the ties of unity and cooperation that now exist.

As indicated in the address of President Percy R. Bengough to the convention, had there been set up an American-Canadian Trade Union Cooperative Committee to which all controversial questions could have been referred, as proposed by Vice President Woll in

his fraternal address to the recent convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, it would have eliminated the possibility of such differences and misunderstandings as have arisen in the past.

Your committee concurs in the point of view that such a committee would not only tend to prevent future misunderstandings but as well develop fully the bonds of brotherhood and strengthen ties of friendship and of good will and advance a higher degree of cooperation so essential to our respective membership.

Because of these considerations your committee recommends the Executive Council be authorized and directed to enter into immediate negotiations with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress for the formation and functioning of an American-Canadian Trade Union Cooperative Committee to be composed of an equal number of members of both organizations, not to exceed three in number for each organization and to be selected from members of the Executive Council or Executive Board of each of the organizations and to meet at regular stated periods and at such place as may be agreed to from time to time—such committee to consider all matters of mutual concern in the interests of the workers of both countries as they may develop from time to time.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### LABOR'S BILL OF RIGHTS

In his cable of January 10 of this year to Secretary of State Byrnes, then in London, President Green thus outlined the position of the American Federation of Labor towards the problem of world peace: "The principles of the Atlantic Charter should be the foundation for wholehearted cooperation to attain a just and enduring peace to stand on the solid foundation of the Four Freedoms." This was a reaffirmation of the position taken by the A. F. of L. during the most trying hours of the war when the hardest battles were still ahead of us. This also was the solemnly proclaimed policy of our government and our allies during the darkest days of the war when victory was still in doubt or at least distant. This remains the position of the A. F. of L. after victory, no less than before victory.

We of organized labor had great hopes that this sane and sound approach to the problem of peace would also continue as the policy of the triumphant powers after no less than before the military victory. Nothing could be more fatal to the cause of decent international relations and world security than for the victorious nations to throw overboard these guiding lines to peace. With profoundest disappointment do we report that since the defeat of the Axis some of the triumphant powers have cynically distorted and flagrantly discarded the principles of the Atlantic Charter

and the Four Freedoms. That is why suspicion and distrust have spread among the allies of yesterday. That is why the world is today cursed with power politics and struggles over imperialistic spheres of influence. Here is the real reason for the costly delay in peacemaking and the drafting of treaties at the Paris Conference which, if finally adopted, will sow the seeds of new conflicts.

Foreign affairs today are no longer the business or property of professional diplomats. Today, foreign affairs are the burning concern of the great mass of the people—the workers in the factories and mines, in the fields and offices. This was a people's war and the peace must be the people's peace. Throughout the war and since its conclusion, the A. F. of L. has demanded that the voice of labor be heard and that the hand of labor be felt at the peace table. Realizing the urgency of organized labor taking an active part in helping the nation adopt and apply a truly democratic foreign policy, the Executive Council has insisted on effective labor representation in the United Nations and has made various concrete recommendations for action by our government. The A. F. of L. has won the right to have advisors to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. President Green, thereupon, appointed Vice Presidents Woll and Dubinsky as the consultants to this important body.

We are happy to report that these representatives have already taken the initiative in presenting the first International Bill of Rights ever proposed by any national or worldwide labor organization. This bill has won immediate extensive acclaim. It embodies a concrete and constructive program for applying the Four Freedoms in every country—victorious and vanquished alike. The A. F. of L. Bill of Rights is to be considered by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for incorporation into the general peace treaty.

We express the sincere hope that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations will approve the Bill of Rights submitted by the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the workers of the world. We likewise call upon the workers everywhere to impress upon their government the necessity of approving this Charter of Rights, this Magna Carta of Labor, as the guiding rule that shall not only declare but safeguard the workers as free men and women throughout the world.

Because of the increasing importance of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and the several international organizations which have come into existence and in which the workers are deeply interested and greatly concerned, the work of our permanent International Labor Relations Committee and that of the consultants hereinbefore referred to will constantly involve greater technical requirements and demand increasing time and

attention. They will also need research services and the like. It is therefore recommended that the Executive Council allocate funds for budgets submitted from time to time by this committee and by the consultants referred to.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## FREE TRADE UNIONS IN EUROPE AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR FREE TRADE UNIONS

(Pages 69-73, Executive Council  
Report)

In these sections of the report the Executive Council sets forth attitudes manifested and representations and activities engaged in having for their objective the reestablishment and functioning of free trade unions in the several European countries—and in promoting free trade unions wherever possible.

The American Federation of Labor can play an ever more strategic and perhaps decisive role in the critical European situation. The key to the future in Europe lies with the reconstructed and slowly reviving free labor movement. The extent to which this is recognized on truly democratic lines, will determine in a large measure, which way Europe will go in terms of the basic struggle that is ensuing between democracy and Russian totalitarianism. The extent to which the trade unions of Europe develop along free trade union lines will contribute much to the final decisions that Europe makes in the titanic political war between two basically different concepts of America and Russia.

The American Federation of Labor has always maintained that genuine free trade unions are the bulwark of modern democracy. The disastrous experience with Communism, Nazism, Fascism, Falangism as well as the tragedy of two world wars have confirmed the historical correctness of our position.

As the strongest free trade union federation in the world and functioning in a land which plays a decisive role in the international scene, the American Federation of Labor must now assume new and greater responsibilities for preserving and extending the ideals of genuine trade unionism. Today there is no longer an international rallying center for free trade unions. To the contrary the International Federation of Trade Unions has been replaced by a federation of unions dominated by the Soviet Government and its satellites and is nothing more than a caricature of a free trade union movement.

The WFTU was conceived by the Russian dictatorship and was created as a successor to the notorious and now defunct Red Internationale of Labor Unions. In its brief period of existence the World Federation of Labor has clearly and unmistakably proven itself as an agency to foster Russia's expansionist foreign



policy. It has vigorously and regularly defended Russian imperialistic interests. It has delayed and prevented the revival of bona fide trade unions in Germany and elsewhere. It has consistently and violently denounced the British Labor government and its General Secretary has hailed and pictured the Russian terror now gripping the workers of Hungary, Poland, Roumania and Yugoslavia as "now enjoying freedoms which were previously unknown in other countries."

In Czechoslovakia, where those who control the WFTU likewise influence the affairs of State, not a single word of protest has been raised against a governmental decree permitting but a single trade union organization called "The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement" dominated and controlled by the Government. Neither has the WFTU uttered a single word of condemnation against the barbarous mass deportations of workers from the Sudeten—many of whom had suffered in Hitler's prison and concentration camps for anti-Nazi activities while some of the communists now in the Prague Government directing these deportations were still supporting the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Here in Washington, D. C., at its meeting last month, the executive board of the WFTU echoed the Russian hypocritical cry about war propaganda being spread by monopolists and large capitalists but not a single word was said about the aggressions of the Russian Communist imperialism which has already snuffed out the independence of 11 nations between the Arctic and the Aegean and is now seeking to strangle Turkey and provoke chaos in the Arab world.

The WFTU cannot serve as a bridge from the free western workers to the oppressed Russian workers; it cannot function as a vehicle of rapprochement between the free labor movements of the western world and the enslaved workers of Russia and her puppet states. The setting up of an international trade union body under the control and domination of Russia and Russian occupied countries and colonial and semi-colonial lands, marks a dangerously backward and extremely harmful departure in international unionism. This reactionary development is fraught with the gravest consequences for the free organized labor movements everywhere.

While apprehensive regarding the objectives of the WFTU, and the slave and imperialistic foreign policy of Russia, we entertain only the best of good wishes toward the Russian people. Our sympathy goes out to them in their feudalistic bondage and slavery. We sincerely desire to look forward to the day when the Russian workers and peasants will have the right and enjoy the benefits of free trade unionism and association and cooperation at home as we enjoy these rights and benefits. We hope it may not be long before they will take their rightful place in

the ranks of an international movement of free trade unions and join with us in the onward march of free labor.

Our country has not sought one cent of reparations or advantage, no territorial annexations or commercial privileges out of the recent world conflict. The American people have poured billions of dollars into aiding the allies during the war and since military hostilities have ceased the United States has provided 71 per cent of all the UNRRA supplies—the bulk of which has gone to Soviet-dominated areas. Our nation has made heavy sacrifices in human lives and natural resources and material goods in order to crush Axis and Fascist tyranny. Certainly all this has not been done to replace one tyranny by another.

It is in a tense and turbulent international situation such as this that the American Federation of Labor must be prepared to face its urgent and manifold tasks. Through the League for Human Rights, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates have contributed millions of dollars of relief to labor's underground fighters against Axis tyranny in Europe and Asia and as well to the victims of Nazi-Fascist terrorism in all lands. Through the Free Trade Union Committee we have maintained direct, active and increasingly fruitful contact with the suppressed trade union bodies of war-torn lands. We have published special bulletins in English, French, Spanish and German advising European labor about the policies and practices and achievements of the millions of workers in the American Federation of Labor. We have even published one issue of the special bulletin in the Russian language but the Soviet leaders have thus far denied passage of this issue through the iron curtain and its distribution among workers in the U.S.S.R.

As representatives of the A. F. of L. Brothers Kreindler and Murphy have rendered yeoman service in assisting the Japanese workers in rebuilding their unions on a firm and free basis. At the first possible opportunity, the A. F. of L. sent Luigi Antonini to help the workers of Italy take their first steps toward reestablishing bona fide free trade unions. During the past year two representatives of the A. F. of L. have been working in Europe, one in Germany—the secretary of our Chicago Federation of Labor, Brother Joseph Keenan, who has been working with our military government and one in a wider field, Brother Irving Brown. Through them we have been able to help trade unions to get the supplies necessary for their operation and to initiate plans for relief. By these efforts we were helpful in clearing away the political and military obstacles which prevented the reconstruction of free trade unions in Germany—so vital to the democratic regeneration of the German people.

The Executive Council and President Green has intervened actively with President Truman, the State Department and the Office of Military Government for returning to the German trade unions the offices, property and financial assets which had been stolen from them by the Nazis.

The task before us as free trade unionists is great. Unless the trade unions of Germany and of other lands are given leadership by the free trade unions with a rallying center this field will be pre-empted by those who would communize our free trade union organizations. A program of facts and information for European workers giving concrete reports on wages and working conditions of the American workers is essential. Likewise information about the Soviet economy and the so-called trade unionism in Russia is desirable. Exchanges of workers and leaders from various industries and international unions must be encouraged and become part of our regular activity in Europe. Relief must be provided to the reviving free trade unions and leaders and to other democratic forces who are struggling to liberate themselves from totalitarian control. These and other activities must be engaged in if we are to make freedom of the workers safe throughout the world.

We are pleased to record the fact that provision has been made by the American Federation of Labor to set up a European office through which to service European trade unionists and that likewise provision has been made by the A. F. of L. to supplement the services of Brother Brown of the Free Trade Union Committee by the selection of a direct appointee.

Strategically Germany is the economic heart of Continental Europe and can give leadership as well in the field of labor. It is therefore important to aid them to move quickly and surely toward free trade unions for their progress and protection, for the security of Europe and lastly, to safeguard free trade unionism in the United States. We cannot continue to prosper in isolation in the field of labor any more than can our government prosper in isolation! Only by our joining hands with the visible forces of democracy throughout the world can we hope to make the democratic way of life more dynamic and effective and fully secure us against the constant encroachments and unwarranted and vicious assaults of every type and of every stripe of totalitarian dictatorship.

With these comments, suggestions and recommendations your committee recommends concurrence in those sections of the Executive Council report referred to.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: That completes the

partial report of the committee represented by Vice President Woll at this time.

We will now have the report supplemented by a personal report of two of our capable representatives who spent many months in Europe. First of all I want to present to you Brother Irving Brown, who has spent 11 months in Europe. He was there as a representative of the League for Human Rights and of the American Federation of Labor as well. During the 11 months while he has been in Europe he visited Germany, France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Great Britain.

It is rather significant, indeed, that during these 11 months as a representative of the League for Human Rights and of the American Federation of Labor he was denied the opportunity to visit any section of the Russian zone. The steel curtain was effective. The veil of secrecy surrounded it all, so far as our representatives were concerned.

In making this reference to this experience of our representative I leave you to draw your own deductions. The question instinctively arises, why is this? Why are the doors closed to our Allies' representatives and particularly that section of labor which forms a great and influential part of the United States? What is the purpose? Why are they keeping them out of Poland, Bulgaria, Roumania and those sections, those satellite nations, that are subject to the dictates and control of the Soviet Government?

The doors of Sweden, the doors of Holland, the doors of Belgium opened. The sign of welcome was everywhere—come in and see and help and serve. But when you approach the doors of entrance to the Russian zone you are faced with the words: "Forbidden, no entrance to you into this Russian zone."

And it is that Government that denies our representatives the right to draw aside the veil and step inside and see what is going on, so they can tell you and extend help to the suffering masses of the people in the territory covered by Russian control, the same as we extended help to the poor distressed of Germany, France, Italy and other nations. Why is it? That Government controls and dominates the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions, and that is where they would like to have us admitted, so that we could be subject to domination and control. It stirs me very deeply.

The League for Human Rights collected and sent abroad over 135 millions of dollars, all of which was used for the purpose of feeding and clothing and helping the distressed victims of the cruel war in Europe. That money was distributed by labor. Brother Irving Brown was there to help and to assist and to serve, and during the 11 months while he was there he has made periodical reports of

his experiences abroad. All of them were decidedly interesting.

Now, I want him to tell you his story in his own way this afternoon. I am sure he will do so in a most interesting and illuminating way. I present to you now Brother Irving Brown.

### MR. IRVING BROWN

#### (European Representative of Free Trade Union Committee, A. F. of L.)

President Green, Secretary Meany, members of the Executive Council and delegates to this convention: I have lived and worked for 11 months in countries where trade unionists and other democratic leaders have returned from exile, concentration camps and secret hidings in order to try once again to rebuild a shattered and destroyed labor movement. I assure you that the hopeful lives of these leaders, of these movements, are looking to this convention. I cannot help but emphasize and stress the great importance and the strategic position that American labor holds in the world today. I cannot help but say in my introductory remarks that I am not being immodest when I say that the hope and the future of world peace lies in the decisions of a convention like this.

There is no other section of American society that holds the strategic and decisive position that American labor holds in this country and in the world. These people I have lived with, talked with, and tried to work with, and I assure you they are looking with very hopeful eyes to you and to your decisions.

I have just come from these countries in Europe where people have learned through the most bitter experiences to know what freedom means, because they have lost it. Now they are engaged in a great struggle to regain and maintain the cherished liberties which we have enjoyed for so long. A major part of this struggle is being carried on by the slowly reviving free trade union forces which it is our duty to support and aid.

President Green has mentioned to you the iron curtain and the eastern zone. To emphasize that these people are still fighting to maintain and regain freedom, let me quote to you a leaflet issued by labor groups in the Russian sector of Berlin, which is "verboten" today, not by Nazis, but by the Soviet military administration. The leaflet reads: "Where there is fear there is no freedom, and without freedom no socialism."

This leaflet cannot be printed and distributed in the Eastern Zone and in the Russian sector of Berlin. I want to say also that it is my opinion that 18 months after the end of the military war the Continent of Europe is now involved in a titanic political war, the outcome of which will determine whether these post-war years will or will not become a new period of pre-war years.

I notice in the evening papers today a report that Mr. Molotov has said that the peace talks have failed, and I think this convention should ask, Why have those talks failed. Mr. Molotov? Because in Paris at this Peace

Conference—and I was there—Mr. Molotov sits in a chair which is very well lined with plush and has around him five other delegates to the Peace Conference from behind the Iron Curtain, and openly and unashamed, for the whole world to see, Mr. Molotov picks these people as puppets to take the tribune and speak when he wants them to speak. I have seen this open and unashamed demonstration. No representative at that Peace Conference from Yugoslavia, from Poland, from Czechoslovakia and from other countries from behind the Iron Curtain can speak unless the representative of the Soviet Union permits them to speak. I have seen how Mr. Molotov, openly and unashamedly, has given instructions to these representatives to sabotage these peace conferences.

Exhaustion of every kind—individually, economically, politically and morally—permeates the Continent. Essentials of the economy remain in fundamental crises through the shortage of coal, food, transportation, aggravated by the complete industrial and commercial vacuum in the heart of Europe; namely, Germany.

And I say in passing that on this German question the greatest dis-service ever done in the history of the world to world peace has been done by the former Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, when he developed his so-called plan for preventing the rebuilding of peace and a working economy in the heart of Europe. All Europe suffers today because of the destruction that lies in the heart and in the center of Europe.

In Europe today there is a feeling and a belief that no basic foundations have been laid to guarantee permanent and just peace. The Paris Conference has ceased to have any semblance to a peace conference. It has become a medium by which the Russians attempt to propagandize the people of the world. The Americans are beginning to catch up, as illustrated in the recent talks of Secretary Byrnes.

Europe has become divided in half, in a political sense, with the Elbe River now the dividing line and in effect the new frontier of the United States. Eastern Europe is a constantly constituted bloc in Europe under the control and domination of the Soviet Union through the use of troops, NKVD apparatus, or the Fifth Column of the Communist Party.

I want to emphasize that the only consciously constituted bloc in Europe lies in Eastern Europe under the domination of the Soviet Union and that when Mr. Wallace and other mush-headed liberals in America talk about the democracies creating a bloc, this is a lie, this is not the truth.

The only bloc in Europe today lies under Russian domination, and those who think that peace can be attained by leaders of the world saying that we want peace and we don't want war should recall the speeches of Mr. Hitler from 1933 to 1939. Every year he made an annual talk for peace, but his policies, his goal was war, and I say that only the representatives of one nation in the world today speak of an irreconcilable conflict between the East and the West, and they are the representatives of the Soviet Union. The official line, the official propaganda of the Communist Party in every country in Europe,

is that there is an irreconcilable conflict between Capitalism and Socialism. I say that the irreconcilable conflict in Europe today is the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism, and it is our job, it is the job of this convention, it is the job of the American labor movement to lend every possible aid to the forces of the free trade union movement. Yes, to the forces in Eastern Europe in trade unions, in the Socialist movement and in Christian parties that are fighting in spite of all terror against this domination.

We cannot speak about what goes on in Yugoslavia. We cannot lift one little finger because our troops are not in the East but in the West. I am very reluctant to say it, but it must be said and noted as a political fact and a political reality that in Europe today the political decisions, political results are made on the basis of where the big powers maintain their armies.

It is also very sad to have to report that world labor today has lost its traditional force as an international humanitarian movement since the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is an instrument in defense of Soviet foreign policy, dares not raise its voice against the new atrocities being committed in Europe. The American Federation of Labor remains and is the only voice in defense of an international concept of man's fundamental rights. We Americans have the unique chance of attaining the goal once set by Abraham Lincoln—"We do not want to be the terror of the world but the hope of the world."

I tell you that I have spoken in three different trade unions in Europe as the A. F. of L. delegate, and I have listened very closely and very keenly to the speakers of the representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and I have yet to hear one speech, I have yet to hear one word of any of these representatives that does not criticize America and Britain and never says one word of criticism about the Russians. I have been at the same conventions with the Secretary General of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and invariably he attacks democracy and defends Eastern Europe as the grand democracy. So, when I say that I consider the World Federation of Trade Unions as an instrument of the Soviet foreign policy I am giving you my personal experience of having dealt with these people.

In the next few moments let me be more concrete in terms of explaining and indicating the general statements that I have just made. Let me examine the different sections of Europe and let me give you some of the facts, because it is impossible to take all the time that is really necessary to tell you an experience of 11 months in Europe.

First of all, let us examine the Eastern bloc under the Iron Curtain, under Soviet control and domination. It is reported by all observers that in spite of this iron bloc, 80 per cent of the people of Eastern Europe are opposed to the Communist Party. But what do we find? For example, when I was in Stockholm I spoke to the Secretary-Treasurer of the trade union movements of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, not to the Fascists, not to the reactionaries, not to the government people, but to men who occupy the same positions in their nations as our Executive

Council here occupies in America today. They report that not only has the trade union movement been smashed and destroyed, not only have the political parties been smashed and destroyed, but close to 500,000 people have been literally removed from these States and shipped to the forced-labor camps of the Soviet Union. When the majority of the people oppose Russian domination they have a very simple solution; remove them physically and replace them with people who will be loyal.

This was going on in the Baltic States, and I say that our government, I say that our movement at any peace conference must raise the question of what is happening to humanitarian rights in these countries.

Secondly, in Poland where there are forces that are struggling against the dictatorship, they are allowed as much freedom as will not interfere with their remaining a vassal of Soviet foreign policy. In Bulgaria, Roumania and Hungary the trade union and social democratic forces are completely under the thumb of Russian domination. I spoke to a very high official in the Hungarian trade union movement. I don't dare mention his name; I don't dare mention the fact that I spoke to him and I don't dare mention what he told me. He said that 80 per cent of the Communist Party of Hungary today were formerly members and leaders of the Fascist Party of Hungary. Those who are for democracy in Hungary, who want to build a democratic organization in these countries, must face machine guns, must face concentration camps and must face new forms of terror.

Yugoslavia—I think you all know by now what goes on in Yugoslavia—the destruction of any free trade union movement, the destruction of any real basic right to believe in any kind of church that you want to believe in, as witnessed by the recent trial. Yugoslavia remains the most advanced puppet in the interest of Soviet policy.

And then, fourth, look at the Eastern Zone of Germany. You remember the horrible stories that were told about Buchenwald. You remember the horrible stories of what went on in Buchenwald Camp where Jews and anti-Nazis and others were killed and burned. Today Buchenwald is still open. Yes, the concentration camps in the Eastern Zone of Germany are open for those who oppose unity with the machine gun and with terrors.

I say that we should watch very carefully what goes on in Germany because Germany still remains the most important problem that we face in the future peace of the world.

Secondly, let me point out that in Europe today you have new migrations of people. I stood in Stuttgart and Munich and saw the trains pulling in, and I say that I hated and I fought against the atrocities of the Nazis, and I think we have got to fight against the new atrocities that are being committed in the eastern part of Europe. I have seen these people come in on freight cars and I say that there is very little difference between those freight cars that I saw and the stories that I read about when the Jews were being persecuted by the Nazis.

In addition to these perhaps horrible and negative factors, let me point out that there is a part of Europe where I felt the greatest

degree of sanity and the greatest degree of normality, and that was Scandinavia. I visited Sweden, Norway, Denmark. I spoke at many meetings. I acted as a fraternal delegate in Sweden and Norway. There you see how much progress these countries have made because of their great free trade union movement, because of their fine progressive spirit, because of their great loyalty to government. You will find in these countries that 80 to 90 per cent of the workers are organized into trade unions and that they have two labor governments that are doing an excellent job in the economic reconstruction and recovery in their country.

But let me also point out that even in Scandinavia the shadow of the Russian Bear is there to be seen. I say that we in America imply by deed, by act, that we are concerned and will fight for the interest and the protection of these small nations, because if we don't, if America does not remain the hope of Europe and of the world, these countries will by force, if by no other manner, be coerced into the Russian orbit. And I say that in Sweden today where we have a great number of friends, where you have a great liberal movement, where you have a great development of free trade unionism and of co-operatives and of democracy, I say today that Sweden will be forced to move into at least the Soviet economic orbit if we in America and in Great Britain do not hold out a form of international economic and political solution for the world. I say that on the basis of my experience there and with talking to almost every one of the leading trade unionists and government forces.

I have also visited Belgium and Holland. In Belgium and Holland you have two democratic countries that are trying to rebuild after the terrible devastation and ravaging by the German armies. The unfortunate thing in Belgium and Holland, according to my opinion, is that the trade union movement is split on political and religious lines. It is the hope, I am sure, of the Dutch Federation of Labor that some day they will attain unity on the basis of economic interests rather than to be split on political and religious lines. But in both of these countries, in Belgium and in Holland it is labor—and I am glad that in these countries it is the free trade union movement—that lies at the basis of labor, that will be the key to the future of these countries and, I hope, to the countries of Western Europe.

Now, let me turn to France. I think that France is the most important problem that the American Government faces, and that the American labor movement faces, in terms of rebuilding a democratic and peaceful world, especially in Europe. In France today the economic situation is still for the masses of people a very hard one. I know that the Americans who visit France, I know that the Americans who only come for a short visit, can get all of the best food in the world in the black market, that the working people spend 90 per cent of their wages for food, 90 per cent of their very low wages is spent for food alone, and it is not very much. I have seen the steel furnaces of France cold because of the lack of coal from Germany. I have seen workers not able to work and

being paid a dole because they don't have enough coal to run the steel blast furnaces.

It is this economic background that I want you to keep in mind when I tell you that the trade union movement in France today is completely in the hands of the Communist Party apparatus, that the trade union movement of France has become a political instrument that the Communist Party uses as an instrument for blackmail against any kind of French Government. And I tell you that in the free trade union movement you once had in France, which today has 6,000,000 people, there is no longer a free trade union movement in the real international sense of the word. The trade union movement has, as one French newspaper said, "become the fourth power in France."

I was an observer for the A. F. of L. in the C.G.T. convention, the convention of the French trade union movement in April, where the leaders of the French trade union movement, especially Monsieur Frachou, as distinct from Monsieur Jouhaux, who is a free trade unionist and an old friend of ours. Mr. Frachou is the Communist Party member and an illegal secretary of the Communist Party during the resistance movement. He was the one who told the workers, who told the delegates that they were counter-revolutionary because they did not want to accept the wages that the C.G.T. had gotten for them, that they wanted a wage increase. Yes, this is what happens to a trade union movement which is originally built on the basis of fighting for economic interests of the workers. When that becomes a political instrument the workers can't even say that they are for wage increases.

But two months later in Paris, in France, this same Mr. Frachou, this same trade unionist said: "We want a 25 per cent wage increase." Why? Because it was two days before the political election in France, and they used these demands not to fight, not to get any results through collective bargaining, but to use it as an instrument of political blackmail to get votes and to perhaps get control of the government.

I know that there are many newspaper men who come back from France and say that the Communist danger is over. I say the Communist danger in France is not over. It is not over because France is the immediate key to the future of Europe in the present post-war struggle between the forces of democracy and totalitarianism, and although the tide of Communism has been temporarily halted and has receded somewhat, the French Communist Party remains the second largest party and has succeeded in capturing the trade union movement. Through this control of the economic centers of France the Communist Party can and has prevented any French Government from taking an all-out stand for democracy as against totalitarianism.

The significance of the control of the free trade union movement by a Communist political party is that it can utilize its economic strength, not to take power yet, because its army is not yet ready to take France, but it uses its power to prevent the crystallization of the democratic forces in France definitely on the side of democracy as against totalitarianism.

This, I think, is the great political lesson in France, which is the key to the future of democracy in the immediate sense in Europe today. However, let me point out that there are many forces in the French trade union movement that understand this problem. A great, vast percentage of the workers of France are anti-Communist or non-Communist, and they want to build a free trade union movement. They are making progress, but they need help, they need aid, they need your moral backing as an international force.

It is important as a trade union movement that we speak out in the world and that we tell the world we are interested in their fight and in their struggle, because they are fighting with bare hands against the machine, against facilities and against money that is tremendous in its scope.

Let me say in addition to France that Germany also remains as the long-run fundamental problem in Europe. It is Europe's industrial heart, with its 65,000,000 people living in the center of Europe. The recent elections have shown that there are democratic elements in the trade unions, the Social Democratic Party and certain sections of the Christian Party which are struggling to rebuild a democratic Germany. American Military Government, through its self-confessed policy of neutrality and its suicidal Morgenthau economics, has acted as a brake on the trade union and truly democratic forces of Germany. It is to be hoped that in the light of the Byrnes speech at Stuttgart we will begin to move toward a more positive and dynamic program of democracy in Germany.

I will not spend much more time on Germany, since there will be two other speakers, Joe Keenan and Henry Rutz, who will deal with this problem. But I want to point out one thing, that in Germany today there are democratic forces, there are people who are willing to accept the guilt of Germany as a nation. There are democratic forces who are ready to pay the necessary reparations, but they also want to know that after they pay there is some possible hope to live on a democratic basis. We cannot permit the democratic forces in Germany to be saddled with the burden of misery and unemployment, or we will have 1919 and 1920 all over again. I say this, not because I am bleeding for the Germans as Germans, I am not bleeding for any people as any kind of a nationality, but I say as humanitarians, I say as a labor movement that we did not fight this war to replace one kind of atrocities by new atrocities. We did not fight this war to avenge the 6,000,000 Jews who were killed and whose lives cannot be brought back by creating a basis of hate and vengeance that will create another war.

I do not believe that the world can long endure with another war or going from one concentration camp to another.

I also want to say a few words about little Austria, which lies between the East and the West, known, as some people have said, as the cockpit of Europe. There in Austria, after 12 years of totalitarianism, after 12 years of Nazi aggression you have a free united trade union, you have the revival of the Socialist and People's Parties, which are essentially democratic parties, and you have

the failure of the Communists to get even 5 per cent of the political vote. But there you have a country in which, in my opinion, the people are economically worse off than any other country in Europe today. It has the least amount of food. There you can see starvation. Starvation usually hides its face, but in Austria and Vienna you can see it in the eyes of the people, in their faces, you can see it in the actions of the workers who work at the bench on 1,200 calories a day, which is less than an average meal of an American.

These democratic forces must not be starved, or the world will be starved politically and democratically.

I say that, as contrasted to Germany the Military Government has done an excellent job under the administration of General Clark. But to split Austria into four zones is a monstrosity, it is the splitting of the political atom and is the cause in many ways for the economic situation that you have in Austria today.

I think that American labor, the American Federation of Labor, must do everything in its power to help feed the leading trade union people of Austria and Germany, in order to keep them alive for this political fight that we are having for democracy in Europe today. We must also, as a government, see to it that Austria for the next two or three years can have some kind of economic basis to recover its former normal prosperous position in the world.

Lastly, let me say that my most refreshing experience—yes, my most refreshing experience in all of Europe—was a visit to Great Britain. In spite of the miserable weather, the very bad coffee, the terrible food, I say that Great Britain is the most refreshing political experience in all of Europe today, and I further say that Great Britain is the alternative to a totalitarian Europe. I say that if British labor fails, then democracy in Europe will fail, whereas if British labor wins and can create some kind of a collective society in England based upon democracy, you will be able to save Europe, because we must face the fact that in Europe today, what we know as free enterprise or what we know as capitalism no longer exists.

But the issue is whether the future will be a democratic one or a totalitarian one, and it is in that spirit that I say that American labor, the American Federation of Labor must know that, in spite of all the things we do not agree with in Great Britain, in spite of all the differences we have with British labor, we must understand that what Great Britain is trying to do is the answer in Europe today for a democratic Europe and for eventually, I hope, a peaceful world. Europe today can no longer engage in its former nationalist struggles, and that is why I believe that the Wallace affair was a very disastrous turn in terms of American prestige and the future of world peace.

I was still in Europe when Wallace let go with his blast against American foreign policy. Its effect was disastrous in Europe and caused consternation and fear. It was interpreted as a new form of American isolationism. Furthermore, it is my considered opinion that Wallace's policy leads to war, while Byrnes'



recent speeches indicate the only possibility for real peace and justice in Europe. I believe, in spite of all the differences that we may have, in spite of all the mistakes made in American foreign policy in the past, as between the Stuttgart speech of Byrnes and the blast of Mr. Wallace, the future of peace lies with the developing foreign policy of Secretary Byrnes. And let me also say that just as America is beginning to move toward a new foreign policy, it is necessary for American labor to adopt a new and fundamental foreign policy. We can no longer divorce our domestic problems as a trade union movement from the affairs of Europe and from the affairs of the world.

The key to Europe rests with labor. The extent to which trade unions develop along free trade union lines will determine in large measure what the final decision of Europe will be in the basic struggle between dictatorship and democracy.

In this battle the American Federation of Labor can play a more decisive and strategic role than any other section of American society. By supporting morally and materially the forces of the non-Communist Left in Europe, illustrated in part by the magnificent program of the British Labor Government's program, the American Federation of Labor and America can lend not only encouragement and hope but can create the basis for lasting peace and democracy in Europe.

I thank you.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Thank you, Brother Brown, for your magnificent address and for the information you have brought to us, and for the educational benefits which you so well and so ably presented to this convention.

Now I want to introduce to you Maj. Henry Rutz, who is a member of the International Typographical Union and of the American Federation of Teachers. He spent 18 months in Germany as an executive officer of the Manpower Division of the United States forces in the American theatre. I present to you with a feeling of pleasure Maj. Henry Rutz.

### MAJOR HENRY RUTZ

President Green, Secretary Meany, Executive Council members, delegates and friends. I am very grateful to have been given the opportunity for the next 15 minutes to tell the story of the rebirth of free democratic trade unions in Germany. It is a story which is encouraging when one considers how rapidly after our occupation old-time union leaders were found with plans all ready for an organizational drive and when one considers the remarkable growth in membership the new movement enjoyed. It is a discouraging story, however, when one realizes the hardships which now face this young movement and the struggle it will have to go through to remain democratic and prevent domination by a political party.

The first stimulus to a revival of trade unions in Germany was provided by General Eisenhower's broadcast to German workers upon our armies' entrance into the Rhineland

when workers were called upon to sabotage the Nazi war machine in every possible way, thereby hastening the end of this most costly war. They were told that after Nazism and militarism were defeated, German workers would be given the privilege of organizing under democratic principles and suggesting the democratic role these associations would assume in a post-war Germany.

Shortly after that, during the winter 1944-45, when the first large city was captured, the city of Aachen, some 20 men and women, representing that many trades, requested Military Government to recognize them as a committee to organize the first union in any German city since May, 1933, when the unions were destroyed and their leaders jailed. Military Government examined their petition and granted their request.

The following spring, after the crossing of the Rhine and during the rapid disintegration of the Wehrmacht, many other industrial centers, such as Karlsruhe, Mannheim, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, were uncovered and everywhere the same pattern prevailed—groups of workers had already informally organized themselves as committees and asked that they be permitted to form unions.

Who were these people who now wanted to be recognized? Most of them were experienced trade unionists who were active in the labor movement in the pre-Hitler days. They were the fortunate ones who had not been liquidated. I met with such a group in Frankfurt which was typical of the others. Fourteen had assembled in a little room which they called their office. I had a roll call and asked what they had done during the past 12 years. Out of the 14, 8 had been in concentration camps or prisons. None had held any responsible jobs in the Nazi regime; none had become party members. Those who were permitted to work at all worked at menial labor. Some had been in hiding and in underground work. The same was found to be true in Stuttgart, in Mannheim, Munich and in other industrial centers—the leaders had long records of Nazi opposition. Highlighting the resistance effort was the participation of a large number of the most prominent labor leaders in the July, 1944, plot to overthrow Hitler.

Military Government, however, was reluctant to authorize the actual organization of trade unions until September, 1945, concentrating instead on limiting employee representation to the election of plant stewards. After September, Military Government promulgated a set of directives which required that the initiative for labor organization stem directly from the workers rather than from the former leaders believing such procedures would insure a movement from basic worker levels. This, incidentally, pleased the ultra-left elements, as a delay in official trade union approval would furnish time for these undemocratic left elements to capture the unions.

However, this year some of these restrictions were relaxed and the labor movement now is in full swing. Today over 800,000 have become members in the U. S. zone exclusive of the Bremen Enclave and the U. S. sector of Berlin.

What characteristics have these new organizations assumed? Two differences are noted



from the pre-Hitler unions. The main difference was that the bitter experience of a divided labor movement during the Weimar Republic firmly convinced former unionists that such a division must not be allowed to reappear. The Social Democratic, the Catholic Christian, and liberal Hirsch-Duncker union leaders agreed they wanted a united labor movement not linked to any political or religious group and have joined in a common effort to maintain unity in organization. To all outward appearances the spirit of harmony has persisted despite the differences among political parties.

The other change is the accelerated trend towards industrial unionism. Here a battle has developed between the adherents of autonomous industrial unions federated on State and local levels whose affiliates possess complete autonomy over the management of their internal affairs, and the adherents to the one big union idea where constituent industrial groups are departments to which authority is delegated by the top central committee with whom final authority rests. The latter plan prevails in the Russian occupied zone of Germany. In the U. S. zone old-time union leaders have successfully fought the one big union idea and with but few exceptions where Communist influence is noted the autonomous industrial union has developed.

These unions are of the multiple industrial type averaging about 15 in number. All persons employed in a single industry or several interrelated industries, whether manual workers, clerical employees or supervisory personnel, are admitted only to the respective industrial union. In general, white-collar unions exist only in the sense that some unions cover business fields where salaried employees and professionals are most numerous. A jurisdictional dispute, however, has developed between the clerical employees and the other industrial unions in some American areas. The Metal Trades Union has all workers in machine shops, battery works, auto and radio industries, and tin and sheet metal plants. Government Workers Union has jurisdiction over all persons in government except the publicly owned railroads and communications. Transportation includes street railways, river barges, trucks, but excluding the aforementioned railways. In all, 15 main industrial groupings will be found, with slight variations in the other occupied zones.

The significant role which labor organizations can assume in the reconstruction of a democratic and peace-loving Germany is indicated by their objectives and activities. Unions have emphasized the promotion of peaceful international understanding, rigorous denazification of all public and private institutions, the establishment of economic democracy, the reeducation of the German people in democratic ways with special emphasis on youth and the eradication of Nazi ideology and militarism. To safeguard and promote the social and economic interests of the working population, the unions seek to achieve an improvement in the general level of living, the enactment of protective social and labor legislation, the most favorable working conditions and the expansion and reorganization of the social insurance system. These principles, which are contained in all new union consti-

tutions, generally approximate those of labor organizations in other democratic countries.

But the unions are facing increased hardships and there is a danger that their roll of taking the lead in democratizing Germany may be impaired.

Wages have been frozen by Military Government as of date of occupation but price increases have been permitted. It is now impossible for many workers to buy with their weekly income what their meager ration cards permit. The cheap 15 pfennig cigar which workers smoke now costs 1 mark because of taxation. Only skilled workers earn 1 mark per hour. Only weak beer or no beer is available, which especially hits the German factory worker, who was accustomed to drink it with his black bread and cheese. The daily food ration of the average worker is 1,250 calories—some heavy workers get more. That is as much as the average American eats for one meal.

The bombing of Germany hit the workers more than any other class. In the cities they are living 2.2 persons per room. Because of lack of transportation workers walk long distances to and from work. Lack of work shoes and work clothing is causing high absenteeism. Lack of coal for heating purposes will mean cold homes this winter as it did last winter. Add to this the uncertainty as to the Allied policy for Germany—whether it is to be completely de-industrialized and made an agricultural country throwing millions into unemployment—and you have a growing picture of hopelessness and despair.

Under such conditions democratic labor leaders have found it difficult to play their prescribed roles of being the builders of a new peaceful Germany. But to date they have been able to keep their unions democratic in the United States zone—democratic in spite of the vast amount of literature which is sent into our zone from the Russian sector of Berlin daily, advocating one-big union; in spite of the literature peddled in our zone advocating a unified workers party on totalitarian lines such as was forced through in the Russian zone, in spite of the money and speakers which are sent into our zone to do work within the unions. In spite of the lack of office space in which unions' business can be performed, lack of typewriters and mimeograph machines to provide answers to foreign programs. Only this last August did Military Government finally approve a newspaper in each of the three states of the United States zone so that these unions could have their own mouthpiece.

Help is needed. They want news of the trade union movements of other countries, especially America. They have had a complete blackout on all news about labor outside of the Reich for 12 years. The German language bulletin the A. F. of L. published recently was welcomed everywhere. They have asked me many questions about leaders of the A. F. of L. whose names they remembered from before 1933. They appreciated Brother Joseph Keenan's work and met with him often for advice and assistance. The job the A. F. of L. representative for Europe, Brother Irving Brown, did was invaluable. He was the only labor representative not connected with government who gave them encouragement at a

time when it was sorely needed. I don't know what would have happened if these two had not been there. German union leaders are begging that this work continue. They want visits from our top leaders to discuss their problems and, what is more, to receive the assurance that American labor is behind their efforts to keep German labor democratic.

Everyone agrees that German war potential must be thoroughly destroyed, that militarism must be wiped out, that nazism be completely eradicated—and that all those responsible for the war be severely punished. But unless German workers can be led to see the prospect of a better future, the social and political chaos in Germany will increase, democracy will fail and Germany will become the center of infection that will poison all of Europe.

It is late—it is 5 minutes till 12, but the situation can still be saved. Free German labor is looking for understanding and needs assistance from this great body, the American Federation of Labor. This is the organization, the only organization, which can lend the helping hand to democratic German labor and yet save the day.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I thank Major Rutz for his splendid address which he delivered this afternoon. Now I will call upon our very dear friend, Joseph Keenan, who spent almost two years in Germany and has served in very important positions there as an advisor to General Clay and in other ways. He came in close contact with the representatives of the free German trade union organizations. We all deeply appreciate the value of the service he rendered labor while in Germany. I know he has an interesting story to tell you and I will introduce him to you now—Brother Joseph Keenan, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

#### MR. JOSEPH D. KEENAN

President Green, delegates and friends to this convention: As President Green has stated, a year ago last May the United States Control Council started to recruit and set up in Paris a unit for trying to get agreement of the four nations for a policy to be applied to Germany. I was selected at that time as civilian representative of the Manpower Division, whose duty it was to try to establish what we would call here in the United States the Labor Department, and try to reenact the laws that were enforced prior to 1933, try to restore Social Security which, in Germany, had reached the highest point of any nation in the world. They had unemployment compensation, old age pensions, welfare benefits, sick benefits that they were paying almost up to the time of surrender. When the Nazis took over they confiscated all of the funds, all of the property, and all of the machinery of the trade unions. It was necessary for our government to set up what we call the Military Government. Military Government as a unit was attached to the combat units. They followed in behind the combat units and established governments in cities as they were freed.

The Control Council was set up for the

purpose of establishing laws and rules that would be passed down to the Military Government for enactment and for the operating of the cities and states as they were liberated. Naturally when I arrived there on Surrender Day there was a great deal of confusion and a great deal of feeling. It was pretty hard for combat units that only a few hours before were fighting for their lives on the battlefield to change their attitude and their feeling within a few hours.

Speaking about the Military Government units, many times they were established in towns, and on counter offensives they were driven out. You might say that they, too, were combat units, and feeling was running very high. As I said before, the situation was quite confused.

There were very few labor people who were available. In some towns that had been freed along the Rhine River and east of the Rhine some labor people had showed up and they had started to form their organizations. But I must add at this time that Military Government was comprised of people recruited from all walks of life, particularly from business, from colleges, from the Labor Department and from other organizations that had to do with administering labor laws in this country. Very few were practical trade unionists. They had their ideas, they had their own views as to how they were going to restore the German trade unions and how they were going to administer the labor part of the restored German government. It was an uphill fight for the few trade unionists who were there. They met obstacles at almost every turn.

I can well remember the first document that was brought forth for the establishment of trade unions in Germany. It consisted of 23 pages, and in one paragraph they would say that you could organize a union if you did so-and-so, and on the other side they would tell you that if you did such-and-such a thing you could not organize a trade union. So it was just a state of complete confusion.

After a few months we were able to see the light of day and we were able to establish some few simple directives that would allow trade unions to get started.

It was true that General Eisenhower had made many promises prior to Surrender Day, but they were like many of the promises that the propagandists of Hitler had used, and we who were practical trade unionists did not take them too seriously, although there were many people in the Military Government of Germany who felt that that was an order.

You want to remember also that under Military Government orders wages, working conditions, the cost of labor, etc., were all frozen. There was very little operation that a trade union could carry on, and it was just necessary for us to find the light of day.

The first thing we tried to establish was communications, and at that date there wasn't a bridge standing in Germany. It was necessary to build railroad bridges in order to get the railroads operating. It was necessary to try to get some steel and other vitally important materials in order to build the bridges. It was necessary then to hire labor. Our first act was to allow the secret election of stewards. The stewards were elected and

they were allowed, after the secret ballot, to carry on everyday dealings with the employers that had to do with grievances. We waited from July until late in September to try to form the Control Council, which was made up of the four governments, and there again we encountered a slow, tedious process. I just can't explain, but you can imagine going into a meeting with four nations, and three different languages spoken. You say a few words and then it is interpreted in French and then in Russian, and back and forth in that manner, so that an ordinary question that would only take a few minutes would take hours of discussion before final decisions were made. There was practically no progress made until shortly after the first of the year.

I returned to Germany shortly after the first of the year and in the six months between July and January 1 there were quite a number of trade unionists who had come forward. You went to remember that on May 1, 1933, Hitler took over, and on May 2, he immediately started to take over all of the trade unions in Germany. They threw most of the leaders in jail, kept them there a few months and released them. Then it was a continuing process, putting them in and taking them out, so they never knew where they were. When I left here early in 1945 I went to some of the leading trade unionists in America who had come from Germany. I got their names and addresses and I went to those towns where these men came from and asked about them. The general answer was, "He disappeared in 1937," "He disappeared in 1938," "He was killed in 1939," so we had nothing to work on for the first three or four months of 1945 after surrender.

We also had a document that you and I as trade unionists could not work under. It was known as SHAEF Document No. 1067, or the Morgenthau Plan. Under that plan they intended to strip Germany of everything conceivable, and it is quoted in this report that they completely do away with the coal mines in the Ruhr. Anyone who would go to Germany for a few hours and understand the part that the coal mines of the Ruhr play in the life of all of Europe would know that the report was completely absurd, because there are 28 nations in Europe today that are dependent upon the Ruhr for coal. I was in Italy in July, 1945, and at that time they were not going to get one pound of coal. You can't imagine going into those power plants and finding the machinery in perfect condition, yet standing idle because of the lack of coal. All through Italy during June, July and August of 1945 their industry was at a standstill because of the lack of coal. I attended a conference last April in Paris where 28 unions were making a call on the coal produced in the Ruhr, and at that time production, due to the lack of food, had fallen off 50 per cent. The Ruhr in peacetime produces in the neighborhood of 140,000,000 tons of coal. Today they are producing a little over 60,000,000 tons, and the hope of getting more is very, very doubtful.

First, of course, is the food. When I left Germany this time the miners were getting 2,500 calories a day, and here in America the

average food consumption by miners is between 3,500 and 5,500 calories a day.

I also want to point out that the German people never worked at the face of the mines. They imported their labor from Poland, from Czechoslovakia and from Italy. During the war, when they were short of manpower they put what we call displaced persons or forced labor into the mines, and when these people were liberated on Surrender Day they forced all of the people who had formerly come of their own free will out of the mines.

It was necessary for us to recruit from the beginning the people necessary to carry on these mining operations.

If some food and relief is not given I am afraid all of Europe will go through one of the most terrible winters in all history.

I would also like to report on the progress of the trade unions in Germany. I, like the former speakers, feel that if America and the American Federation of Labor take just one little bit of interest in Germany, there is no danger of Germany coming under the domination of any totalitarian state. It is the one place in Europe where there is hope, and I might say that General Eisenhower and all of the leading military people in our country, when they were planning the occupation of Germany in 1944 and 1945, their first intention, their first objective was to try to reorganize and revive the trade unions, because, they thought it was the only force that we could start to build democracy on.

On that premise I was called back last January, and General Clay, who is Deputy Administrator or Deputy Governor of Germany, asked me to spend my whole time with the trade unions. My job was to get them organized, to get them in a position so that they could be a force against any kind of oppression, no matter where it might come from. That was a very, very tough job to give anyone, due to conditions.

The first meeting we had in Germany of the three states or three "Lands" was on April 12th. We arranged a committee of 15 from three units that make up the American Zone, and at that meeting on that Sunday morning, which was the first time that these men had ever assembled in the trade union meeting of any kind since prior to May, 1933, it was certainly a sight. Most of these men thought the others were dead. Almost everyone who attended that meeting was well over 65 years of age, but they still had that will to go ahead, they still had that urge and still wanted the mines to continue some way or somehow, where they were so suddenly shut off in 1933.

They asked the Military Government to do certain things, and I must admit that the Military Government had been pretty harsh with them for quite some time, and it was difficult. They had to travel on foot. With 1,000 to 1,200 calories of food a day their vitality was not very high, and they had to move about. There were block points and restrictions here and there, and in order to get permits they had to sit around the offices for hours at a time. It was very discouraging at the moment, but at that meeting, with the help of the Military Government, we were able to remove many of the restrictions and

give them a certain amount of liberty and free-wheeling to get them about to do the job that the American Government was vitally interested in.

On May 1, the first convention was held in Greater Hesse, and at that time 20 national unions were formed. I might state that today in all of the three "Lands" in Germany where unions have been formed they have elected permanent officers, and steps have been taken to amalgamate them into a zone-wide organization.

I have just received a most encouraging report from General Clay on the status of free unions in our zone, as of September 30. It reads as follows:

### STATEMENT OF PROGRESS OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION IN THE U. S. ZONE

#### I. Trade Union Development

##### 1. Industrial Trade Union Organization

a. As of 15 August, 1946, trade unions in the U. S. Zone, excluding Bremen and Berlin, have enrolled 791,000 members. The preliminary formation of Land industrial unions, which commenced approximately three months ago, is virtually complete. Of the planned 43 Land organizations, all but two have been provisionally established. A status report on developments in each Land is presented below.

b. Bavaria. Organizing committees have been elected and tentative constitutions adopted for 13 contemplated Land industrial unions. Military government has approved applications to form these organizations. Between 19 and 25 August, 1946, five regional conferences of representatives from local unions in each Regierungsbezirk will meet to discuss procedures for the election of officials and ratification of constitutions by the membership. Completion of membership action by 30 September is anticipated.

c. Württemberg-Baden. Land union conventions have drafted constitutions and have elected provisional officials for all 15 planned Land industrial unions. Membership is now acting on proposed constitutions.

d. Greater Hesse. Military government has approved applications to form 13 of the 15 contemplated Land unions. At 11 Land union assemblies, draft constitutions were adopted and provisional officials were elected. As in the other Länder, membership action must precede military government recognition of the Land organizations. One of the 15 planned unions, the Mine Workers Union, may not be formed owing to the small employment in this industry (2,798 workers). (See TAB "A.")

##### 2. Federations of Land Industrial Unions

a. Württemberg - Baden. Delegates elected from the local unions of the 15 Land-wide unions met in Stuttgart 30 August-1 September and formed a Land-wide federation.

b. Greater Hesse. Similar action was taken by the industrial trade unions in Frankfurt on 24 and 25 August, 1946.

c. Bavaria. A Land provisional committee has been established to work out plans for similar action.

##### 3. Zonal Industrial Trade Unions and Zonal Trade Union Federations

a. As soon as similar industrial trade unions in each Land are organized, they may request permission for amalgamation into zone-wide industrial trade unions. To discuss common problems, including organizational matters, an informal Zonal Trade Union Committee of nine (three representatives from each Land) has been meeting from time to time since May, 1946. One of the earliest decisions of this committee was to recommend that a maximum number of 15 industrial unions be established in each Land. As the list of Land unions indicates, the similarity of several Land organizations, such as the metal unions, will facilitate eventual amalgamation but, in other instances, the Zonal Committee may suggest certain structural modifications designed to permit amalgamation. Active measures by unions to form zonal industrial unions will necessarily be deferred until the organization of Land unions is complete.

b. As soon as two or more zonal industrial trade unions have been organized, they may be permitted to federate within the zones if so desired by the members of these trade unions. If, however, developments permit a genuine treatment of Germany as an economic unit, zonal federation of industrial trade unions will be discouraged since the American Zone is not a normal political subdivision or an economic area. Amalgamation of industrial trade unions with other zones will be encouraged.

##### 4. Relations of U. S. Zonal Trade Unions with Trade Unions of Other Zones

a. There have been several inter-zonal meetings where representatives of trade unions of the U. S. Zone have visited the British Zone. There has been at least one unofficial meeting of trade union leaders from the French, U. S., British Zones and Berlin.

#### II. Collective Bargaining

There is considerable evidence that unions and employers are engaging in collective bargaining to a considerable

degree. The only agreements required to be forwarded to Manpower Division, Berlin, are those where there is some question of violation of quadripartite policy.

The most vigorous bargaining has involved wages. The field here, however, has been greatly restricted by quadripartite action freezing wages. The Manpower Directorate has recommended some relaxation of the wage freeze. Approval of this action by the Coordinating Committee will permit a wider field for collective bargaining.

Recently employers and unions in many lines of work in the three Länder have agreed upon a reduction in hours with partial compensation through an increase in wage rates. So far it has not been possible to approve these agreements because they are not within wage policies.

Reports indicate that there has been considerable collective bargaining regarding paid vacations and legal holidays.

### III. Employers' Associations

1. Labor Committee and Economic Committee of the Länderrat are discussing and working out the form of employers' associations for the purpose of collective bargaining. It is anticipated that some time in the near future an agreement will be reached on the form of the organization and that preliminary steps can be started with a view to organizing employers' associations for these purposes.

### IV. Trade Union Activity in Army Installations

1. Under military government regulations all employees and workers employed by the American Occupying Forces and their agencies, including policemen and firemen, have the right to organize and conduct their normal and legal union activities.
2. Action will be taken by manpower officers to correct any misunderstanding or deviation from this policy coming to their attention.

### V. Press and Other Media of Communications

1. Attached is a copy of the latest policy permitting trade unions to publish their own newspapers. (See TAB "B.") This policy has been relaxed to permit the publication of a trade journal 13 by 18½ inches, to consist of 16 pages.
2. Licenses have been granted for the issuance of a trade union publication in each of the three Länder. Attached are copies of first issues of Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden and Greater Hesse (see TAB "C").

### VI. Trade Union Buildings and Accommodations

1. Twelve buildings have been made available for the use of unions in

Württemberg-Baden and others will be made available as required. The Fiat Building, Frankfurt, will be made available to the unions about 20 September, 1946.

2. Theater policy with respect to trade union accommodations as set forth in letters 9 April, 5 July, and 4 September, 1946, will result in necessary accommodations for the trade unions in the American Zone. (See TAB "D," "E" and "F.")

### VII. Transportation and Other Facilities

1. The essential requirements of the unions with respect to automobiles, tires, gasoline and other accessories are being met.
2. Within the limits of available supplies the unions are obtaining office furniture and equipment; however, procurements in this regard are far short of their requirements.

### VIII. Final Disposition of Trade Union Property

1. The return of former trade union funds and final transfer of property is pending quadripartite action. Attached is copy of paper approved by Coordinating Committee which will permit zone commanders to take necessary action. (See TAB "G.")

Meetings have been carried on for the last two months with the British, with the hope of amalgamating the American and British zones, as far as labor is concerned, into one unit. We feel once that is accomplished, we then would be able to influence the French to follow along, and if the Russians are not concerned we will at least have unity on labor's side of it in three zones. And I feel sure that once that is accomplished the Russians will come along.

I want to say a few words on the conditions in Germany and the conditions under which they had to work. I wish you could just imagine about 20 of our leading cities in the United States, and then imagine them about 85 per cent destroyed, maybe one city in all of the 20 without a headquarters of the trade unions left standing. In most cases they are completely destroyed. For the last year and a half they have had no typewriters, no paper, no mimeograph machines. It was necessary to do all of their organizing on foot. In the last four or five months we have been able to release typewriters, automobiles, paper, etc., and aid them wherever we could in getting them started to do the everyday work that a trade union is supposed to do.

Today this American Federation of Labor is one of the most important units in the world, and I don't believe you understand the power that you have in your hands, the power and influence that you can place all over the world if you use it.

We today are in the happy position that we have surpluses of most everything that is necessary to make our economy move. In all the other countries of the world they are starving, they need food, they need materials, they need everything that is necessary that we have surpluses of.

In discussing this question on my return home most everybody I meet wants to run away from it. They are satisfied to "let George do it," and if you let George do it, in a few years from now you will pay the price. But we ought to take an interest in all of the trade union people in Europe, Asia and Africa, not only in Europe, because all of the countries of Europe are in the same state. Our leading officers, our international officers should visit these countries and see the conditions prevailing there first-hand. You can't run these countries with a Gallup poll or by absentee management. You people know what it is in labor relations, trying to deal with absentee management, and that is the case over there. You must go over and see the conditions first-hand and give them hope and something to go forward with.

As Major Rutz has told you, the German people are concerned today in how long the Americans are going to stay. They are wondering if they are going to be there just for a few years and leave them. If that should be the case, I am sure Germany will have no other place to go but to the people they do not want to go. But if we are to maintain a force over there, it is going to require the support of organizations such as ours.

I know there is going to be an economy wave in Congress, and, of course, when we get to an economy wave the first place they are going to cut is on your occupying forces. They will be withdrawn, and just as soon as they are withdrawn the other people will start to work.

We are going to have to maintain an Army. Whether we can maintain an Army on a voluntary basis or not, I don't know. Your guess is as good as mine, but I think we should be concerned and we should start to think about how we can maintain an Army large enough if voluntary methods do not prevail.

We must have a plan that we can put in operation. We just can't be against and let it go at that.

I think the American Federation of Labor can carry the torch in bringing about understanding and relief all over the world. I have spent a great deal of time with your Executive Council and with Mr. Woll's committee, talking this matter over, and they have already made many constructive moves. I know that this convention will go into this matter, they will give it a great deal of study, and I know from past history that when the American Federation of Labor goes into these problems that are so important to all the world, we need have no fear or doubt about the results.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** You have listened with a deep sense of appreciation to these splendid addresses that have been made this afternoon. I know that they must have been a revelation to you, a revelation in this sense, that these, our associates, capable men who have been spending so much time in Germany, are closely related to the Federation of Labor and have been working with the Federation in Germany and in other countries in Continental Europe. So it has been the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor which has been rendering this excellent service to the masses of the people in these Nazi-controlled and Fascist-controlled nations of Continental Europe.

I might say to you that we have conferred with Brother Keenan and others frequently. Our Executive Council has given the subject matter careful consideration from time to time. We have been trying to find ways and means by which and through which, we, the American Federation of Labor, can render additional service to our brothers in Europe, who need our help so badly.

I am pleased to report to you now that Vice President Doherty, of the Letter Carriers' International Union, and Brother Israel Feinberg, who holds a responsible position with the International Ladies' Garment Workers, will leave for Germany within the next few days for the purpose of serving as ambassadors from the American Federation of Labor to the working people of Germany.

I have asked Vice President Woll to make an announcement following the conclusion of my brief remarks, and he will tell you what we are planning to do and what we are doing now in the way of helping to supply them with food.

I have already told you, and it is in the record, that labor, through the League for Human Rights, has already sent in excess of \$135,000,000 worth of food to the starving workers of Europe. Who can deny that we are internationally minded? What we are interested in is to lay the foundation sound, solid and secure, of free democratic trade union movements in Continental Europe. We want the people of those defeated countries to be free people. We want each of them to establish their own form of government in accordance with their own wishes, based upon the very fundamental principles of freedom, liberty and justice.

In order to make that complete, we want the trade unions in these democratic countries to be free unions, not government unions dominated by some totalitarian form of government or by some dictator.

And what a service we are rendering, what a service we will continue to render! We are going to carry on the work. Our resources will be used, all that we can do and will do in order to establish freedom, liberty and democracy and free democratic trade unions in Europe will be done.

Our good friend, Irving Brown, is going back and Brother Keenan will likely go back. Vice President Doherty and Brother Feinberg will be on their way there soon. Other tried and true, tested representatives of the American Federation of Labor will carry the story and the message to the down-trodden, defeated free working people of Europe.

What other movement in the world is doing the job that the American Federation of



Labor is doing in order to help these down-trodden people? I am pleased to note the response that has been made to these wonderful addresses and to understand from the expressions on your faces your deep interest in this great cause of Europe.

Now I want Vice President Woll to tell you just briefly something about what we are trying to do to meet the material needs of these poor, starving people of Europe.

**VICE PRESIDENT WOLL:** Mr. President and friends, at the solicitation of the Permanent Committee on International Labor Relations, which has been kept fully informed of all developments going on in Europe, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its last meeting decided to request organized labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor—that is, its affiliated national and international unions—to make a voluntary contribution to a fund out of which to send food packages to the officers of trade unions in Germany and in Austria. The Executive Council is prompted in that appeal to the affiliates for the reason that those who are looking after the trade union developments in Austria and in Germany are receiving no compensation of any kind. Their trade unions are too weak, too poverty stricken to give them any compensation, hence, it behooves us to try to maintain them while they are carrying on that work.

It is our purpose to send 500 packages each month to the trade union officers in Germany and in Austria. They cost \$10 a package. We expect to send, as I say, 500 packages a month.

The American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, has made the first contribution of \$5,000, and those 500 packages of food are already on their way.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers has made a contribution of \$5,000, and its packages will go on their way the following month.

I have the assurance of President Harrison, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, that they will make a \$5,000 contribution, and those packages will go on their way.

We have been given to understand that John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, has pledged \$5,000 to this fund and that will be on its way.

A number of other international unions have taken the matter up with their executive boards, and we hope before long that we will be assured not only for this year but for some time thereafter, of maintaining the trade union leaders while they are carrying on the work of organization. We hope thereafter to follow up with a general appeal to organized labor as a whole for the sending of food packages to the organized workers of Germany and Austria and in other places where they may not have sufficient to keep them alive,

and to illustrate that the American Federation of Labor is deeply interested and concerned in their well-being. I hope that every affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, every national and international union, large or small, will make a contribution to that end. We solicit the cooperation of every state federation of labor and central labor union and local union to that end.

That is the plan we have for the relief of the poverty-stricken trade unions in Europe. We are trying to bring hope to them, to help them build up a free trade union movement, to put them on the way where they may take care of their own well-being and the destinies of their own lives thereafter.

Let us all join in that great work, that great appeal.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I want to thank the delegates for the magnificent addresses they have delivered.

Now, I will take advantage of this opportunity to present Dr. Connors of the Workers' Education Bureau for his report to this convention.

You know, the Director of the Bureau makes a report to each convention of the American Federation of Labor. I will call on him now to submit the report to the delegates of this convention. Brother Connors has served as Director of the Workers' Education Bureau for a number of years. All of you know him. I am pleased to present him to you now for his report this afternoon.

### REPORT ON WORKERS' EDUCATION

(By John D. Connors, Director of the Workers' Education Bureau of America)

This is the third time since I assumed the directorship of the Workers' Education Bureau that it has been my happy privilege to address a convention of the American Federation of Labor. I am delighted to have this opportunity to make a brief report of the services we have performed and of our plans for the future. Participating in this convention as a delegate from my international union—American Federation of Teachers—affords me an opportunity to learn from you first hand what problems loom as the most urgent in the year that lies ahead. For around these problems must our educational program be built.

During the past week scores of you have stopped at our exhibit in the lobby to select literature and discuss with me your specific workers' education problems and ask me questions concerning the past, present and future program of the Workers' Education Bureau.

This year the Workers' Education Bureau celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its establishment. Last April over 300 union delegates and representatives of workers' educational enterprises and other organizations



from many parts of the country participated in our Silver Anniversary Convention and Conference in New York. These delegates evaluated our work of the past quarter-century and helped us plan our future program. We are conscious of the tremendous challenge presented to us by the unprecedented growth of the organized labor movement.

We have met this challenge to the best of our ability and now that we have passed our twenty-fifth milestone we pledge our utmost efforts to an ever-expanding program of service to the labor movement which we helped to build.

It is not my intention, nor your wish, that I give you a lengthy and detailed account of all the activities of your Workers' Education Bureau since we last met in New Orleans two years ago. Beginning on page 166 of the Executive Council's report there is embodied a chronicle of the labor institutes and conferences we have held throughout the country and of our many other educational services to the national and international unions, state federations, city central bodies and local and federal unions affiliated with the Federation as well as the labor press. This report is being critically examined by your Convention Committee on Education and will be reported to this convention with specific recommendations at a subsequent session.

Instead of boring you with the record of past accomplishments, I prefer to discuss the role the Workers' Education Bureau can play in the future as a dynamic force in building a stronger Federation.

This year the Kentucky Federation of Labor pioneered in establishing the first Department of Research and Education with a full-time staff of three as a permanent department of a state Federation. With an annual budget of over \$20,000, the department carries on a realistic program of classes in shop stewards' and officers' training, public relations activities, research and guidance in governmental agency procedure and union contract negotiations, and publication.

Your Workers' Education Bureau cooperated with them in planning a two weeks' resident Labor School during June. This very successful school carried on courses in collective bargaining, labor legislation, parliamentary law, public speaking, labor history, labor economics and world events.

I have mentioned this program in Kentucky because it is one of the most significant recent developments. Your Workers' Education Bureau is now cooperating with Colorado and Florida Federations of Labor in developing a similar program in these states. We are anxious to help other states in developing a continuing workers' education program for their area.

During the past two years there has been increasing interest among educational institutions in working with organized labor, until today over 80 such institutions are offering programs of workers' education or industrial relations.

The most realistic state-supported project in workers' education that has been developed thus far was initiated at the University of Michigan two years ago. While the university

authorities recognized that they had a responsibility for training the leadership of labor, from the beginning they have placed particular stress on developing a field service which should reach the rank-and-file member of the labor organization. Formal classes and educational discussion groups sessions have been set up at the local level in conjunction with and at the request of the unions themselves.

It is my considered judgment that organized labor should insist that in all university-sponsored labor education programs that labor must have an equal voice from the very beginning in the planning and conduct of the program.

You are all aware of the presence in this country and also in the American labor movement of a considerable amount of racial tension, religious bigotry, and anti-Semitism. There are forces at work setting Protestant against Catholic, Christian against Jew, white against colored, and native Americans against foreign-born citizens. We must continue to wage an unrelenting struggle against these groups responsible for the spreading of this poisonous racial and religious intolerance in our ranks. As President Green has so well said: "I know of only one effective weapon with which ignorance and prejudice can be combated and finally uprooted and that is—education." The full facilities of our Bureau are available to you all in carrying on this important educational job of promoting greater tolerance and understanding among the seven million members of our Federation.

From this rostrum during the past week speaker after speaker has told us of the many problems facing us.

Judge Padway, in a very scholarly address, described the current attempts to impose involuntary servitude upon the American worker.

Speaker after speaker has emphasized the world struggle between the forces of totalitarianism and democracy.

We have heard the role of a free trade union movement eulogized as the chief bulwark in the defense of democracy and of the imperative need for our maintaining and expanding the greatest free trade union movement in the world—the American Federation of Labor.

But, fellow delegates, in all sincerity I should like to raise this question. Is it enough just to talk about these threats to our great democratic heritage?

Should we not in addition to talking about them also be carrying on an active workers' education program to help combat these threats by strengthening our own democratic institutions?

In all honesty, you and I know that with a few notable exceptions very little real workers' education is actually being carried on within our own unions.

Your Workers' Education Bureau has had 25 years' experience in this important work. Our task is to help you. We stand ready and willing to serve you. We are at your service.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We thank Dr. Connors for this splendid, magnificent address which he delivered this afternoon.

Now the Chair will call upon Vice President Knight, chairman of the Adjustment Committee, for report.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

VICE PRESIDENT KNIGHT: President Green, delegates to the sixty-fifth convention: Six resolutions were referred to the Committee on Adjustment—Nos. 42, 47 and 78 in the first day's proceedings, 132 and 158 in the second day's proceedings, and 167 in the third day's proceedings.

Hearings were had on each of them. The committee reached conclusions and Secretary McCurdy will read the report.

Committee Secretary McCurdy submitted the following report:

### Handbag and Luggage Workers vs. Chemical Workers

**Resolution No. 42**—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Frank Albano, Louis Rooney, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The workers of the Buchsbaum plant were originally organized by the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union and remained organized for a period of years in one of its locals known as Novelty Local, No. 44, and

WHEREAS, The said Buchsbaum plant has at all times manufactured and produced wallets, belts, suspenders, and various and sundry leather products and novelties, jurisdiction of which was granted by the American Federation of Labor to the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union, and

WHEREAS, The newly created Chemical Workers International Union has, without ever having made a jurisdictional claim over the said workers or the said shop, taken over the Buchsbaum plant and the workers who were members of Novelty Local No. 44 of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union, and

WHEREAS, Such action by the Chemical Workers International Union is contrary to and in violation of the established principles of the American Federation of Labor in honoring the jurisdiction of, and respecting, protecting and promoting harmony, prestige and growth of all affiliated international unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdiction over such workers has always been properly with the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union and such action of the Chemical International has been in deliberate violation of its obligation to a sister international and in deliberate violation of such sister international's constitution and in deliberate violation of the American Federation of Labor constitution and its established principles, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we disapprove and deplore the action of the Chemical Workers International Union for disregarding and encroaching upon the rights, jurisdiction and prerogatives of its sister international, the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union, and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Chemical Workers International Union be and hereby is in-

structed to relinquish and turn over jurisdiction over the Buchsbaum plant to the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union, where it rightfully belongs, and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council be and hereby is directed to take all necessary steps to give full force and effect to the foregoing.

Representatives of both organizations involved appeared before our committee and discussed the subject matter in the resolution from their respective viewpoints.

Due to complications in the resolution and the indefinite description of the jurisdictions involved, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to President Green for further study of the situation and the calling of the parties together with a view of bringing about a satisfactory adjustment.

I move adoption of the committee's report. The committee's report was unanimously adopted.

### Inter-Recognition of Union Memberships

**Resolution No. 47**—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The 946 convention of the Oregon State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution favoring the interchange of union cards by all American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, The practice of international unions of requiring an applicant for membership in local unions to pay an initiation fee into each union, even if such applicant is a member of a union of another craft, is a hindrance to organization effort and may, in many cases, place an undue and difficult burden upon members of American Federation of Labor unions who desire to change from one craft to another, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor appeals to the international unions to voluntarily consent to receiving, without exaction of an additional initiation fee, the application of anyone who presents evidence of his membership in good standing of another union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That no union under such circumstances shall be required to accept the application of a person unless he be qualified in the craft in which he seeks membership, and that in case a member of one craft seeks membership in a union of a craft having a higher initiation fee, and commanding a higher wage scale, the applicant may be required to pay as an initiation fee the difference between the higher fee of the union to which he seeks membership and the lower fee of the union in which he holds membership.

Your committee discussed Resolution No. 47 carefully and after due consideration recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 78 and Resolution No. 132 were considered jointly by your committee.  
Resolution No. 78 is as follows:

### Molders vs. Auto Workers

**Resolution No. 78**—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The United Automobile Workers' Union, A. F. of L., was granted their charter to organize automobile workers, and

WHEREAS, They have invaded and taken over several of the foundries in Cleveland over which they have no jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, President Green of the A. F. of L., having had this matter brought before him several times, and no action being taken up to the present time, and

WHEREAS, The result of this condition has brought about the situation of our men having to pay dues into two A. F. of L. organizations, and causing considerable trouble and animosity between two unions, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor be instructed to demand the withdrawal of the U. A. W., A. F. of L., from the foundry industries.

Resolution No. 132 is as follows:

### Revocation of Auto Workers Charter

**Resolution No. 132**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of several international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department has been invaded by the United Auto Workers, A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, Conferences held in Washington with the president of that organization have failed to bring about any cessation of this invasion of their jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, These international unions can no longer remain passive under the circumstances, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor take immediate action to revoke the charter of the United Auto Workers, A. F. of L.

Your committee, after hearing the representatives of the organizations involved in the two resolutions, No. 78 and No. 132, recommends that a conference be called by President Green of those involved within 90 days for the purpose of obtaining an agreement between the parties involved, and in case of failure to obtain proper adjustment, President Green refer the matter to the Executive Council.

Committee Secretary McCurdy moved that the report of the committee be adopted.

The motion was seconded.

**DELEGATE STEVENSON**, Molders: For the past six years, or since the Automobile Workers came back home, as we call it, we have had the same kind of resolutions before this convention. The report of the committee is practically the same as at the last conven-

tion except in the part where it provides for the President of the American Federation of Labor, if no adjustment is reached, to take it before the Executive Council.

This has been before the Executive Council. It has been before President Green many times. I asked the committee when I appeared on Resolution No. 78 to kindly ask President Green to give that committee a copy of their jurisdiction, owing to the fact that the delegate who represented the Auto Workers at the committee hearing—stated that they had been given jurisdiction over all foundries in the United States where they made any parts for automobiles.

This is not correct, and I don't know whether the committee carried it out by request, because I know that President Green has told them many, many times to keep out of foundries.

This Resolution No. 78 was adopted at our recent convention and it was even in stronger language than this one. This one is that they would withdraw from the foundry industry. However, the two resolutions are coupled up. There isn't a metal trades organization in this convention, if they will get up on the floor, but will state that this organization has built up its union by invading other international unions.

As stated, many meetings have been held since 1940 but we haven't gotten anywhere. I am satisfied that the President of the American Federation of Labor should insist, when this meeting is called, that they get out of these foundries, and if they don't, then refer the other resolution for revoking the charter to the Executive Council. I think it is time that something should be done on this matter.

I don't like to appear before committees at this convention on a question that we were given jurisdiction over when this American Federation of Labor was brought into being. Members of our organization were present at the formation of the American Federation of Labor, and we don't intend to sit idly by and see another new group come in and invade the jurisdiction which was granted to us.

It is true that some years ago when the American Federation of Labor started to bring about organization in the automobile industry, most of the metal trades agreed, in the automobile production shops such as Chrysler, Ford and the others where they had foundries, that we would agree to waive our jurisdiction on those particular types of foundries. That was done. You all know what happened. I do. They finally went over to the C.I.O. and then came back in, and their charter was given to them for the purpose of making a fight against the C.I.O. automobile people. But they haven't done that; they built up their organization by invading practically every metal trades in this American Federation of Labor, by offering men cheap dues, C.I.O. con-

ditions, A, B, and C mechanics and everything else, and the result is that we find even in the city of Cleveland, in the union foundries that we have, they want to know what we are doing, on account of this being a highly competitive industry. These people come in and underbid us on these castings.

If this thing is forced through this time, I am satisfied with the committee's report, but I don't want to come in here every year, as has been common, and then have it referred to President Green and sometimes to the Executive Council.

So I hope that as a result of this that President Green will tell these people just where their jurisdiction stops, what they are entitled to and also for the other metal trades that are involved in the other resolution calling for revoking of the charter. I hope that at the next convention the President will be able to report to this convention, or the Executive Council, that they have settled this and have asked this organization to turn over the members that rightfully belong to other organizations.

**DELEGATE WASHBURN**, Automobile Workers: Mr. Chairman, I am not opposed to the committee's report, but I only desire to speak on this matter because President Stevenson of the Molders saw fit to speak on it also.

I want to draw the delegates' attention to the convention's action in New Orleans on this same matter. If you will go into the proceedings of that convention you will find that this matter was settled, or a basis for getting along together was arrived at, through conferences with President Green. The agreement that was reached in that conference with President Green was adopted by the Adjustment Committee in the New Orleans Convention. The basis of that agreement was this—that any organization that had a jurisdictional question against another organization would send a representative to talk with the representative of the other organization involved, and if they couldn't reach an agreement the matter would then be referred to President Green. I would like to inform the delegates to this convention that not once since the New Orleans Convention has the President of the Molders Union or any of the representatives ever attempted to meet or talk or even communicate with the United Automobile Workers. So I think the Molders Union and the Metal Trades Council are not properly before this convention with these two resolutions because they haven't lived up to their own procedure that they agreed to in the New Orleans Convention.

I think if the matter was gone into you would find that these two resolutions are nothing but the basis of a smear campaign against the Automobile Workers, because if it wasn't they would have followed that procedure adopted in the New Orleans Convention.

We are not operating our International Union any differently than the American Federation of Labor operated when it organized this union in 1933, 1934 and 1935. I have the record there on the table. When we speak of parts plants in the automobile industry, of local unions organized by the American Federation of Labor, local unions were invited to attend our first constitutional convention by the American Federation of Labor, with considerably more than a majority of those local unions in parts plants in the automobile industry and not on the basis that Brother Stevenson attempted to convey to this convention.

Now, in my opinion, it is about time that the American Federation of Labor did a little organizing instead of considering resolutions that will tend to disorganize the American Federation of Labor by throwing International Unions out. I would like also to refer to the record that Brother Stevenson mentions that we went to the C.I.O. I don't think anybody is kidding anybody else in this convention. The United Auto Workers did not go into the C.I.O. They were suspended by the American Federation of Labor. Let's don't kid ourselves any more about that. We are not mad about it; we are glad to be here. We want to work in the American Federation of Labor. If we didn't want to we would be out, but we are here because we want to be here, and when the Automobile Workers' Union split those local unions that are now affiliated with our organization requested to come back into the American Federation of Labor, and we were accepted.

We are glad to be here, but we don't like this continual smear campaign that has been going on in every convention since we came back. We have tried to get along. We have made a lot of friends. I don't know whether it is because we don't affiliate with the Metal Trades Council that we have to put up with these resolutions every year or not, but I think everybody in this convention will agree that as long as the attitude exists in the Metal Trades Council as it does now and has for a period of years since we came back, there isn't much basis for the Automobile Workers to affiliate with the Metal Trades Council, because the thinking of the Metal Trades Council would mean the dissolving of the United Automobile Workers' Union. The American Federation of Labor has a job to do, and I mean the United Automobile Workers in the American Federation of Labor has a job to do.

One of the biggest unions in the United States is outside of the American Federation of Labor, and that is the Automobile Workers' Union. One of the biggest ones in our opposition is the Automobile Workers' Union. I don't think anybody is kidding anybody—at least, I hope not—that this convention is going

to consider or the Executive Council is going to consider washing its hands of any possibility of organizing the automobile workers, all of the automobile workers, into the American Federation of Labor. If you are interested in organization and not disorganization, I think some time in the not too distant future that this sniping and smear campaign conducted by the Molders' Union and the Metal Trades Council should stop.

Thank you.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Are there any further remarks? If there are no further remarks, the question recurs upon the adoption of the committee's report. All in favor of the adoption of the committee's report will say "aye"; contrary-minded, "no."

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

### Sleeping Car Porters

**Resolution No. 158—By Delegate F. N. Aten, Railway Employees' Department.**

**WHEREAS,** All organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are required to respect the jurisdictional rights of other affiliates, but the Sleeping Car Porters are, notwithstanding the regulations, raiding the jurisdiction of the shop craft organizations composing the Railway Employees' Department, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That as all efforts to adjust this dispute by President Green, meeting with President Randolph, President Knight of the Railway Carmen representing the shop craft organizations meeting with President Randolph and the Sleeping Car Porters being summoned to appear before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, August, 1945, and they did appear but nothing was accomplished in any of these efforts, the Pullman porters stating their position quite clearly that they intended to go through with efforts to organize mechanics, helpers, apprentices, coach cleaners, and laborers of the shop craft organizations, and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Sleeping Car Porters be suspended unless they immediately cease and desist from their raiding of the jurisdiction of the shop craft organizations and notify the Pullman Yard and Terminal employees of their withdrawal from the Pullman campaign.

Your committee deprecates the fact that the Sleeping Car Porters are going far beyond their charter rights which are as follows: "Porters, attendants, maids and bus boys" in their attempt to organize mechanics, helpers, apprentices, coach cleaners, laborers and storeroom employees, all of whom have for years been recognized as coming within the jurisdiction of the shop crafts organizations composing the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and condemns the Sleeping Car Porters for their failure or refusal to

heed President Green's request as contained in his letter to President Randolph under date of July 13, 1945, reading as follows: "Certainly the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' organization, of which you are president, cannot claim jurisdiction over boilermakers, blacksmiths, carmen, machinists or any other mechanics employed by the Pullman Company. For this reason, I must, in a most friendly but emphatic way, call upon you to immediately cease and desist from attempting to organize workers such as are referred to in this correspondence or other employees of the Pullman Company who do not come under the jurisdiction of your Sleeping Car Porters organization."

Therefore, the committee recommends that Resolution 158 be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with authority to suspend the Sleeping Car Porters at the January, 1947, Council meeting unless the Sleeping Car Porters notify the Council before that meeting that they (the Sleeping Car Porters) have discontinued their efforts to organize Pullman employees coming under the jurisdiction of other A. F. of L. affiliates and will hereafter confine their efforts to the organizing and servicing of porters, attendants, maids and bus boys.

Committee Secretary McCurdy moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

**DELEGATE RANDOLPH,** Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates of the convention: I want to give you a little background of this controversy. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is organizing the car cleaners, the non-clerical storeroom workers, the upholsterers' apprentices and helpers, the painters' apprentices and helpers, the mechanics' apprentices and helpers in the Pullman yards. We have never been concerned about the organization of mechanics or any group of workers in the shops.

Now, the car cleaners, the non-clerical storeroom workers, the mechanics' helpers and apprentices, painters' helpers and apprentices, upholsterers' helpers and apprentices have constituted one bargaining unit in the Pullman yards. The existing agreement between the Pullman Company and the Independent Federation of Pullman Workers covers the classes of employees I have aforementioned.

Now, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is concerned about the organization of the car cleaners because they are close to our group of workers. They are related to the porters. In other words, sometimes porters are transferred to the yards to serve as car cleaners. Then car cleaners are transferred to the cars to serve as porters. This fact is recognized in the agreement between the Pullman Company and the Independent Federation of Pullman Workers.

Now, the Independent Federation of Pull-

man Workers is a company union. Not until the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters started into organizing this group of workers did the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen show up on the scene. As a matter of fact, the car-cleaners sought the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen some 20 years or more ago, calling upon them to organize them, to permit them to come into the union. Officials of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters requested the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen officials to do something about the organization of this group of workers. Nothing was done. We recognized that were the porters to be involved in a crisis and the car cleaners were under the control of a different organization we would have great difficulty in maintaining our position because of the close relationship of these two groups of workers.

Now, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen came in after we had started the campaign and claimed that we were raiding their jurisdiction. We are not raiding their jurisdiction. They don't have any car cleaners—not in the yards. Nobody has the car cleaners except the company union. The various organizations are trying to get hold of the car cleaners.

At this very moment there is a mediator in Chicago sent here by the National Mediation Board for the purpose of planning an election to determine the bargaining agent of these groups of workers. We are perfectly willing to abide by the results of the election, but we don't think it is fair for the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen to come into the American Federation of Labor and into the convention and seek to get the support and cooperation of the convention in winning the election.

Now, if the convention goes on record for suspending the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, it is *ipso facto* helping the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen to win the election, because the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen will go out and tell the car cleaners and other workers, "See, they were kicked out and they were kicked out because the convention recognized that they had no right to organize the car cleaners and related workers."

We consider this a rather low form of trade union organization morality. We think it is unethical, definitely unfair. Now, if the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen think that they can get the car cleaners to come along with them, go out and get them. You are perfectly welcome to them if you organize them, but they didn't do anything about organizing them for over 25 years, or some 20 years ago. Now, they want to come along, want to get the benefit of the educational program the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has conducted among these workers. We have about made these workers trade union conscious now. They are ready to give a bona fide trade union organization serious consideration. I am not saying that we will win

the election. I don't know whether we will or not, but we are perfectly willing to abide by the results and we are willing to wage the campaign on our own merits, and we are not seeking the cooperation of the convention to discredit the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and the work of President Knight, not at all. We want this matter to rest on its own merits.

It was my understanding or feeling in the last meeting of the Executive Council that we were going to leave the thing to the determination of an election and may the best man win. I didn't know that they were going to write a resolution of this sort and bring it to this convention. I had the idea that all of us were going into this election and carry on and wage a campaign upon sound ethical standards and abide by the decisions of the collective will and feeling of the workers in the Pullman car yards. That is our position.

The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, moreover, only recently, so I have been told, took the color clause out of their constitution. For some years the car cleaners and others in the Pullman yards were excluded from full-fledged membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. Now, one would believe or have the feeling that workers could make some sudden and miraculous change in judgment to turn around and place their confidence in an organization which is just now taking the color clause out of the constitution in order to win the election, perhaps.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is glad that the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen have taken the color clause out of their constitution. We bid them forward. We congratulate them on that fact. Nevertheless, I have not heard that the Jim Crow locals have been abolished, and as long as there are Jim Crow auxiliary locals the workers in those locals do not have full-fledged economic citizenship. They don't have the right of voice and vote in determination of the policies that govern the union. They don't have voice and vote in the election of the representatives that negotiate agreements concerning rules and regulations governing working conditions.

Therefore, in addition to abolishing the color clause in the constitution, I want to hear President Knight say that he also has abolished the auxiliary Jim Crow unions. So, Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, we consider that the resolution is decidedly unfair, out of order, and, as a matter of fact, ought to be rejected by the convention. We believe that if you are going to refer this resolution to the Executive Council, the Executive Council should not be bound by the mandate to suspend the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters under any conditions.

In the Executive Council's report this morning the statement was made that the International Machinists' Union should be called



upon to come back into the organization, the American Federation of Labor, and here plead their cause within the framework of this great institution and not remain on the outside of the American Federation of Labor. Why not apply that same policy to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters? Let us plead our cause here within the framework of the American Federation of Labor. If the cause of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen is sound, it will bear examination. If it isn't sound, it won't bear examination and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen should not be afraid for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to remain in the American Federation of Labor to fight this issue out on its merits. Why attempt to take advantage of one group by putting them out where they will then be denied the privilege of challenging the decisions of this Federation to establish the validity of their position, whereas the other group is here and is able to take advantage of their various designs to make their cause secure?

So, Brother President and fellow delegates, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters maintains that it is not raiding the membership of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, because they haven't got these workers. They never attempted to get them for years, and second, we hold that these workers are related to the porters, they are closer to the porters, and consequently upon those grounds we believe that our position is sound and that the resolution should be turned down.

Thank you.

DELEGATE ATEN, Railroad Employees' Department: Mr. Chairman, Brother Randolph made a very interesting speech, but he evaded the vital issues in this question. The Pullman porters have been getting jurisdiction over a certain class of workers. It was made very plain in the reading of the report of the committee that no one was ever extended that jurisdiction because of any class of workers beyond those named in the charters of that organization.

Now, I want to get a few facts before the convention and I want you to bear with me just a little bit. I will have to go into three or four details of history. One is the Pullman Company, that is, the operating company that operates the sleeping cars, is a common carrier in the same meaning that any railroad is a common carrier. It is subject to the Interstate Commerce Act and subject to the Railway Labor Act. This company is regulated by the regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission and is regulated as to labor matters by the provisions of the Railway Labor Act.

Mr. Randolph made a statement that we have made no attempt to organize the Pullman employees for a long period of years. Well, it just happens that I was chairman of

a committee that negotiated the first agreement that shop men ever had with the Pullman Company in 1921. That agreement remained in effect until the 1922 strike of the shop men, and we lost that agreement. We not only lost the Pullman agreement because the company refused to settle with the men on strike, but we lost the majority of our agreements covering shop men on the other common carriers, the railroads of this country. It was a long road back. Since that time we have recovered the right to represent the shop craft employees on the more than 100 railroads that we lost in the 1922 strike, and the Pullman Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad are the only two large car carriers today on which we do not represent the shop men.

There is one other thing that should be cleared up. That is the Brotherhood of Railroad Carmen of America is not the only organization involved in this matter. The Railway Employees' Department performs certain services and represents in various ways all of the shop craft organizations in dealing with management, negotiating agreements, representation before the National Mediation Board and in various other ways. These organizations are the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association and the Firemen and Oilers, at present affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department.

So, all these organizations, with the exception of the Boilermakers, are interested in this campaign on the Pullman Company. We have had a crew of organizers on that road for over a year. I don't know when Brother Randolph started his campaign, but it doesn't seem to matter to me if we, the Railway Employees' Department organization, undertook to represent employees of any class covered by his charter I am sure that he would say we were trying to invade his jurisdiction, whether the people we were after are present members of his organization or not.

Now, as I said, it has been a long way back since the 1922 strike. We have done this work of recovering our representation and our agreements on these roads as rapidly as conditions would permit. With such an enormous job to do it was, of course, obvious that we would first tackle those roads that seemed easy to get, and that is just what we have done. The Pullman Company has been canvassed several times in this period of years, and not until within the last two years has there appeared any likelihood that the employees would respond to an organizing campaign put on by the organization operating through the Railway Employees' Department. When that time appeared we put a crew on the system because



it is not just like a railroad. It is a nationwide system. There are 200 points, 200 towns and communities where Pullman employees are employed in the yards and towns. There are six heavy repair shops of the Pullman system that do the overhauling for the Pullman cars. The Pullman porters' organization is not trying to represent or not seeking to represent the employees in the six repair shops where about 40 per cent of the total number of employees are employed. They are seeking to represent all the employees in the yards where 60 per cent of the employees ordinarily represented by these shop craft organizations are employed.

This present representation election now coming on is brought on because of the fact that the Railway Employees' Department invoked the services of the National Mediation Board to determine who shall represent these crafts employed in the Pullman Company. You men in the American Federation of Labor know what a craft is. I don't need to give you any definition of that, but that word as applied in the railway industry and the Pullman Company, to all intents and purposes, is a part of the railway industry because it is a common carrier under all the acts of that regulation and has been treated as such all through the history of the organization, and these crafts on railroads are not the boilermakers and helpers' apprentices, for example, employed in one shop, like the Topeka shop on the Santa Fe Railroad. They are the boilermakers employed on the Santa Fe Railroad from Chicago to San Francisco, the Gulf Coast lines and the coast lines from the western region. In other words, the entire operating carrier under the Railway Labor Act is the unit on which a craft vote is taken. Even the employees in marine shops on the coast are voting along with the mechanics' helpers and apprentices in the actual railroad shops where cars and locomotives are repaired, so a craft on a railroad means the employees such as electrical workers, their helpers and apprentices, employed in the six heavy repair shops and in the 200 yards and termination points on the Pullman system.

Now, there are two company unions representing employees in the Pullman Company at the present time. One is an organization representing those in the six heavy repair shops only. The other is another company union representing employees in the yards and termination—these 200 points outside the shops. There is a C.I.O. organization undertaking to represent the employees in the six heavy repair shops. There are the Pullman porters undertaking to represent the employees in the 200 yards and terminal points. That makes four different organizations against us in this campaign. The Pullman porters' president says, "Let the best man win," with the full knowledge, without a doubt, that if

he has any conception of what the Pullman system means as to a mechanics' helper and apprentices nobody will win this election if they continue in the election. It means there is a vote for five different organizations which will have to be placed on the ballot. We would expect such an experience from a C.I.O. outfit that is trying to organize and represent the men in the repair shops, but we certainly have a right to expect cooperation instead of interference from an American Federation of Labor organization.

Then, suppose that no organization receives a majority of all the votes cast in any one craft. That simply means that under the procedure of the Railway Labor Act, if a representation election is held and no organization receives a majority of all the votes cast in a craft over the entire system, mind you, shops and outside points, no organization receives a majority of that craft vote, there is no change in representation. In other words, it means a cinch for the company union if no one of the three contesting organizations, the C.I.O., the Pullman porters, or the Railway Department organization, wins a majority of any one of these crafts. They will still be represented by the company union because there has been no vote for a change in representation.

Now, under the procedure of the Railway Labor Act, as I stated, the Electrical Workers, for example, their helpers and apprentices on the entire operating system, which is the entire Pullman Company, six repair shops, 200 outside plants, are one unit. There was a hearing in Washington before the National Mediation Board some time in July and at that hearing the Pullman porters were represented by a very competent attorney and certain other of their representatives. They contended that they wanted the National Mediation Board to recognize as the bargaining unit only the employees in the yards and termination points and not include those in the six repair shops. They want them not only to recognize that as the bargaining unit, but they want the National Mediation Board to order an election of everybody as one voting unit, with those distinctions as to crafts.

Well, after that hearing the attorneys for the several contesting parties exchanged briefs, filed answers and a decision of the National Mediation Board was made a couple of weeks ago. That decision was that the vote would be taken by crafts on the entire system, including the six heavy repair shops and the 200 yards and terminals, so the carmen have got to win a majority of the votes in the six repair shops and in the yards. The electricians have to do the same—the blacksmiths have to do the same if they are going to win this vote.

Now, I don't know that I can add much more to that. I just wanted to get these facts before you. There is a considerable difference

in the way representation elections are handled under the Railway Labor Act and the way they are handled under the National Labor Relations Act. The National Labor Relations Board can say what will constitute a voting unit. They might vote the employees of the General Motors Company in Buffalo and one in San Francisco as separate, but the National Mediation Board under the Railway Labor Act and the procedures established thereunder cannot split up any common carrier for voting purposes, and they have made numerous decisions sustaining that procedure.

So, I just wanted you to have these facts, and I am sure that President Knight of the carmen has certain documentary evidence that he may want to give to the convention.

DELEGATE WEBSTER, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: We judge, from the remarks just made by the last speaker, that all we had to do was to get out of this election and it would be a cinch for the American Federation of Labor. Now, the question of the arrangement or the voting for these crafts was an action on the part of the National Mediation Board. When we went into this situation some four or five years ago these people in the yards were orphans. The Carmen's Union or the shop craft employees—the shop crafts' organizations were not giving any attention to these people. Naturally, having an organization of Pullman porters and having the same field to cover, we came in close contact with these people. Many of these people who had been porters were not working in the yards. Many of the men who work in the yards have come on the road as porters. In fact, in the company union agreement specific arrangement is made for the so-called upgrading of people working in the yards to porters operating on the roads.

Then, incidentally, a large percentage of these workers are Negroes, and at the time we started this campaign these Negroes could not come into the Carmen's Union or any of the shop craft unions that we know of, unless it was the Electrical Workers' Union. Nothing had been done. As a matter of fact, as an organization we have attempted to operate with the Carmen's Union to try to get these people organized. I have spoken at meetings held by the officers of the Carmen's Union 15 or 18 years ago, but all of those efforts were out.

All these people were struggling along under the yoke of a company union. Originally they operated under what was called the plant employee representation. Then after the Railway Act was amended and these interested organizations were inaugurated they started to operate under the auspices of these independent organizations, which was a glorified company union.

Now, what was our position? We represent

a large, substantial group of people employed by the Pullman Company, and who have we got surrounding us? We have three company unions. There are three company unions—not two. One in the shops, one in the yards and the clerks, all operating under the jurisdiction of company unions. Then along comes the C.I.O. group and, of course, we didn't have jurisdiction over the laundry workers. We didn't take any part in the campaign, even though the laundry workers solicited our help. Who do we find represent the laundry workers? The C.I.O. We have a laundry workers' organization there, too, but the C.I.O. moved in and they now represent the laundry workers and are moving in to represent these other groups, and until we started in this program not one thing was done by the Carmen's Union or any of the other organizations to get these people into an organization.

Now, as a matter of fact, it is a question of self protection. If the C.I.O. did encroach and get the laundry workers and then we stood idly by and the others encroach and get those people who are close to us, it is only going to be a short space of time before they make trouble for us. It is amusing as we read this resolution to hear these people talk about raiding their jurisdiction. They have admitted that they have done nothing to organize these people for many years. Before the Committee on Adjustment the speaker who preceded me pointed out that they did have a contract in 1921 and '22. Now, that is 24 years ago. Twenty-four years is a long time. Yet they have allowed these people to come under the yoke of this company union, and the company union at the present time has a contract covering the wages and working conditions of this particular group of people.

Now, this isn't a jurisdictional dispute, as we see it, as many jurisdictional disputes we have heard argued in these conventions from time to time, but here are a group of workers that they did not attempt to organize until we got into the picture a little over three years ago. Now, should we stand by and wait until they get ready, wait until they take the color clause out of the constitution and let our own interests be jeopardized? We have no special desire to usurp anybody's jurisdiction, but we are confronted with a practical, everyday problem. A large number of these people in these yards are Negroes and they were being exploited. They don't exercise their rights, their seniority rights under this setup. They were being pushed out of jobs without having access to go to the National Railway Adjustment Board, and all of these complaints were brought to us from time to time, so we as an organization are interested primarily in the organization of the Negro workers and we are trying to bring these people under our

wing in an effort to bring to them some sort of organization.

There is no certainty of who is going to win the election. There is no certainty that the Carmen are going to win their share of it and there is no certainty that the company unions are going to win their share of it. As a matter of fact, had we known that there was any qualified representative on the part of the Carmen's Union or any of the groups in the shop yards to go out and organize these people we would have been glad to help them rather than to take on this responsibility. But we know the conditions of these people. Negroes are being driven off of the railroads because organized white organizations are bringing pressure on the railroads to drive these Negroes off. Can we stand by and wait until the Carmen get ready to organize these people to try to put forth some effort to put these people back into an organization?

Now, we are thoroughly convinced that our position is sound. We ran into this thing with our eyes open. We have tried to bring these people into the American Federation of Labor. We believe that we have as much chance, and maybe a little more, to bring these people into the American Federation of Labor than anybody else on the ballot. We do feel that an injustice is being perpetrated upon us by this organization which admits they shamefully neglected these people, coming in here at this late date and who are trying to throw the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters out because they dared to sympathize with a number of their brothers who have long been exploited not only in the railroad industry but in America as a whole.

We plead with you delegates to this convention to turn the report of the committee down.

**DELEGATE BURKE, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:** Mr. Chairman, I request that the Secretary of the Committee read in that portion of the committee's report referring to the suspension of the Brotherhood of Porters. Read that portion of the report again.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We will accommodate you. The Secretary will please read that section of the report.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY McCURDY** read the following portion of the committee's report:

"Therefore, the committee recommends that Resolution 158 be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with authority to suspend the Sleeping Car Porters at the January, 1947, Council meeting unless the Sleeping Car Porters notify the Council before that meeting that they, the Sleeping Car Porters, have discontinued their efforts to organize Pullman employees coming under the juris-

diction of other A. F. of L. affiliates and will hereafter confine their efforts to the organizing and servicing of porters, attendants, maids and bus boys."

**DELEGATE BURKE:** Now, Mr. Chairman, I move that the report of the committee be amended by striking out that part referring to the suspension of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

**DELEGATE LYNCH, Pattern Makers:** As President of the Pattern Makers' League of North America, I wish to second that motion.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** You have heard the motion to amend the committee's report. The Chair recognizes Chairman Knight of the committee.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KNIGHT:** You would think from the discussion that the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen was the only organization involved here. Here is the original resolution that was submitted to the A. F. of L., and it is signed by Fred N. Aten, President of the Railway Employees Department, myself as President of the Railway Carmen, G. M. Bugniet, of the Electrical Workers; George M. Harrison, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Charles MacGowan, of the Boiler Makers.

Now, he says no Boiler Makers are involved. They have six rebuilding shops and they have a repair plant at every one of those places with boilers in all of them.

It was also signed by Robert Byron of the Sheet Metal Workers, John Pelkoff of the Blacksmiths and President McNamara of the Firemen and Oilers.

It is difficult for me to touch on these various subjects because they are so far from the facts. As I recall, President Randolph said we hadn't done anything for 25 years. There is an agreement in evidence that we had with the Pullman Company that covered white, black, red and yellow employees of that company in the shops and yards that we lost in the shop strike in 1922.

It has been said here that coach cleaners and Pullman porters are interchangeable. Well, that was in existence many, many years ago, even before these shop craft organizations had a signed agreement with the Pullman Company for all of the employees involved in this representation campaign.

We lost that agreement in 1922 in the strike. It has been said here that we haven't attempted to do anything with these Pullman employees for 25 years. Well, these shop craft organizations have learned from long experience, experience going far beyond the time that the Pullman porters were organized, that when a limb shakes, the tree is not full of squirrels, and when some Pullman employee becomes dissatisfied and goes out and looks for the organization that that doesn't mean there is any great dissatisfaction among those employees.

We have organized lodges of Pullman employees in the last seven years, notwithstanding the statements to the contrary. We could have organized more of them. We don't want their money until such time as we are authorized by the National Mediation Board and are given that authority under a Federal law. When they say that we are the bargaining agency then we will organize them and accept their money, and not until then.

Now, the hazard that the Pullman porters might experience with the coach cleaners that they talk about mostly—what did the shop men experience in the 1922 strike when these same mechanics, helpers and apprentices, coach cleaners, laborers and storehouse employees went on strike? I do not think if the coach cleaners and others that were not organized could do the porters any more damage if the porters went on strike than they did to the shop craft organizations in our 1922 strike. However, the Pullman porters were not organized then on the Pullmans. They haven't anything to do with what did that. Who is closer to the employees in the shop—these mechanics' helpers and apprentices, coach cleaners and laborers working on the same car, in the yard or in the terminal that the Pullman employee works on, sometimes working side by side on the same car. There was no group that had more to do with the organizing of the Pullman employees than these shop men working in the terminals and yards, because every Pullman employee that is operating the Pullman car rides that car into the yards where these shop men are working and they are in contact with them every day. They all know one another, and there was a great influence exerted upon the Pullman employees by these shop men, coach cleaners and laborers in the organizing of President Randolph's organization.

It has been said here that if the Pullman porters had known that these shop craft organizations or the clerks were interested they wouldn't have got in the campaign. It would not have been much trouble for them to ascertain if that was a fact. However, they did not go to that trouble. The first time the activities of the Pullman porters came to me was through the Vice President of the Electrical Workers, and I wrote President Randolph on March 24, 1944. I was asked by these shop men to handle it for them, and I did. Perhaps that is the reason that the Carmen are the greatest culprits in this.

The last paragraph of President Randolph's reply of April 14 reads:

"Of course, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is not organizing the Pullman car cleaners. I hope this explanation will be satisfactory, but be assured that it is

not my desire to have any conflict in interests with yours or any other organization which I may have anything to do with.

"A. PHILIP RANDOLPH."

Now, I accepted that as the whole clause, but just before the A. F. of L. Convention in New Orleans in November of 1944 other rumors came to me, and I went over to President Randolph's table and sat down and talked to him about it. He told me substantially the same thing there, but when the sentiment among the Pullman employees indicated that there was a possibility of these shop craft organizations taking over we started a campaign and then we found out what the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had done and was doing—they organized numerous locals throughout the country. They called a meeting here in Chicago. I think it was on May 4 and 5, 1944,—or somewhere back there and they brought these people in here and adopted resolutions and all of those things. They talk about ethics and so on. I could read those resolutions to them. If there is any ethics in those resolutions and fair dealings with these employees that are being exploited, as has been said here, I don't know anything about that language.

After learning just what the Pullman Car Porters were doing I wrote President Green. He wrote President Randolph several letters. He had a conference with President Randolph and some of his associates in President Green's office in which President Green tried to get him to discontinue his tactics. He failed, and then he requested President Randolph to confer with me, and President Randolph and Vice President Webster came into my office in Kansas City on June 15 last. We talked the situation over at great length, but they were very adamant in their position that they were going ahead. I asked President Randolph if he knew what the ultimate outcome of that might be. "Well," he said, "I don't know. It might mean that we would be kicked out of the A. F. of L." Now, he fully realized what he and his associates were doing and what the possibility might be in their doing that.

Here is a letter from President Green to me, dated June 21, 1945. I will not read all of it, but the last paragraph on the first page will be interesting.

"I submit the following quotation from a letter I received from President Randolph acknowledging receipt of my communication and advising me that he was planning to meet with you. The quotation is as follows:

"May I say, however, that I cannot agree to discontinue the work of organizing the Pullman car cleaners and yard forces, who have been without organization for 60 years or more, except that they had a com-

pany union since 1920. Moreover, some of the car cleaners are colored, and as I understand it are not eligible for membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen because of a color clause in their constitution."

The statement that they hadn't any organization for more than 50 years is disproved by the fact that we had an agreement to strike in 1922, and the statement that they have had a company union since 1922 likewise is not a fact, because we had the agreement and we lost it in 1921.

During the strike of July 1, 1921, the National Railroad Labor Board, meeting here in Chicago on July 3, 1921, adopted a resolution calling upon the management of the railroads, every railroad in the United States, because there was in excess of 500,000 shop men out on strike because that board had abrogated their agreement on every railroad in the United States, and imposed upon them two reductions in pay.

That resolution of July 3 called upon the management to form an organization to deal for the employees that remained in the service and those that might come in during the strike. That was the starting of so-called company unions. The management of the railroads wrote those agreements. They appointed the officers of that company union and there are two of them still in existence. That is the Pullman Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad, and we now have a campaign on the Pennsylvania that we expect to take over in a short while.

Here is a letter that President Green wrote to President Randolph on July 13, 1945. It reads in part as follows:

"The complaints which reach me alleging that you are transgressing upon the jurisdiction of metal trades organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the campaign which you have launched to organize certain employees of the Pullman Company have increased. As evidence of this fact I enclose a copy of the letter I received from President MacGowan of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, a copy of a letter I received from President Brown of the International Association of Machinists, and a copy of a letter I received from President Horn of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

"I cannot help but believe that after you have read these copies of letters I am enclosing you will agree with me that the situation dealt with in the correspondence has become quite serious. Certainly the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' organization, of which you are president,

cannot claim jurisdiction over boilermakers, machinists, blacksmiths and drop forgers, or any mechanics employed by the Pullman Company. For this reason I must, in a most friendly but emphatic way, call upon you to immediately cease and desist from attempting to organize workers such as are referred to in this correspondence, or other employees of the Pullman Company who do not come under the jurisdiction of your Sleeping Car Porters' organization."

Here is a letter that I prepared and which went out over the signature of the shop craft organizations—seven of them—including the officers of the Railway Employees' Department, under date of September 4. It is addressed to the Pullman Yard Employees:

"No doubt your attention has recently been called to a four-page handbill or circular, the first page of which is headed 'Attention Pullman Yard Forces' over the signature of President A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters. The second and third page are entitled 'An Open Letter to All Members of the Pullman Yard Forces,' three columns over the signature of International Secretary Ashley L. Totten.

"The first paragraph of the open letter reads as follows:

"The writer believes in striking the iron while it is hot. The best time to kill a snake is when it shows its head."

"We agree with the contents of the above quotation and believe that the Sleeping Car Porters can be likened to the snake in that case, because they have raised their head in violation of their charter rights with the A. F. of L. and are encroaching upon the charter rights and raiding the jurisdiction of the organizations signatory to this circular."

Here is a letter from President Green to President Randolph of August 15:

"Following the conclusion of the hearing which was held by the Executive Council, in which you participated, of the complaint filed by President Knight of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and a number of representatives of other railway shop craft organizations against the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Executive Council directed me to communicate with you requesting that you discontinue organizing employees of the Pullman Company and railroad companies who, it was pointed out at the hearing, come under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and other shop craft organizations. The Executive Council requests that you discontinue the efforts you are putting forth to organize these workers into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, otherwise the Council will be compelled to take further action."

Here is a circular put out over the signature of President Randolph:

"Dear Brothers and Sisters:

"Little David slew Goliath and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters can lick the Carmen's Union and its allies."

Well, now, it seems to me that that is a pretty big undertaking. If I understand the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen as an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, is an ally to all other affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. Or turn it around the other way—all affiliates to the American Federation of Labor are allies of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, so they are saying here that they can whip the carmen and their allies.

Then the next paragraph reads:

"The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is out to represent all of the yard and shop forces—all of the yard and shop forces, including mechanics, helpers and apprentices; painters, helpers and apprentices; upholsterers, helpers and apprentices; electrical repairmen, helpers and apprentices, and car cleaners."

There is a lot more here, but it is getting late, so I will just take up this and it will be the last.

This representation vote that is going to be taken in a few days among the shop craft employees and the yard and terminal employees of the Pullman, the same as if they were all working under one roof—by the National Mediation Board, Case No. R-1625—Washington, involving machinists, their helpers and apprentices; blacksmiths, their helpers and apprentices; sheet metal workers, their helpers and apprentices; electrical workers, their helpers and apprentices; carmen, their helpers and apprentices; powerhouse and shop laborers; storeroom, non-clerical—now, can you conceive of the Pullman porters having a place on the ballot when that is the vote that is going to be taken? Of course, I may not have a college education and I might not be competent to realize just what that means, but I do know what it means at a 147 properties where these shop craft organizations have taken the representation vote since the amending of the Railway Labor Act in 1934, and they have voted in that way in each and every instance, and we have been certified to as the bargaining agent and we expect to be certified to on the Pennsylvania when the vote is taken shortly. But under the present conditions I doubt if any crafts or any class will get a majority of the eligible votes in the 200 railway terminal yards and six rebuilding plants, and if they don't the company unions will be certified as the bargaining agent sometime later.

Now, then, I do not think that an amend-

ment to the committee's report, with these facts before us, is a proper motion, and I, therefore, trust that you will vote it down and approve the committee's report. That leaves it in the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE LYNCH, Pattern Workers: Delegate Lynch, in parliamentary fashion, applies himself to the question before the house, which is the matter of amending the committee's report. First, let me say that I listened attentively to Brother Knight. It is not my intention here or now to enter into the merits of a jurisdictional dispute. I heard some reference to some language that was reminiscent about taking apart all of these railway organizations, but that is not strange language in this convention. If my memory serves me right I think I heard that same language employed in 1935 by no less eminent a man than John L. Lewis himself. I think I have heard that same language come from other representatives of the so-called craft unions in this convention.

But I want to make one thing clear, President Green, that in all of these matters that come in the nature of jurisdictional disputes which are never solved, they usually come before this convention with a recommendation to refer it to the President of the American Federation of Labor or to the Council without a dire threat in the first instance. You have had jurisdictional disputes on this floor this afternoon and they were referred, not once, as I understood President Stevenson, but twice, and for three or four years, and so I want to make clear that I am not entering into this jurisdictional dispute, despite the fact that President Knight has some pattern makers which he is welcome to. I don't want them.

But I say this, that when you come before this convention with a threat to George Lynch or Philip Randolph or anyone else in the first instance, you will behave worse than the National Labor Relations Board, which you criticized on this convention floor.

I have no objections to referring it to the Council. We might have to refer District 50, and are we going to throw out the Mine Workers if the Paper Makers or Pulp and Sulphite Workers ask for their jurisdiction there? I guess not. The Miners have 500,000 votes. That is a couple of more than Philip Randolph or George Lynch.

What I am objecting to, Mr. President, is the threat. I don't like it. Perhaps that is because I am Irish, and the Irish don't take anything, even from the King.

DELEGATE BURKE, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: I made the amendment. As a delegate to this convention I feel a keen sense of responsibility in casting my vote upon this question. In deciding a jurisdictional question of this kind the delegates are placed



in the position of a jury, the delegates have to make the decision. I think every delegate should feel as I do, that it is a very grave responsibility that is put upon us in voting upon a question of this kind.

I have listened to the arguments from both sides. After listening to the arguments it seems to me that this is one of those borderline cases where something can be said on both sides. Now it would seem to me that, instead of talking at this time about suspending the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the proper procedure would be to refer it back to the Executive Council for further conferences and further efforts to settle this dispute.

As we look back a few years and look at the records of the American Federation of Labor I find a great many unions have been suspended or expelled. I remember that the United Mine Workers were suspended or expelled—I have forgotten which. I voted against the suspension or expulsion of the United Mine Workers. The record of the American Federation of Labor convention will show that the delegates from the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Workers' Union voted against the suspension of the United Mine Workers. After the Mine Workers were out for a number of years we voted three years ago, at the Boston convention to give the Executive Council power to enter into negotiations with the Mine Workers to try to bring them back into the A. F. of L., and after three years of negotiations we are happy to have delegates of the United Mine Workers of America sitting at this convention.

But how was that brought about? I suppose that negotiation after negotiation was held between the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. This is what usually happens after we suspend an international union. That union either comes back or somebody from the Executive Council or someone else goes to that union and tries to get it back. Then conferences are held—conferences and conferences, until finally, as in the case of the United Mine Workers, the union comes back.

Why not have these conferences and discussions and efforts before we suspend the union? Does that make sense?

Then we suspended the Brewery Workers' Union. I voted against it. Where are the Brewery Workers today? In the C.I.O.—is that right? Yes, they are in the C.I.O., affiliated with the C.I.O.

We suspended the Lithographers. Where are they? In the C.I.O. Let's not forget, brother delegates, that when we suspend an organization from the American Federation of Labor today there is another powerful

organization of labor with its arms wide open to receive that suspended organization.

Suppose we suspend or talk about suspending this organization composed of colored workers. Just imagine what a nice morsel that would be for the Communist press of this country! Can you picture the headline in the "Daily Worker"? You delegates to this convention must know the damnable propaganda that is being circulated among the colored workers in this country by the Communistic elements in the C.I.O. We have had Labor Board elections in the South where the colored workers have voted solidly against our organization, because they have been fed on this damnable propaganda that the American Federation of Labor is discriminating against the colored workers, and they are making the colored workers believe it.

I am warning the delegates to this convention to be careful in voting on this proposition. I urge the delegates to vote for my amendment. I urge you to think carefully before you vote. You are the jury. If you want to do the American Federation of Labor a service, vote for my amendment and let the Executive Council make another effort to settle this jurisdictional dispute before we talk about suspending the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

DELEGATE CLARK, Typographical Union: I have listened very carefully to all of this testimony from both sides on this question, and as one delegate I feel I can not be free to vote any other than to support the amendment that has been made here, for this reason, that I believe that every delegate in this hall believes in ironing out our differences by conciliation and collective bargaining, and certainly when we hold a club over one organization's head, such as a definite threat to suspend them if they don't accede, that is not collective bargaining. It is holding a pistol at their head.

I don't want to take any part or be any judge in a jurisdictional matter, for this reason. First, I have listened to these arguments, I have found conflicting statements, and even the labor paper that was laid upon our desks carries a picture of President Knight, and under the picture is says:

"President Felix Knight, of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, A. F. of L., presided over the Union's recent convention in Chicago. Knight supported a proposal to eliminate the color bar from the union's constitution, but the delegates voted it down."

I have heard here in the discussion that the color bar was removed from the constitution. This paper is dated October 10, the *Colorado Labor Advocate*. It is all the more confusing, and I do believe that the only wise course, the only sane course we can take is to support the amendment and not



place a definite threat over the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks?

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—

PRESIDENT GREEN: Delegate Randolph, the Chair can only recognize you if there are no others who wish to speak who have not yet spoken. Are there others who wish to speak who have not spoken? It seems not, and the Chair will recognize you.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: I simply want to say that the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are in agreement with the amendment proposed by Delegate Burke. We feel that this question is too complex, it is too far-reaching to be disposed of summarily and hastily, as it is being disposed of, according to the report of the Adjustment Committee.

It was a rather strange procedure, anyway, that in the Adjustment Committee President Knight served as the chairman, the prosecutor and the jury. He produced all of the documents and presented documents to support his argument against the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. That does not smack of the democracy we have been talking about here.

I do not think we have ever had in the history of this organization a case comparable to this. Here you are calling upon a convention, where a question is raised before it for the first time, to take drastic action in suspending an organization which is charged with trespassing upon the jurisdictional rights of another organization. I never heard of that before.

Why do you have this desperation on the part of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and the other organizations? The reason is simple, it is plain. The Brotherhood of Rail-

way Carmen and other organizations are in desperation because they think they are going to lose the election which is going to be staged in the next few weeks, and they want to use this convention as a public forum to propagandize the workers in the Pullman yards and get them to vote for them. That is the reason for this desperation.

There is no precedent for this action. It is extraordinary for an organization which is brought upon the charge of trespassing the jurisdiction of another organization to be suspended by the convention in which that question is first raised.

We are perfectly willing for this matter to be referred to the Executive Council and Brother William Green, without that threat of suspension which is a part of that resolution.

The question was called for.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The question now recurs upon the amendment to the committee's report. I presume that every delegate here understands the report quite well and the amendment to the report now pending for decision. The question will recur upon the amendment.

All in favor of the adoption of the amendment to the committee's report will please say aye. Those opposed will say no. The ayes seem to have it, the ayes have it, and it is so ordered.

The question now recurs upon the adoption of the report as amended. All in favor of that motion please say aye. Those opposed will say no.

The ayes have it, the motion is carried, and it is so ordered.

The convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning.

At 6:20 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Tuesday morning, October 15.

## RESOLUTIONS

### Endorsing Statehood For Alaska

Resolution No. 197—By Delegate Thomas J. Moore, Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Territory of Alaska has proved to be an asset to the United States over a period of many years, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands for free autonomy for a democratic people, and

WHEREAS, The people of Alaska have demonstrated their desire to permanently affiliate themselves with the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, At the recent referendum of voters they have expressed by a two-to-one majority their desire to become the 49th State of the Union, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in their 65th convention in Chicago, Ill., endorse the efforts of the people of Alaska to join the Union and promise these people the full support of this Federation towards that end.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Organization of Farm Labor

Resolution No. 198—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, A. E. Cox, J. E. Clayton, National Farm Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor recently chartered the National Farm Labor Union as the organization having

jurisdiction over all field workers employed on farms, ranches and plantations throughout the United States and adjacent islands, and

WHEREAS, There are over 2,000,000 such workers employed in this industry that remain unorganized and thus constitute a constant threat to the wage standards and working conditions established by other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The National Farm Labor Union is embarking on a vigorous organizational campaign to bring to the unorganized workers in agriculture the benefits of organization and collective bargaining now enjoyed by other unions in the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Many of these farm laborers are migratory and seasonally employed and are therefore forced to follow the crops throughout the nation, working on large scale factory type farms similar to industrial plants, except for substandard wages and deplorable working and living conditions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago pledges full support to the National Farm Labor Union in bringing the benefits of organization and collective bargaining to these unorganized American farm workers, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention calls upon all international and national unions, state federations of labor and central labor bodies to give all practical support possible to the organization of farm laborers in all areas of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

## SEVENTH DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

Chicago, Illinois,

October 15, 1946.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:45 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Reverend Alva Tompkins, Minister of the Olivet Presbyterian Church, which meets at the Olivet Institute, one of the oldest and largest of the neighborhood houses in Chicago, will pronounce the invocation this morning.

For twelve years Reverend Tompkins has served in this inter-racial, international, inter-religious community. He has always welcomed opportunities to bridge the gaps between the classes, nations and races. He has many times opened the pulpit to labor leaders.

We are happy to have him this morning.

## INVOCATION

**(Reverend Alva Tompkins, Minister of the Olivet Presbyterian Church)**

Let us all unite in prayer: Eternal God, before whom all men and all nations rise and fall, we bow before Thee at the beginning of this new day, mindful that Thou art our Creator and that Thou alone can redeem us. Help us to make our work this day worthy of Thy blessing.

Thou knowest how much we strive for bread and homes and creative jobs when millions are ill-clothed, ill-fed and ill-housed. Our days are numbered, and unless we work in accordance with Thy eternal purposes all our labor is in vain. Our strength is not equal to the task of redeeming those whom we represent unless Thou dost add Thy strength to our weakness. Our wisdom is not sufficient unless we are enlightened by the light which shineth in every man. Our spirit is not enough to overcome the barriers which separate all who labor and are heavily laden unless Thou dost strengthen our spirit with might by Thy spirit within.

We confess we are not worthy to represent the millions of humble and nameless people who have turned to us as sheep without a shepherd. Our human wisdom, of which we boast, does not bring in the day of peace and plenty. Our flesh is weak and we are sometimes tempted to look for advantages for our own group, to put private gain above public service. We are tempted to think only of our own countrymen, our own race, or our own class when we know that Thou art equally concerned with the billions of others. We have been tempted to give way to self-pity rather than to remember Him who said: "He that would be greatest among you must be the servant of all."

Guard our lips this day, we pray, that we may never speak sharply, remembering that a soft answer turneth away wrath while harsh words stir up anger. Help us to keep from rejoicing in iniquity and to remember that if Thou should remember iniquity who could stand? Help us to speak the truth in love, to swear to our own heart, if need be, and change not. Help us to remember that love beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; that the fruits of the spirit are love, joy, peace and long suffering; that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.

Grant that we may never forget that the things that unite us are vastly greater than the barriers which separate us. Help us to think of those whom we disagree with as men like ourselves with families and children to care for; that all things work together for good to those who love Thee. For the sake of those who look to us for leadership, help us to consecrate ourselves, to suffer long and still be kind, to turn the other cheek if we are insulted, to bear with grace the burdens which are inflicted upon us and to suffer fools gladly.

Help us in the arena when the fighting is thickest to fight the good fight and to keep the faith, even though cowards steal away and the faint hearted despair. May we have wisdom to choose the right side of the line for our fighting. May we persevere on with the courage of our convictions, and if we must die may it be while we are facing the foe. Help us to uphold the hands of all who bring righteousness and peace and help destroy all oppression and prejudice.

We pray especially for the leader of this convention and all those who have been put in authority over us that they may not be slothful in business, that they put first things first, that they be as concerned with the way as with the end.

With malice toward none and with charity for all let us with firmness in the right strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the burden of battle and his widow and orphan, and to do all to achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all mankind.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT,  
COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Tipton submitted the following report:

In accordance with request received, your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of Victor A. Olander with 112 votes, as additional delegate to represent the Seafarers' International Union of North America.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Legislation. I present to you Brother Leo George, President of the Post Office Clerks, Chairman of that committee.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GEORGE:** Mr. Chairman and delegates, the Committee on Legislation had referred to it 32 resolutions and 37 sections of the Executive Council's report. Several meetings have been held and all subjects referred to the Committee have been given careful consideration.

The report is ready, and Brother Burns, President of the American Federation of Government Employees, will report for the Committee.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY BURNS:** Mr. President and delegates to the convention, as the Chairman has told you, the Committee had referred to it 37 sections of the Council's report in addition to 32 resolutions, upon which the Committee renders the following report:

## STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

(Pages 108-112, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption the Executive Council presents a full report on labor legislation of major importance in the various States dealing with restrictions on the legitimate activities of labor organization, the extension and administration of welfare laws, school laws and safety and health laws. The Committee commends to the delegates and all members of organized labor a thorough study of this report and the address of the General Counsel of the A. F. of L., Mr. Joseph A. Padway in which he analyzed thoroughly not only the various laws enacted but many of those proposed to be enacted in the States. Laws to regulate and restrict the activities of trade unions were passed in eleven States, most of which receive public support in these States because of the misleading manner in which they are presented to the public. They are usually given fine sounding titles such as "The Right to Work" and are represented as measures to protect the workers when in fact their real objective is the direct opposite. For that reason it is highly essential that the workers and especially members of organized labor be fully informed of the true nature of labor and anti-labor legislative proposals.

The report of the Executive Council points out that only 16 States now have child labor laws establishing a 16-year minimum age for employment. The position of the A. F. of L. has been established that sixteen years should be the minimum age for employment in any occupation during school hours and or for employment in manufacturing or mechanical

establishments at any time. Due to the war emergency full advantage was taken of the lack of proper legal restrictions in most States and the relaxing of vigilance in the administration of existing laws. It is highly essential, therefore, that determined steps be taken to secure the rigid administration of child labor laws and the enactment of improved child labor laws in those States that do not meet the minimum standard set by the A. F. of L.

Two States, New York and New Jersey, have enacted laws for migrant agricultural workers since the last convention. These are analyzed for the benefit of the delegates in the Executive Council's report. The protection of migratory workers is intertwined with the protection of the conditions of all workers and it is, therefore, essential that all of organized labor concern itself with the extension and improvement of protective measures for migrant workers.

The Executive Council declares that greater efforts should be made in the future to give the State Labor Departments full responsibility for the administration of all laws relating to labor, including industrial safety, industrial health and industrial hygiene.

Pointing out that Congress again has failed to enact legislation to provide Federal aid to State labor departments for the improvement of health and safety conditions in industry, the Executive Council reports an increase in the accident rates. "Last year over 2,000,000 workers were injured on the job. The money cost of these accidents to industry and to the workers runs into the billions, the costs of human suffering and broken homes is beyond measure."

One of the ways in which the nullification of safety and health legislation is attempted is to transfer their administration from Federal or State Labor Departments in some instances setting up separate bureaus for their administration under the guise of more efficient administration when the real purpose is to circumvent the influence of organized labor as now exercised through labor departments. Every effort must be made to give State Labor Departments full authority and responsibility for the administration of all labor laws, including those dealing with health and safety. Efforts should be continued in the coming Congress to secure Federal funds to supplement the benefits under these laws.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## NATIONAL LEGISLATION

(Pages 181-182, Executive Council Report)

Under the title "National Legislation" the Executive Council reports that approximately 11,500 bills and resolutions were introduced in the 79th Congress. About 550 of these became law. The report also summarizes a 21-point legislative program submitted to Congress on January 14, 1946 by President Truman. The A. F. of L. actively supported most of that program but found it necessary to oppose four of the recommendations which were contrary to the policy of the American Federation of Labor. This report of the multiplicity of legislative proposals nearly 12,000 in number coming before a Congress emphasizes the vast amount of work that must necessarily be performed in order properly to support favorable

legislative measures and of equal importance to vigilantly oppose unfavorable or vicious legislation. The work of the Legislative Committee headed by William C. Hushing has been highly commendable in spite of the increasingly heavy burden placed upon him and his department because of the greatly increased number of proposals coming before the National Legislature in which labor is vitally interested.

The Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

(Pages 186-192, Executive Council Report)

Under this title the Executive Council reports the introduction in the 79th Congress, 94 bills adversely affecting labor of which only two were enacted into law. Specific attention is called to the Hatch-Burton-Ball Bill to which Judge Padway referred at length in his address to this convention. This section of the report emphasizes the necessity for eternal vigilance and the importance of defeating objectionable bills as well as the enactment of favorable and progressive legislation. The defeat of 92 out of 94 bad bills is a commendable record for the Executive Council and the legislative staff.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### TRUMAN'S ANTI-LABOR BILL

(Page 192, Executive Council Report)

Under this title the Executive Council reports the proposal by the President of a stringent restrictive measure which provided for the drafting into the armed forces any workers necessary to operate a facility when a strike was in progress and would impose severe penalties on workers refusing to serve as well as on officers of the organizations involved. The bill was almost immediately passed by the House but the Senate attached numerous harsh amendments, most of them extracted from the Case Bill which the President had vetoed. The House subsequently refused to accept the Senate Amendments or send the bill to conference. It, therefore, failed of enactment.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ANTI-CLOSED SHOP AMENDMENT

(Pages 192-193, Executive Council Report)

Under the heading "Anti-Closed Shop Amendment" the Executive Council reports the introduction of Senate Joint Resolution No. 163, which was an amendment to the Constitution of the United States designed to void closed shop contracts. This was another attempt to hamstring labor under the misleading title of "Right to Work." Although the Senate Judiciary Committee favorably reported the Resolution, because its implications were not known to the Committee, it failed to pass either House.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### WAR LABOR BOARD APPROPRIATION

(Page 194, Executive Council Report)

The Executive Council reports on the adoption of an amendment to the War Agencies Appropriation Bill proposed by Representative Lea of California which was bitterly opposed by the American Federation of Labor which leaves organizations operating in the agricultural field without an agency to which appeal could be taken.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommends that efforts be made to correct this situation when the War Agencies Appropriation Bills are being considered in the forthcoming session of Congress.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### REDUCTION IN STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

(Page 195, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption the Executive Council reports passage by the House and Senate of a bill by Representative Gwynne to reduce to one year the Statute of Limitations with regard to certain actions. The A. F. of L. opposed this bill on the grounds that it would in many cases prohibit collection of back wages due under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Although passed by both Houses of Congress it was amended by the Senate and the American Federation of Labor was successful in preventing its reference to a Conference Committee. Hence, it failed of enactment. It is necessary to continue opposition to similar legislation if introduced in succeeding Congress.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### GURNEY-ANDREWS BILL

(Pages 195-196, Executive Council Report)

Headed "Gurney-Andrews Bill," this section of the Executive Council's report tells of the introduction of H.R.-6035 (Andrews) and S-2140 (Gurney) which would excuse employers from liability for back pay or other benefits due in cases of failure to comply with the reemployment provisions of the Selective Service Act. Although the bill was passed by the House the efforts of the A. F. of L. were successful in preventing favorable action in the Senate.

The Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

(Page 193, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption the Executive Council recites its activities in connection with the Labor Department—Federal Security Agency

Appropriation Bill for the 1946 fiscal year, which included appropriations for the National Labor Relations Board. The Council reports the defeat in Committee of an amendment providing that none of the funds appropriated could be expended in cases affecting agricultural labor, and of a further amendment which prohibited the expenditure of the Board's funds in handling cases affecting organizations of foremen. It is cited that an amendment known as the Frey Amendment was adopted in both the 1946 and 1947 Appropriation Bill. This being a rider on an Appropriation Bill, reintroduction and reenactment is necessary in each Congress and the efforts of our membership are necessary to see that this is done. An Amendment was also secured to the N.L.R.B. Appropriation prohibiting the use of any of the funds for the purpose of taking strike votes under the Smith-Connally Act.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### PEACETIME MILITARY TRAINING

(Page 196, Executive Council Report)

Under this title, the Executive Council reports its opposition to the Gurney-May Bill (S. 138—H.R. 515) which called for compulsory military training of all able-bodied men when they reached the age of 18 years. The bill failed to pass either House.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommends reaffirmation of the position of the A. F. of L. in opposition to compulsory military training.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(Pages 197-201, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the introduction of 69 bills dealing with various phases of this subject all but four of which failed of enactment.

The Executive Council points out that when more shipping facilities are available, there, no doubt, will be large numbers of immigrants desiring to enter this country, and recommends that any lowering of the immigration bars be opposed and the present restrictive measures maintained. The Executive Council also calls attention to its recommendation to the 1944 convention "that all phases of the traditional Immigration Policy of the American Federation of Labor be maintained." This recommendation is reiterated and particularly stressed in regard to the so-called "barred races" who cannot be assimilated.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendations.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

(Pages 201-202, Executive Council Report)

Under the caption "Federal Employees" the Executive Council calls attention to the con-

tinued cooperation and assistance which the Executive Council has given to affiliated organizations composed wholly or in part of employees of the United States Government, and reports the formation of the Government Employees' Council, with the recommendation that all eligible organizations should affiliate with the Council in order to secure the benefits of joint consideration, presentation, counsel and action. The Executive Council also reports on the bills introduced to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to provide for increased annuities of retired employees of the Government and to exempt their annuities from taxation. The Council recommends that efforts be continued in behalf of these proposals.

Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report and recommendations.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### REPEAL OF HATCH ACT

(Page 205, Executive Council Report)

Under the caption "Repeal of Hatch Act," the Executive Council reports that S. 1214 to repeal "An Act to prevent pernicious political activities," commonly known as the Hatch Act, was introduced, but no further action ensued.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### SENIORITY OF MECHANICS—GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS

(Page 205, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption the Executive Council calls attention to two bills (S. 594—H.R. 2255) which would abolish the present efficiency rating system and substitute seniority for pay purposes and reductions in force for mechanics and helpers employed in Government Navy Yards, Arsenal and other Government establishments. Although the American Federation of Labor strongly advocated the passage of this proposal, these bills failed to pass either House.

The Executive Council strongly recommends that the purposes of these measures be revived and advocated in the 80th Congress.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES UNDER WAGE BOARDS

(Page 205, Executive Council Report)

Under this title the Executive Council reports the introduction of S. 1222 by Senator Langer of North Dakota covering rates of pay and hours of duty of Government employees whose basic compensation is fixed by wage boards or similar administrative authority. Although the A. F. of L. favored this bill it failed to pass the Congress during the last session.

Your Committee recommends that this portion of the report of the Executive Council be approved.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

(Pages 205-206, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the submission of three reorganization plans to the Congress by the President. These plans were numbered 1, 2 and 3. Plans 2 and 3 were opposed by the A. F. of L. and other affiliates, and Plan 1 was supported. Because both houses did not disapprove the plans within sixty days after submission all three became effective. On July 29, 1946 the Senate passed a bill reestablishing the Employees Compensation Commission as an independent bi-partisan agency, but although a delegation called upon the Speaker he declined to permit the bill to be considered by the House of Representatives.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### BARBERS

(Page 208, Executive Council Report)

Under this heading the Executive Council reports the introduction and A. F. of L. support of two bills providing for the closing of barber shops in the District of Columbia one day in each calendar week, but that no action was had thereon.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### PUERTO RICO

(Page 210, Executive Council Report)

The report of the Executive Council lists seven bills introduced in the 79th Congress affecting the interests of Puerto Rico and cites the cooperation extended to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen, who came to the United States to present Puerto Rican labor's views. The Council also records the completion by the House Committee on Insular Affairs of the investigation of political, social and economic conditions in the Island.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report, and also that the Executive Council be instructed to continue cooperation with the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen in all matters affecting its interests and welfare.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### CANAL ZONE

(Pages 208-209, Executive Council Report)

The section of the report of the Executive Council headed "Canal Zone" reports the introduction of 21 bills affecting the Canal Zone, and the enactment of Public Laws 113 and 619, the former providing for voluntary retirement

at age 55 after not less than 22 years of service, fifteen of which must be on the Isthmus of Panama—the latter amending the so-called "Old timers bill" to provide that naturalized citizens may enjoy its benefits. The remaining 19 bills failed of passage.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### AVIATION

(Page 210, Executive Council Report)

Under this title, the Executive Council reports its support of and enactment of a bill providing Federal aid for the development, construction, improvement and repairs of public airports in the United States and authorizing \$100,000,000 each year for five years for this purpose. At the request of the American Federation of Labor the bill was amended by the addition of a provision called for the payment of the rates of wages predetermined by the Secretary of Labor and included in the invitation for bids.

The Executive Council also calls attention to its approval of legislation introduced by Senator McCarren providing for postwar operation of international airways by one United States Flag Line to be composed of all U. S. Lines, which measure failed to pass either House.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY

(Page 211, Executive Council Report)

Under this heading the Executive Council reports the introduction and support of two bills creating the Missouri Valley authority providing flood and erosion control, new farms, jobs in nine States and helps postwar jobs throughout the United States. These bills failed of passage. The Executive Council recommends continued support of this proposal and your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### RECONVERSION UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

(Pages 212-213, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption the Executive Council reports that as a result of the Presidential message to the Congress on this subject, Chairman Doughton of the Ways and Means Committee introduced a bill providing for unemployment benefits which was highly unsatisfactory. A bill was then drafted by the American Federation of Labor representative and introduced by Senator Kilgore in behalf of himself and Senators Murray, Wagner, Guffey, Thomas of Utah and Pepper, which would increase the benefits, in cooperation with the States, provide transportation for workers and their families when available jobs were at a distance from their homes, and extend other benefits to the unemployed, including veterans.



After long hearings and days of Senate debate the bill passed in the Senate, but both the Kilgore and Doughton bills died in the House.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the report of the Executive Council. The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### MINIMUM WAGES

(Pages 217-218, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the introduction of S. Con. Res. No. 11 providing "that it is the sense of the Congress that a straight time hourly rate of 65 cents per hour is the minimum below which the National War Labor Board shall consider any wage rate substandard." The American Federation of Labor supported an increase in the minimum pay rates and suggested 72 cents per hour. After full and complete consideration the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, headed by Senator Pepper, recommended an increase to 65 cents per hour minimum, and that the War Labor Board adopt a definite policy concerning substandard wages, using the cost of living approach as its criterion in determining what wage rate is required to eliminate substandards of living.

The Executive Council lists 8 bills touching on the recommendation of the Pepper Committee which were introduced, none of which passed either House.

The Executive Council recommends that this convention instruct the administrative officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor to continue endeavors to increase the minimum rates of wages of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ANTI-LYNCH BILLS

(Page 220, Executive Council Report)

Under the title "Anti-Lynch Bills" the Executive Council reports that eight bills were introduced on this subject but none had been considered up to the time of Congressional recess, and recommends continued efforts to secure enactment of these proposals.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### POLL TAX

(Page 220, Executive Council Report)

Under the caption "Poll Tax" the Executive Council reports that seven States still require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting and that in the 79th Congress H. R. 7 abolishing this tax was passed by the House of Representatives, but in the Senate after several attempts to attach it as an amendment to various bills failed it was brought up on July 30, 1946. Because of the failure of a motion to apply cloture (requiring a two-thirds

vote) the bill was laid aside. The Executive Council recommends continued efforts to abolish this tax.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### OLEOMARGARINE TAX

(Page 222, Executive Council Report)

Reporting on H.R. 579, a bill to repeal the tax on oleomargarine, the Executive Council reports on its activities in endeavoring to repeal this obnoxious levy and recommends continued opposition to this tax.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ALIENS INCOME TAX

(Page 222, Executive Council Report)

Under the title "Aliens Income Tax" the Executive Council reports the introduction of a bill designed to force the payment of approximately \$200,000,000 in taxes out of stock market profits estimated at \$800,000,000 made by non-resident aliens and refugees.

Senators McMahon and Maybank are interested in this proposal, as is the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, and undoubtedly a tax amendment will be introduced in the forthcoming session of Congress which will make these aliens subject to taxes.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report and further recommends that the American Federation of Labor utilize its resources and those of its affiliated organizations in support of such legislation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### EDUCATION

(Page 222, Executive Council Report)

Reporting on bills providing Federal Aid for Education in conjunction with the States, the Executive Council points out that Vice President Woll presented the viewpoint of the American Federation of Labor to Congress that the assistance of the state federations of labor was secured; but that the bills failed to pass either House.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

(Pages 222-223, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption, the Executive Council reports the introduction of a bill just prior to adjournment of Congress providing for a ten year nineteen billion dollar educational program, which will undoubtedly be introduced in the forthcoming session, the details of which will be studied by the Committee on Education;

and S. 2503 which provides for a Federal Department of Health, Education and Security.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## HEALTH AND SAFETY WORKING CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY

(Page 223, Executive Council Report)

On the subject, "Health and Working Conditions in Industry," the Executive Council reports on the drafting and introduction of a bill to provide for the cooperation of the Federal Government with State agencies in establishing safe and healthful working conditions in industry and appropriating \$250,000 for these purposes.

This bill died with the 79th Congress. The Executive Council is of the opinion that the standing Committee on Education and Health of the American Federation of Labor should consider this proposal in conjunction with measures which covered the field generally and which previously have been handled by the standing Committee.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## BLIND

(Page 224, Executive Council Report)

Under the caption "Blind," the Executive Council reports its support of legislation designed to prevent discrimination against the blind in Civil Service; providing for appointment of placement agents for the blind; and its successful efforts in securing the enactment of Public Law 661 (79th Congress) providing \$1,125,000 for the purchase of books for the blind.

The Executive Council recommends that we continue to support measures calling for reasonable aid for those who are blind or otherwise physically handicapped.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

(Page 224, Executive Council Report)

The Executive Council reports its support of and subsequent enactment of H.J. Res. 23 calling for the observance of "National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week," and also its support of H. Res. 45 which called for an investigation as to aid for physically handicapped in conserving manpower in the war effort.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

(Page 226, Executive Council Report)

Under this heading the Executive Council reports that the Special Committee on Un-

American Activities was made a regular standing Committee of the House; that the Council has continued to support the new Committee, and that despite the opposition and criticism of a comparatively few, this Committee has done some excellent work.

The Executive Council recommends continued support of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## PROHIBITION

(Page 226, Executive Council Report)

Under the caption "Prohibition," the Executive Council reports that six measures were introduced on this subject in the last session, all of which were opposed by the American Federation of Labor, none of which made progress. The Executive Council warns that similar bills, no doubt, will be introduced in the next Congress, and recommends that our officers and representatives be instructed to watch this matter carefully and to oppose all proposals designed to restore prohibition wholly or in part.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and recommendation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## SEAMEN'S INCOME TAX

(Page 227, Executive Council Report)

Under this heading, the Executive Council reports its activity in support of H.R. 3385, designed to alleviate the effect on seamen's wages of the annual accounting period for the purposes of the Federal income tax, as under present law seamen are unduly penalized.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

(Page 227, Executive Council Report)

Headed "Equal Pay for Women," this section of the Executive Council's report tells of the failure of H.R. 5221 and S. 1178 to pass either House during the last session of Congress.

In its report the Executive Council states that it will support the principle enunciated in the title of the bills but that if similar proposals are introduced in the forthcoming session they should be carefully examined before approval is given.

The Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

(Page 227, Executive Council Report)

Under this title, the Executive Council reports on the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment for Women (H.J. Res. 49) in the last Congress. This proposal would be destructive of existing laws designed to protect the physical and social well-being of women and in addition

laws designed to force the support of families, etc.

The Executive Council declares that it will continue to oppose the enactment of this amendment and your committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The Committee then reported upon the following resolutions:

### **TWENTY-FIVE YEAR OPTIONAL RETIREMENT FOR PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAIL- ROAD EMPLOYEES**

**Resolution No. 49—**By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code, June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, 25 years of service, and with full credit for such service, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to present legislation which will provide for an earlier retirement age with full annuity for years of service for the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company.

This resolution instructs the officers of the American Federation of Labor to present legislation providing for an earlier retirement age for employees of the Panama Canal and Railroad Company.

The Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTA- TIVES OF PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAILROAD EMPLOYEES**

**Resolution No. 50—**By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representations, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location; a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union, the government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War, to provide that the chosen representative of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave or quarters status.

This resolution requests the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in securing permission which would allow the chosen representative of organized labor on the Canal Zone to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave or quarters status.

The Committee recommends concurrence and I so move.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **COMPENSATION FOR DEATH OR INJURY IN LINE OF DUTY**

**Resolution No. 51—**By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States vetoed H. R. 1712 (A Bill to provide relief of families of two Government employees killed in line of duty because of the war effort), and

WHEREAS, The President in his veto message stated, "If it should be the feeling of Congress that additional benefits beyond those provided by the present Employees Compensation Act should be made available to civilian employees of the Federal Government who during the war were engaged in the performance of unusually hazardous duties, it would appear that these benefits should be provided by way of general legislation which would accord uniform treatment in this respect to all civilian employees," and

WHEREAS, It is to be expected that during the 80th session of Congress some legislation will be considered providing for the relief of

families of Government employees killed under unusually hazardous conditions in line of duty due to the war effort, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to take the necessary steps so that such legislation as may be enacted covers the families of Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama.

This resolution seeks the support of the American Federation of Labor of legislation providing for the relief of families of Government employees on the Canal Zone killed under unusually hazardous conditions in line of duty.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **EXTENSION OF EXISTING 40-HOUR WEEK LAW**

**Resolution No. 52**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

**WHEREAS**, There have been many reductions in force in the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad and military establishments on the Panama Canal, and

**WHEREAS**, It can be expected that during some future time we may be faced with a depression, during which millions will be out of work, and

**WHEREAS**, It is expected that the Metal Trades Department will initiate or support some sort of a reduced workweek, less than 40 hours per week, and

**WHEREAS**, It is likely that such action be completed through legislation in which the Canal Zone should be included, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, include the American employees of the Panama Canal, Panama Railroad and military establishments on the Isthmus of Panama in any proposed legislation which may be initiated to carry out the intent of this resolution.

This resolution provides that in any legislation establishing a shorter work week, the civilian employees of the Panama Canal, Panama Railroad and the military establishments of the Isthmus of Panama shall be included.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **INCREASING INJURY AND DEATH COMPENSATION FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

**Resolution No. 53**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

**WHEREAS**, Injury and death compensation in Government service is based on average earnings of Government employees, and

**WHEREAS**, The Compensation Act was amended February 12, 1927, increasing the monthly compensation for total disability from \$66.66 to \$116.66, and

**WHEREAS**, Organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad believe

that compensation for injury and death should follow the general trend of increases, both in wages and cost of living, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to secure the enactment of legislation which will follow out the purpose of this resolution.

This resolution instructs the officers of the American Federation of Labor to make every effort to secure the enactment of legislation increasing benefits payable under the Employees Compensation Act to employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **EX-SERVICEMEN'S RATES IN GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS AP- PLIED TO EMPLOYEES AND RETIRED EMPLOYEES OF THE PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAILROAD AND THEIR DEPENDENTS**

**Resolution No. 54**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

**WHEREAS**, Employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company become ill from time to time while on vacation in the United States as is also true of dependent members of their families, and have been required to go to the expense of entering private hospitals for treatment, and

**WHEREAS**, Retired employees are receiving a pension sufficient to pay for nothing except living expenses but have had to meet large hospital bills, and

**WHEREAS**, All personnel of the military and naval services in the United States have the privilege of enjoying hospitalization in the United States Government hospitals at greatly reduced rates, and

**WHEREAS**, Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company are engaged in service similar to that of the military and naval forces of the United States, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure proper legislation which will give employees and retired employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company and their dependents the same rates in Government hospitals in the United States as are enjoyed by military and naval personnel.

Resolution 54 instructs the officers of the A. F. of L. to secure legislation which will give employees and retired employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad and their dependents the same rates in Government hospitals in the United States as are enjoyed by military and naval personnel.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### TEN PERCENT NIGHT DIFFERENTIAL AND HOLIDAY LEAVE PAY OF THE DOWNEY PAY ACTS, 1945 AND 1946

**Resolution No. 55**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, At the time of the enactment by Congress of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945 and 1946 Wage Board employees on an annual basis were excluded from these Acts except for the payment of time and one-half for overtime, and

WHEREAS, This has affected all the operating and maintenance, monthly and annually paid employees of the Canal Zone and Panama Railroad, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, request their legal department to draft an amendment to section 10 and section 11, of the 1946 Downey Pay Act so as to include monthly operating and maintenance employees on a definite basis, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the legal department of the American Federation of Labor familiarize themselves with the language of such legislation as the Downey Pay Act with a view to ascertaining if such language will, or will not apply to the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, this in an effort to improve working and pay conditions of monthly employees based on Wage Board adjustments.

The Committee concurs in the objective of this resolution, and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take necessary steps to secure the desired benefits of the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FREE TRANSPORTATION FOR CANAL ZONE SCHOOL CHILDREN

**Resolution No. 56**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, General practice in the United States is to transport school children to and from their homes by bus without charge, and

WHEREAS, This particularly applies to rural areas for children traveling from 5 to 15 miles to and from schools, and

WHEREAS, A number of school children in the Canal Zone travel from 7 to 15 miles to school with the parents paying for such transportation, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal Metal Trades Council has tried for years to relieve this situation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, support any movement by the Metal Trades Council of the Canal Zone with a view to inaugurating such transportation on the basis of being furnished by the United States Government.

This resolution directs the officers of the American Federation of Labor to support the Metal Trades Council of the Canal Zone in its efforts to secure transportation of school children

on the Canal Zone to and from school at Government expense.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FREE ENTRY FOR DISTILLED BEVERAGES INTO THE CANAL ZONE

**Resolution No. 57**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The treaty between the Republic of Panama and the United States provides for the sale of all commodities free of duty through Government commissaries to the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, to enable such employees to live as nearly a normal life as possible as they would if they were residing in the United States, and

WHEREAS, These employees consider that anything necessary and convenient to such a normal life comes properly under the above whereas, and

WHEREAS, There is very high duty on distilled beverages in the Republic of Panama and all such beverages must be purchased in the Republic, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, assist the Legislative Representative of the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council in every possible way to effect the sale of such distilled beverages in the Canal Zone commissaries free of duty as is any other commodity.

This resolution requests the sale of distilled, fermented and brewed beverages in the Government commissaries on the Canal Zone duty free in accordance with the treaty between the United States and the Republic of Panama covering commodities provided through the commissaries.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### REPLACEMENT OF ALIENS BY AMERICAN CITIZENS AFTER THE WAR

**Resolution No. 58**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In Panama Canal, Panama Railroad, and allied positions on the Isthmus of Panama there are thousands of aliens holding positions in both "gold" and "silver" categories (United States citizens and aliens), in skilled, semi-skilled, and office work, and

WHEREAS, Now that the war emergency is over a reduction of force has already taken place with more to follow, and

WHEREAS, A similar reduction in force will take place about the same time in Government institutions in the United States, and

WHEREAS, There would be no object in sending personnel back to the United States from the Canal Zone to swell the unemployment lists in the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention as-

ssembled, be instructed to secure enactment of legislation which will give United States citizens preference in all skilled, semi-skilled, and office positions on the Isthmus of Panama when the war emergency is over.

Resolution 58 directs the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure the enactment of legislation which will give United States citizens preference in all skilled, semi-skilled and office positions on the Isthmus of Panama when the war emergency is over.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### STANDARD WAGE RATES FOR SUBSTITUTE SUPERVISORY EMPLOYEES IN CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

This resolution directs the officers of the American Federation of Labor to make every effort to amend existing laws so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### PUBLICITY OF FULL FACTS IN LABOR DISPUTES

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John Forster, Bernard M. Egan, John W. Austin, T. K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Several States have enacted legislation which compels employers, whose employees are striking, locked out or engaged in a labor dispute, to insert such information in any advertisement seeking to obtain new employees, and

WHEREAS, Such legislation has been effective in preventing deception by employers in such condition and prevented them from recruiting strikebreakers, and

WHEREAS, Such legislation has assisted

organized labor in increasing wages, reducing hours and improving conditions of employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor seek enactment of similar legislation in all States.

This resolution directs the officers of the American Federation of Labor to seek enactment of legislation in all States which will compel employers, whose employees are striking, locked out, or engaged in a labor dispute, to insert such information in any advertisement seeking to obtain new employees.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### HOSPITALIZATION FOR MERCHANT SEAMEN

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, War veterans of the armed forces of the United States are given the most efficient and advanced medical care for the duration of their lives, being eligible for admission at any time to the numerous well-staffed veterans hospitals, and

WHEREAS, Merchant seamen are eligible for admission to Marine hospitals for only 60 days after the date of their last discharge, and

WHEREAS, The merchant seamen have performed miracles of heroism and self-sacrifice in this war, comparable in every respect with the armed forces, many hundreds of seamen having been injured and killed, and

WHEREAS, Because of the 60-day clause which the United States Public Health Service applies to merchant seamen, many bona fide seamen are walking the streets of every American seaport, who are suffering from shell shock and various ailments brought on through enemy attacks and continuous strains undergone through perilous voyages, forcing them to remain ashore indefinitely, and who are denied hospitalization and treatment at Marine hospitals, and

WHEREAS, This contention was formed solely for and by the Board of Administrators for the Marine hospital, and is not recognized by any official governmental department as authentic, and is especially against the belief and recognition of the merchant seamen, for and by whom the Marine hospitals have been established, and

WHEREAS, The difference in hospital treatment given the armed forces on one hand, and the merchant seamen on the other constitutes unjust discrimination against the merchant heroes, without whose services this war could not be won, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled favor and work for its effectuation, making eligible for hospitalization for the rest of their lives, all merchant seamen who can show three years' peacetime discharges, or 12 months' wartime discharges or have been injured in wartime in the performance of their duty.

This resolution requests support of legislation making eligible for hospitalization of merchant seamen with 12 months service in wartime or 3 years' service in time of peace,



or who have been injured in line of duty in seniority to the industrial workers of the wartime.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### HOSPITALS FOR MERCHANT SEAMEN

**Resolution No. 62**—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Marine Hospitals were originally set up as separate hospitals to provide medical aid and hospitalization for merchant seamen, and were established and maintained by certain compulsory deductions from the seamen's wages and from the shipowners, and

WHEREAS, Some years ago these hospitals were incorporated under the administration of the United States Public Health Service and were broadened to take care of various shore employees of the Federal Government, such as Post Office employees and their families, Coast Guard and their families, and employees of various other Government agencies, and

WHEREAS, Under this set up the American merchant seamen find themselves in a secondary position as far as getting medical aid or needed hospitalization, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled introduce the necessary legislation in Congress which will restore to American merchant seamen, separate hospital and medical facilities as was originally established for them.

This resolution requests the American Federation of Labor to introduce legislation which will restore to American Merchant Seamen separate hospital and medical facilities as was originally established for them.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FULL SENIORITY FOR GOVERNMENT WORKERS

**Resolution No. 74**—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The past and present policies of the U. S. Government with reference to its system of efficiency and reduction in force has always been a detriment and an injustice to its employees, and

WHEREAS, In various public hearings before Congress of the U. S., evidence was submitted to show that competent employees with long and many years of service have been discharged due to the unfairness of this system, and

WHEREAS, The seniority system has worked very effectively in the railroad and other industries both in the interest of management and labor, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor now assembled in convention endorse and support any and all legislation now before Congress to establish full and strict

seniority to the industrial workers of the U. S. Government.

This resolution provides that the American Federation of Labor be pledged to endorse and support legislation to establish and enforce strict seniority among industrial workers of the United States Government in all cases of reduction in force.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FORTY-EIGHT HOUR WEEK FOR FIRE FIGHTERS

**Resolution No. 95**—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George T. Slocum, George J. Richardson, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, As we enter the economic phases of this postwar period, it should be each municipality's perspective to display initiative in providing employment for its deserving citizens, particularly the honorably discharged veterans of World War II, and

WHEREAS, There is no better way to provide jobs for those deserving citizens than by creating a forty-eight hour week for paid firemen in such communities as are not already alert to this means of progressiveness, and

WHEREAS, Firemen restricted to a forty-eight hour work week, except in cases of emergencies, shall still be working more hours per week than are worked by the average municipal employee and workers in other industry, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago in October 1946 go on record as recommending a work week, not exceeding forty-eight hours per week for fire fighters, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to urge all state federations of labor to assist in procuring legislation in each State that will provide for a work week not in excess of 48 hours for fire fighters, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Provincial Federations of Labor in Canada be requested to do likewise for the fire fighters in Canada.

This resolution requests that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to urge all state federations of labor to assist in securing legislation in each state which will provide for a work week not in excess of 48 hours for fire fighters, and that the Provincial Federations of Labor in Canada be requested to do likewise for the fire fighters of Canada.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### MONETARY LEGISLATION

**Resolution No. 101**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is an economic fact that the Government should have sole power to create and regulate the value of the nation's money as provided for in Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States, "to



coin money, to regulate the value thereof," and

WHEREAS, It is a widely known fact that our Government is compelled to borrow its own money from private institutions and pay interest to private banking institutions for use of its own money, and

WHEREAS, Even with a victorious end to the war there can never be a secure and lasting peace so long as a few ruthless private bankers have the power to bring on a condition of economic chaos, and

WHEREAS, Labor unions can never gain their goal by bargaining in the matter of hours, wages and general working conditions until Congress restores to itself the power to coin money and regulate the buying power of the wages bargained for, and

WHEREAS, An amazing revolution has taken place in the science of production no change in any way commensurate has taken place in the financial mechanism, and

WHEREAS, A Government created money interest free at source of origin used scientifically would prevent inflation, deflation and make it possible for consumption to keep pace with production, and

WHEREAS, An honest, scientific, constitutional money system should have these essential principles:

1. It must be created and controlled by Congress.

2. It must be free from interference by politicians and private bankers.

3. It must be interest free at origin and based on the total wealth of the nation and not on bonds or basic metals.

4. It must have a 100% reserve requirement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled respectfully request the President of the United States to immediately call upon Congress to restore the powers vested in Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That it go on record urging the Senate and House to seriously consider the monetary bills introduced by Congressman Jerry Voorhis, H.R. 42 and H.R. 153.

This resolution requests the President of the United States to immediately call upon Congress to restore the powers contained in Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States and requests the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor of the monetary bills introduced by Congressman Jerry Voorhees.

The Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### HATCH ACT

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Paragraph "A" Section 9, of the Hatch Act states "that no officer or employee in the executive branch of the Federal Government, or any agency or department thereof, shall take any active part in political management or political campaigns," and

WHEREAS, The system of government by

which we are governed calls for such political organization and action to perfect and perpetuate such institution of government for a democracy, and

WHEREAS, It is the right and duty of all citizens to have full voice in their government, to participate fully, and to perfect and perform in such organizations as would further their just aims as citizen workers, and

WHEREAS, Such right and duty is a vital part of our democratic way of life, and

WHEREAS, The above quoted part of the Paragraph "A" Section 9, of the Hatch Act imposes severe limitations regarding political action upon a large segment of American labor, namely the civil service employees, and

WHEREAS, This limitation prohibits these workers, under penalty of law, from entering into such political action to further their rights as workers, as should be the right of every citizen of these United States, and is very expressly guaranteed in our Constitution, and

WHEREAS, The Hatch Act was supposedly designed to protect the worker from the politician, but with its uses and its interpretations, rather protects the politicians from his class of workers and is especially used against the masses of these workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as instructing its Executive Council to use all of its great influence and power to prevail upon Congress to amend the Hatch Act, by the deletion of that part of Paragraph "A," Section 9, quoted above.

This resolution requests that the convention go on record in favor of the repeal of the principle clauses of the "Act to Prevent Pernicious Activities," known as the Hatch Act. This Act prohibits officers or employees of the U. S. Government from participating in the management of political campaigns. Because of serious differences of opinion among organizations whose members are affected, the Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to cooperate with said organizations in securing satisfactory amendments to the Hatch Act which will not hamper the rights of employees to exercise their right of suffrage, and at the same time give them adequate protection against coercive action by superior administrators or others in position to determine their tenure or welfare in their employment.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### MISSISSIPPI VALLEY PARKWAY PROGRAM

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A concerted effort is being made by cities and counties of Illinois bordering the Mississippi river to secure the construction of a Federal parkway and highway from the source of the Mississippi river near Itasca, Minn., to the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of approximately 2,500 miles, and

WHEREAS, The Illinois routing offers splendid scenic and historical possibilities, and

WHEREAS, The Mississippi Valley at present has no important national parks for recreational purposes as do the western and eastern sections of the United States, and the proposed parkway, legislation for which has been approved by the House Committee on Public Lands, will afford an ideal vacation route to the northland in summer and the south in winter, and will provide abundant facilities for vacationists along its entire route, and

WHEREAS, Construction of the proposed parkway and highway will provide labor for thousands of men and payrolls of millions of dollars in Illinois and other States bordering the Mississippi, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the said Mississippi Valley Parkway program, and urge approval of this project, enlisting the support of the program by all members of Congress.

This resolution requests that the American Federation of Labor support the Mississippi Valley Parkway program.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### H.R. 5626

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Commission of the United States presently lending every effort in having established adequate registers from which all agencies of the Government may select suitable personnel, and

WHEREAS, The method of establishing employment registers is recognized as most fair and equitable, and

WHEREAS, Efforts are constantly being made to abridge the rules and regulations governing civil service in United States Government, and

WHEREAS, H.R. 5626 has been determined as the latest instrument devised to break down the civil service system, allowing the Veterans Administration to employ in any civilian office or position any retired commissioned officer of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey and Public Health Service, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist in defeating the passage of H. R. 5626.

This resolution requests that the American Federation of Labor to oppose legislation to permit the employment without regard to civil service of retired commissioned officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey and Public Health Service.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates James B. Burns, Bernice B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program:

1. Increase immediately the present inadequate base pay of all Government employees so as to bring it into line with the rising cost of living and with the rates in private industry.

2. General revision of the salary schedules of the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and elimination of ceilings both as to base pay and overtime.

3. Retirement:

Preservation of the autonomy of the Civil Service Retirement System; Optional retirement on full annuity regardless of attained age (1) after 30 years of service; (2) after 25 years of service for employees engaged in hazardous occupations, or separated or demoted as a result of a reduction in force. Provision for retirement benefits for widows and dependents of employees dying in service. Elimination of tontine. Unqualified disability retirement regardless of age, and continuance on annuity roll until reinstatement. Relief for retired employees by increasing amount of and eliminating taxation on present annuities.

4. Elimination of personnel ceilings to prevent interference with necessary functions of Government; reduction in force in proportion to decreasing work load, rather than determination of any arbitrary standard; ample provision for reemployment and transfer; dismissal wage of not less than amounts paid private employees under Government unemployment insurance law.

5. Extension of the Classification Act to the Field Service; amendment of the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof when appeals for reallocation are pending; to afford employees unrestricted opportunity so to discuss their positions with a designated representative of the Government as will apprise him fully of their duties; to guarantee prompt adjudication of all appeals. Return to Classification schedules of all ungraded and per diem employees where desirable; application of the longevity pay principle to all Government positions, and affording employees under the Classification Act an opportunity to receive additional increments after attaining the top rate of their grade.

6. Perfection of the merit system and strengthening of the Civil Service system through adequate appropriations for the Civil Service Commission.

7. Establishment of a Board of Appeals with employee representation, to hear and render decisions on appeals and with authority to enforce its decisions so as to protect fully the rights of employees.

8. Promotion from within the service wherever practicable and with general recognition of seniority in all personnel transactions; seniority being the determinant when other factors are equal.

9. A five-day, 35-hour work week at an early date, with a 30-hour week as the ultimate objective.

10. Greater participation in personnel matters by employees and employee organizations.

11. Provide the Civil Service Commission with sufficient personnel and funds to prevent employment or continuance in service of persons who are disloyal or otherwise unfit.

12. Improvement and extension of the uniform Classification Act efficiency rating system to the Field Service with adequate funds for its operation. Establishment of local efficiency rating committees with employee representation throughout the Field and Departmental service.

13. Amendment to the Hatch Act to permit the Civil Service Commission to fix penalties for violations of the Act commensurate with the gravity of such violations.

14. Provide employees of the Government with complete uniforms, accessories and equipment where required.

15. Elimination of multiple taxation on Government employees' incomes by States or subdivisions thereof.

16. Establishment of the United States Employment Service and the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as permanent Federal agencies, subject to the Federal Classification Act of 1923, as amended.

17. Increase the benefits granted under the United States Employees' Compensation Act.

18. Establishment of adequate transfer facilities to provide employees with employment opportunities in other localities or services.

19. Protection against loss of pay for employees suspended and later exonerated.

20. Payment for annual leave in excess of the authorized maximum accumulation when administrative orders would result in loss of leave.

21. Travel allowance of \$10 per day for employees in travel status.

22. Reclassification of Public Buildings Administration guards and change of name to U. S. Building Police.

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor convention assembled at Chicago, Illinois, endorse aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

This resolution requests the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor with the American Federation of Government Employees in securing enactment of legislation in the interests of its members and endorsed in convention by that organization. The stated objectives are in accord with the established principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### MULTIPLICITY OF TAXATION

**Resolution No. 175**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Gov-

ernment Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, There is an increase in the number of taxes Government employees are being forced to pay, and

**WHEREAS**, Certain municipalities, notably Philadelphia, have imposed so-called wage taxes, the burden of which, particularly during wartime, has fallen heavily upon Government employees in those cities, and

**WHEREAS**, Government employees have been given no choice in the matter when their jobs have been sent to other cities under decentralization programs and are forced to abandon their homes or lose their jobs, and

**WHEREAS**, Government employees, as result, have found themselves beset with tax systems not of their own choosing, and

**WHEREAS**, The United States Government, including the Congress, have not provided any relief against multiple taxation against its own employees, and

**WHEREAS**, The purposes of the O'Hara bill which would have brought some relief against such oppressive taxation was denied final passage in the 79th Congress, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor now records its unreserved approval of passage of a bill similar to the O'Hara bill and gives unstinting support to the efforts of the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in an effort to remove existing tax abuses.

This resolution calls for relief against multiple income taxation of Government employees and asks support of the American Federation of Labor of legislation to remove existing tax abuses.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### MODERNIZATION OF COMPENSATION ACT

**Resolution No. 176**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail

Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The complexities of a highly intricate economic world have undergone accelerated changes in the last 30 years, and WHEREAS, The individual finds it far more difficult than it was three decades ago to achieve rehabilitation or adjustment after injuries resulting from hazards on the job, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government, acting in the role of exemplary employer, should cause the United States Employees' Compensation Act governing its own employees to be revised in line with modern day requirements, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does hereby record its heartiest approval to the efforts of affiliated unions and the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor, and it herewith adds its active support, to the increase of compensation rates for Government employees injured in line of duty, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such increased rates, in no event, should be less than the amount received while on active duty.

This resolution calls for increased rates under the United States Employees Compensation Act for all Government employees injured in line of duty, such increased rates in no event to be less than the amount received while on active duty.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### POSTAL RURAL CARRIER ALLOWANCE INCREASE

Resolution No. 177—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George

J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The cost of rural carrier delivery equipment and maintenance has advanced far beyond the allowance received, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse legislation establishing an allowance of ten cents per mile per day for each mile of travel, and a minimum allowance of seventy-five cents per hour for all carriers who serve routes readjusted under the Burch Act, and for carriers on routes of thirty miles or less in length.

This resolution seeks American Federation of Labor endorsement of legislation increasing allowances of Postal Rural Carriers to 10 cents per mile per day for each mile of travel and a minimum allowance of 75 cents per hour for all carriers who serve routes readjusted under the Burch Act, and for carriers on routes of 30 miles or less in length.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### POSTAL RURAL CARRIER SUBSTITUTE STATUS

Resolution No. 178—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International As-

sociation of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Substitutes in the Rural Delivery Service in the Post Office Department do not have the protection of civil service, and

WHEREAS, This denies them privileges that they should be entitled to and defeats the effectiveness of the merit system, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse legislation giving Rural Carrier substitutes a civil service status and granted annual leave and sick leave.

This resolution requests endorsement by the American Federation of Labor of legislation giving Rural Carrier substitutes a civil service status and annual and sick leave.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## TWENTY-FIVE YEAR OPTIONAL RETIREMENT FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 179—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law, and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after twenty-five years' service and provisions made for widows of deceased employees and annuitants, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the re-

quirements of service needs, the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in securing the enactment of a twenty-five year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

This resolution requests amendment of the United States Civil Service Retirement Act to provide for optional retirement of employees after 25 years service and to include provision for annuities for widows and dependents of employees dying while on active duty.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## HIGHER STANDARDS IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 180—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of harmful and objectionable speedup practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employees' representation thereon; employees' representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment of postal substitute employees; and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the

classification principle to these groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency of rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work; liberalization of the Civil Service Retirement law and establishment of the right to optional retirement after twenty-five years' service; application of seniority principles to all Government employees; establishment of a system of longevity pay; and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of the Government Employees Council in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution reaffirms the position of the American Federation of Labor favoring higher Government employee standards and requests the continued cooperation of the Executive Council with the affiliated Government employee organizations in securing legislation to effectuate various objectives, all of which are in line with established principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### NON-CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES IN POSTAL SERVICE

Resolution No. 181—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating

Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions, and

WHEREAS, Due to emergency conditions incident to the war, many temporary employees have been employed in the postal service, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its sixty-fifth convention, assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That prompt steps be taken to replace all temporary or non-certified civil service employees in the postal service as soon as practicable.

Resolution 181 requests that this convention reassert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies and asks that prompt steps be taken to replace all temporary or non-certified civil service employees in the postal service as soon as practicable.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### SALARY INCREASE FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 182—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Government employees have had inadequate increases during the past two years, and



WHEREAS, The increases granted by the 79th Congress to Government employes do not sufficiently meet the increased cost of living, and

WHEREAS, The Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor is endeavoring to secure permanent upward revisions of salary, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Chicago, Illinois, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employes Council in securing an equitable upward revision of salaries and wages and instruct the Executive Council to support legislation for that purpose to the fullest possible extent.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employes Council in their efforts to secure equitable and adequate increases in their salaries and wages, and instructs the Executive Council to support legislation for that purpose to the fullest possible extent.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### INCREASE FOR FEDERAL ANNUITANTS

Resolution No. 183—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerrity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggsadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employes; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employes International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased enormously during the last decade with no increase in the annuity of retired civil service employes, and

WHEREAS, This comparatively low annuity is causing undue hardship amongst retired civil service employes, and

WHEREAS, This situation is causing many government employes to remain in the service

who are eligible for and anxious to retire, thus working undue hardships on employes who have not yet retired, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support legislation providing for an increase of at least \$600 per annum in the annuities of Federal civil service employes now retired or retiring in the future.

This resolution requests A. F. of L. support of legislation providing for an increase of at least \$600 per annum in the annuities of Federal service employes now retired or retiring in the future.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### CANCER RESEARCH

Resolution No. 188—By Delegates John L. Lewis, John O'Leary, Thomas Kennedy, William Green, Percy Tetlow, M. F. Brennan, John Kmetz, Hugh White, William Mitch, United Mine Workers of America.

WHEREAS, There was defeated in the 79th Congress, a Bill (H.R. 4502) which provided for the mobilization of world scientists, experts and leaders in the field of Cancer Research, for coordination of all efforts toward the eradication of cancer and an appropriation of \$100,000,000, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has appropriated and spent billions of dollars in promoting atomic research to destroy life, other billions to fight disease and feed the millions of underprivileged citizens of Europe, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, call upon the Congress of the United States to consider and pass legislation in the 80th Congress that will provide the necessary money and research to save the seventeen million American citizens now living and who are doomed to death by this hideous disease during our lifetime, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our officers be instructed to use their influence to promote passage of this humanitarian legislation.

This resolution requests that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every influence to promote passage of legislation and secure adequate appropriations looking toward the eradication of cancer.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### S.2051

Resolution No. 194—By Delegates Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, August Wolf, International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, The Longshoremen and Harbor Workers Compensation Act became law in 1927 and no major amendment has been made since that time, and

WHEREAS, Bill S. 2051 was introduced in the 79th Congress, with the endorsement of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, but was not enacted into law, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, does endorse such legislation and pledges its aid and



the aid of its legislative agents in bringing about the passage of amendments in line with S. 2051 in order to liberalize the Longshoremen and Harbor Workers Compensation Act.

This resolution requests endorsement of legislation liberalizing rates under the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act and asks American Federation of Labor support in securing enactment of such legislation.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the Resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY BURNS:** Mr. President, Resolutions Nos. 63 and 76, having been referred to another Committee, this completes the report of the Committee on Legislation.

The report is signed by:

Leo George, Chairman  
James B. Burns, Secretary  
Emanuel Koveleski  
Fred N. Aten  
Foster J. Pratt  
James M. Duffy  
James T. Moriarty  
John Donlin  
Joseph F. Landis  
Thomas J. Quinlan  
Thomas V. Green  
Christian Madsen  
Philip Bennett  
James Mowatt  
Roy W. Singer  
Leo A. McCormick  
Frank X. Martel  
Barney B. Taylor  
Ole Twait  
David L. Behneke  
Godfrey Ruddick  
H. Z. Collier  
John Kmetz  
Sam Laderman  
George Heller

#### COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Mr. Chairman, I now move that the report of the committee as a whole be adopted.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair wishes to thank the Committee for its report to this convention.

The Chair recognizes Secretary McCurdy of the Committee on Adjustment.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT (continued)

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY McCURDY:** We have one more resolution to report upon, Resolution No. 167.

#### STOVE MOUNTERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

**Resolution No. 167—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.**

**WHEREAS,** The Stove Mounters International Union for several years has deliberately invaded the jurisdiction of a number of international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, and

**WHEREAS,** This condition has made it difficult and sometimes impossible for these international unions to negotiate with employers covering their industries, and

**WHEREAS,** Repeated conferences between officers of the Stove Mounters International Union and the presidents of the international unions has failed to establish any adjustment whatsoever, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention of the American Federation of Labor cancel the charter of the Stove Mounters International Union.

Your committee, after hearing representatives of the organizations involved, recommends that Resolution No. 167 be referred to President Green with the request that he call a conference of the representatives of the organizations for the purpose of obtaining proper adjustment of the dispute. In case of failure to adjust the differences, we recommend the matter be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

I move adoption of the Committee's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY McCURDY:** Mr. President, that concludes the report of the Committee on Adjustment, which is signed by the following members:

Felix H. Knight, Chairman  
Joseph P. McCurdy, Secretary  
Lee Minton  
George Edgerton  
John F. McNamara  
J. B. Etchison  
Charles L. Bagley  
Arnold R. Hokanson  
T. L. Jones  
Frank Brewster  
Ed J. Brown  
E. J. Manion  
Alfred Cook  
George W. Lawson  
Glen R. Blake  
L. M. Raftery  
Harry Nacey  
Joseph J. Delaney  
Joseph O'Neill  
Samuel R. Diskan  
Wm. P. Raoul  
Gordon Chapman  
George Grisham  
Martin F. Brennan  
John H. Sylvester

#### COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KNIGHT:** Mr. Chairman, I move that the report of the Committee as amended be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair wishes to

thank the Committee on Adjustment for the valuable service rendered and for the fine report they submitted to this convention.

Now the Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

**VICE PRESIDENT WOLL:** Out of 197 resolutions introduced at this convention, 148 were referred to the Committee on Resolutions. In addition to that, 62 sections of the Executive Council's Report were referred to the Committee on Resolutions. In all, the committee was required to consider 210 items.

While your Committee feels highly complimented in the confidence imposed upon it, nevertheless it feels that the burden upon the Committee on Resolutions is becoming too great to deal with all of these matters as they should, of right, be dealt with.

Your Committee should also call attention to the fact that but 78 of the 197 resolutions were introduced prior to the opening of the convention, and under the rules of the convention resolutions are to be presented thirty days prior to the convening of the convention.

Your Committee would advise the convention and its officers that in the future we follow the laws more strictly in the introduction and consideration of resolutions, in order that the Committee may be given proper time to consider them adequately and fully and as they should be considered.

Your Committee would also call attention to the fact that some Committees are dealing with similar subjects to those dealt with by the Committee on Resolutions, and that greater care might be exercised in referring these matters, so that they might not be reported upon by several committees.

In dealing with the 210 items the Committee, particularly the Chairman and the Secretary, had to work pretty nearly every day and night to prepare this report for your consideration, and if we have not given it the attention it deserves it is because of lack of opportunity.

The Committee, in reporting on resolutions, will try to report on them in their numerical order. We have combined a number of resolutions that deal with the same subject, and to report upon them individually would only take up the time of the convention unnecessarily.

We shall likewise from time to time intersperse sections of the Executive Council's Report on different subjects, because we want to deal fairly with the press in giving them our reports.

With these few observations and comments our Secretary will report for the Committee.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Mr. Chairman, I would like to concur heartily in the remarks the Chairman of the Committee has just made. All delegates come to attend some sessions of the convention. This is the first opportunity the Secretary of your

Committee on Resolutions has had of coming into the convention.

We feel complimented, of course, upon having all this work to do, but I don't believe that it is advisable that delegates to the convention should be given work which prohibits them from attending the majority of the sessions. Your committee will shortly report on resolutions. Before that, and because of their time limits, the Committee desires to report on four sections of the Executive Council's Report.

## THE NATIONAL WAGE STABILIZATION BOARD

(Pages 115-121, Executive Council Report)

The National Wage Stabilization Board was created to administer the wage control program of the Federal Government in its effort to avoid inflation by regulating wages and prices. Its existence, therefore, was predicated upon an effective anti-inflation program.

Today there is no such program. The steady, persistent emasculation of price control by the Federal Government has reduced the need for a Wage Stabilization Board to zero. The time has come when the organized and the unorganized workmen of America must be freed from wage controls which have become an added burden upon their efforts to obtain food, clothes and shelter. For working people the fight against inflation is at best a losing battle and they should not be made to bear the added disability of a wage control board which limits their attempt to obtain for themselves temporary relief from ever-rising prices.

In summary, therefore, your Committee unanimously recommends to the delegates to this convention that the American Federation of Labor take immediate and positive steps toward terminating the National Wage Stabilization Board.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## NATIONAL LABOR POLICY

(Pages 101-109, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee has read with interest the accurate and detailed report of the Executive Council on national labor policy. We unanimously concur in and endorse the conclusion of the Council that the time has come to return to the basic principle of trade unionism—the right to organize; the right to form unions of our own choosing; the right to bargain collectively; the right to refuse to work for unfair employers; and the right of Government employees to organize.

Nothing in the experience of the American Federation of Labor with wartime regulation of collective bargaining by the Federal Government justifies a departure from these basic principles. Nothing has occurred since the end of the war to justify delaying our immediate return to the freedom required by these principles. Immediate economic freedom is of utmost importance to the American Federation of Labor in particular and the American labor movement in general.

Only after our freedom has been restored can there be any progress made toward the formulation of a national labor policy. Nor

is there any reason to believe that such a policy will be established by so-called national conferences of labor and management. A truly national labor policy can best be obtained through the tried and tested procedures of collective bargaining between individual employers and industrial groups of organized workmen.

In summary, therefore, it is the unanimous recommendation of your Committee that positive steps be taken by the American Federation of Labor to free itself from the remnants of Federal regulation which was necessary only in time of war.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt this section of the Committee's report.

DELEGATE WATT, Brotherhood of Painters: Being the representative of the American Federation of Labor on the Wage Stabilization Board, the abolition of which your Committee has just recommended to the convention, I would like for a few brief moments to give the delegates a hurried outline of what has taken place.

To begin with, I think there is a great deal of confusion. Both wage and price controls have been so shifted and so confused and so intermingled with the political picture that I think all of us have become quite confused.

We thought we had a policy which all of us understood on August 18, 1945, that historic date when President Green and Secretary Meany and the Executive Council outlined the policy of the American Federation of Labor and pointed out that we were completely in agreement, that from that time on we would come back and bargain collectively with our employers.

But early in February, 1946, it had been amply demonstrated that the American Federation of Labor could not pursue that policy and pursue it successfully. At that time early in February—and you will remember the dates between August 18, 1945 and early in February, 1946, The A. F. of L. organizations had bargained for over 3,000 unions. You had consummated over 3,000 agreements representing approximately half the membership of the American Federation of Labor. You had secured wage increases averaging between 10 and 20 cents an hour, without a strike and without affecting price ceilings.

I repeat that, because I feel it was one of the greatest accomplishments of any organization at any time in the history of our union.

But there were other unions that had their ideas and that had other ideas and other methods, unions which had depended for a period of some ten or twelve years on Government for sustenance. They struck large industries, and as a result, on February 14, 1946, an agreement was reached by the Government and 700,000 striking workers were given 18½ cents an hour. The other part of the bargain was that the price of the product they made would be increased \$5.00 a ton. I refer to the United Steelworkers. That action,

whether we like it or not, to a very large degree nullified collective bargaining as we knew it and at the same time practically set aside wage controls.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and particularly President Green, Secretary Meany, Vice-President Woll and Mr. Martin Durkin, President of the United Association of Plumbers, who had served on the War Labor Board and the Defense Mediation Board succeeding it, all took the position that our immediate need was increased production to meet consumer demand within the price structure.

In other words, our position was that workers had a right to secure as large a share as possible of the fruits of their productivity, but if it meant a simultaneous price increase, then the wage increase itself was not genuine. We thought we could best stabilize the earnings of the workers by increasing production and at the same time play an important part in wiping out any inflationary danger which we had at that time and which I believe we have now.

However, the folks in Washington had great difficulty in deciding when or how to demobilize our war economy, including regulations on both wages and prices. They could not make up their minds when they could step out, as the engineer of this war economy, and unfortunately, when they did step out as the engineer they usually stepped in two or three days later as the fireman to clean up the dust that the engineers had left.

During the past few months the rules of the game under which the Wage Stabilization Board operated have been changed repeatedly. Some of you will recall discussing this with me in Washington. Under Executive Order 9651 wage increases were limited to a very small amount, which could then be used by the employer for price purposes if he so decided. But unfortunately the employer, in most instances, adopted this very small amount of wage increase which could be used for price purposes, and he took them as his guide in negotiating wage increases with unions, and unions as a result had great difficulty in getting a fair increase.

In fact, as a result of the employer taking those rules and regulations, many unions which had suffered a 30 percent decrease in actual take-home pay were not entitled to any increase in wages. This was primarily the condition, as I see it, that caused the serious strikes we had.

Then I come back to the date of February 14, 1946, because on that date, after the American Federation of Labor had succeeded in securing agreements for over 3,000 unions—at that time three and a half million men and women—another Executive Order was issued. That Executive Order, you

will recall, was 9697, and that allowed an increase of 18½ cents an hour.

Under the policy preceding the issuance of Executive Order 9697 and the policy which was in operation under Executive Order 9651 the striking 700,000 workers to which I referred were entitled to exactly 7 cents an hour, with the result that we put on notice over 3,000 of our unions that if they had agreed to less than 18½ cents an hour, they could come back and the rest of that amount was in the kitty, and even if necessary there would be a price increase simultaneously granted.

Since that date, as a matter of fact, although there may be disagreement on this, but I have sat on that Board, and since that date there has been no wage control or price control in a real sense, with the exception of rent control. There are no direct controls under the present rules of the National Wage Stabilization Board, with the exception of the building and construction industry. Any employer can put into effect at any time any increase agreed to with his union, providing he does not seek to use that wage increase for the reason for increasing the price of the product he makes.

The Wage Stabilization Board which you have heard so much about only acts on cases where price increase is sought and only has the power to determine what amount of wage increase can be used by the employer in effecting or affecting a price increase on the product.

One last word, and I think the most important point, because the President, the Secretary and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor during all of this period, lasting now for nearly five and a half years, have held fast to the position that what we need at the earliest possible time is less Government control or interference with legitimate collective bargaining between unions and their employers. That has been the goal of the American Federation of Labor representatives, both on the old War Labor Board and on the National Wage Stabilization Board.

To put it in another way, we want to continue operating as a trade union within the economic sphere, without the interference of Government, as an economic organization promoting the well-being of the worker as a worker in the best interests of the whole community. While many of us, including myself, had hoped and had sincerely hoped that our war economy could be decontrolled over a period of time under well-defined rules and regulations, that is no longer possible.

Therefore, I heartily support the report of your Committee.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report on the subject matter under discussion was carried by unanimous vote.

## PRICE CONTROL

(Page 216, Executive Council Report)

This section recounts the legislative steps that resulted in the present law under which prices have been raised and provides for decontrol. We move approval of this section and recommend that this convention record insistence on immediate decontrol of all prices except rents with a return to the controls of a free economy.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## WAGES

(Pages 171-179, Executive Council Report)

This section of the report of the Executive Council contains details of wartime developments in wage rates and workers' incomes. These facts show how governmental controls have warped the wage structure and prevented a proportional increase in wage rates to compensate for increases in output per manhour. Controls exercised by O. P. A., Civilian Production Administration, and the Wage Stabilization Board still impede collective bargaining—the accepted procedure for adjusting wage rates in accord with economic conditions, output per man, cooperation with management by which workers assume proportionate responsibility for eliminating wastes and proposing economies.

Prices have been raised by O. P. A. because of foreign as well as domestic conditions, while wage rates have been curbed. As a result, serious unbalance is developing between output of consumer goods and consumer purchasing power. Workers' families are feeling the pinch of rising prices and less flexible earnings. This situation would be serious even if workers and management were free to make the best possible arrangements through collective bargaining, but it is more dangerous when Government prohibits payment of increases which management accepts as equitable and practical under present conditions.

Wartime controls are steadily developing into hindrances to reconversion and normal progress with production to serve normal needs.

We therefore urge:

- (1) Immediate lifting of price controls, except rents.
- (2) Dissolution of the Wage Stabilization Board.
- (3) Return to collective bargaining based on workers' contribution to production and capacity of the employer to pay.
- (4) The development of union-management cooperation plans with joint responsibility for improving production and reducing wastes that unnecessarily increase costs together with the development of records to show workers' contribution to production and workers' production achievements.
- (5) The expansion of union-management machinery through joint agreement upon management techniques which would otherwise definitely restrict the field of collective bargaining.

There are industries and occupations where it is impractical or impossible to measure the individual's production, as in the case

of so-called white collar workers for whom the cost of living is of vital importance.

We urge reaffirmation of these present wage policies.

High wages are the distinctively American policy.

Increased productivity and increased output per manhour are essential to continuous increases in our standards of living and provide resources for paying higher wages.

Industries and business undertakings which cannot pay high wages are enterprises self-condemned of inefficiency and wastes. Business enterprises that can pay high wages and do not are either short-sighted as to future prosperity or else unwilling to shoulder the full costs of maximum prosperity.

After fair rates of pay have been determined by management and labor, sustained progress requires that wage increases be paid out of increased output.

During this period of reconversion and reconstruction, progress and prosperity depend upon getting our production facilities into operation at a capacity to supply needs here at home and in the war-devastated areas. Adequate supplies are the surest economic check on inflation. Our unions must exercise good judgment and discretion to secure our gains at the least cost to ourselves and the community.

Our unions must be courageous, far-sighted and insistent upon wage rates that compensate for services given. The wage earners of the United States are production partners in our great and prosperous industries and we offer industries the priceless cooperation of the Nation's tool makers and tool users, who have the know-how that is production skill and who know how to get the most out of the materials of production. Our wage rates must increase proportionately as the productive power we control enables us to increase output. Only high national income will sustain an economy that utilizes the newest in technical progress. High national income is impossible unless producing workers, the largest national group, have high wage rates.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY:** Mr. Chairman, the Committee will now report on resolutions during the remainder of the forenoon session.

In reporting on the many resolutions, unless there is objection from the floor, the Committee will read the number of the resolution, the page on which it appears and the action of the committee.

### FORCED LABOR

**Resolution No. 1—**by Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Selective Service Act provides that conscientious objectors shall be either retained in work essential to the war effort, or sent to internment camps known as Civilian Public Service Camps, where they are compelled to work at whatever the Selective Service Directors order, without receiving any remuneration for their labor, and must either supply their own bedding, food, clothing, fuel for cooking and heating the camps, or have

some friends supply these necessities of life, or starve to death, and

WHEREAS, Interned men working in the Civilian Public Service Camps are not covered by Workmen's Compensation, therefore, if injured must pay for their own medical attention, or have friends take care of them while incapacitated. If killed while at work in the camp and leave dependents, the latter may become a burden on the common taxpayer, and

WHEREAS, If these men were sentenced to prison for violating a law, they would be fed, clothed, housed, and receive medical attention at the expense of the State, and

WHEREAS, These men are compelled to work in open competition with free labor, working as carpenters and joiners, driving trucks, operating power shovels and doing other manual labor—skilled and unskilled, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government and most States do not use convict labor in competition with free labor, as the conscientious objectors are forced to do in Civilian Public Service Camps, and

WHEREAS, Forcing conscientious objectors or any other person to work for nothing and in competition with free labor is involuntary servitude and in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The Selective Service Act has been amended to draft men up to forty-five years of age, which with the existence of the Civilian Public Service Camp will make it easy to further amend the Selective Service Act to draft workers, while on strike, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By this convention that we condemn this practice of forced labor in Civilian Service Camps as a practice worthy only of Fascism and Nazism, an violation of every principle of democracy and Americanism, in direct violation of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and a violation of the very principles of liberty and freedom which thousands of American soldiers have given their lives to preserve, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to amend the Selective Service Act to eliminate this violation of the Constitution of the United States, so that all Americans may again look humanity proudly in the face with the certain knowledge that the rights and liberties so grandiosely claimed by our American declarations are not being violated by our own Government.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and action.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY:** Mr. Chairman, I move that the report of the Committee be adopted.

The motion was seconded.

**DELEGATE GRAHAM,** Montana State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I want to speak in support of Resolution No. 1 and the 13th Amendment of our Constitution. Now, when Congress considered the Selective

Service Act it took much time on the same, and the committees consider it that way. They wanted a law that would be tolerant, that would be democratic, and from a military standpoint, I believe the Selective Service Act is tolerant and it is democratic.

The registrant first makes out his report and is given the opportunity to state whether he is a conscientious objector or not, and the law provides that if anyone wants a deferment they have a right to make a request for it. If the Local Board refuses it they have the privilege of appeal to the State Appeal Board and provided the State Appeal Board—one of its members votes in favor of the registrant—he can appeal to the President through General Hershey.

Now, it is all in rotation. The Act provides also that if a man is found to be of more value to the war effort on the home front or in his civilian activities than he would be in the armed forces he has a right to stay on the job and work at home and not go in the Army.

When Congress passed the measure they provided that the conscientious objector should be employed on work necessary to the war effort or civilian activities. If there was no such place to put him then they could put him in a camp. It provided further that if the conscientious objector went in a camp and worked he was paid no more money than a soldier was paid or the members of the armed forces were paid.

We find that the law has been abused in some things. The law is good, but in the administration of the law a lot of things have developed. They made the camps, they made the conscientious objectors in the camps and proceeded to give them work in competition with free labor and not pay them anything. They received no pay, they had to feed themselves, they had to clothe themselves while on the job.

In eastern Montana there is a camp on the Yellowstone River. These men were building houses, doing the work of carpenters and painters and the building trades. The labor unions of eastern Montana protested, and the job was closed up.

Now, we had another camp in North Dakota adjacent to Montana. I made an investigation of that and I found a man digging ditches, using a power shovel in competition with the operating engineers and receiving no pay. They were working in competition with the carpenters of North Dakota. I found there two carpenters employed on the job and receiving the union scale of wages. Three men were doing the carpenters' work, finishing work, and they were receiving nothing. I found truck drivers getting dirt from the shovel and taking it and filling up low places. They were getting no money. They were in competition with labor. They had to pay their own living ex-

penses, their food and their clothing expenses. The Government supplied a shack for them to live in. If they didn't have money the Society of Friends paid their expenses, and this came mostly from the Quakers around the country through the main body in Philadelphia. And they were the ones who fed the men and clothed the men while on the job.

Now, this has paved the way and given place for the establishment of a precedent which the President used when he brought out his Emergency Act, Section 7-A, which was brought about to bolster the railroad men, which stated that they could be drafted into the armed forces under the Selective Service Act. Now, this is in violation of the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution. It is involuntary servitude, and that is what we are protesting against.

I would like to call your attention to something else. They say the conscientious objector has a yellow streak. Well, neither on the picket line or elsewhere do I want any yellow streaks or any scabbards around me, and I don't think I want them in the front line trenches. They destroy the morale of our country. However, in western Montana and Idaho in the forests the conscientious objectors worked there. They asked for volunteers to go up in the airplanes and make parachute drops to fight forest fires. Now, that is a dangerous proposition. It is extra hazardous. They got the conscientious objectors to go up in the planes and make jumps from the parachutes.

In western Montana and Idaho the mountain tops are rugged and they have many jagged crags, and if a man should come down in the wrong place he could suffer a broken leg and possibly could be killed. If he would come down astride a bull moose or alongside a she-bear and a couple of cubs it would be too bad. That is a very hazardous occupation. I do not want to be near a bull moose anytime, because it is one of the fiercest fighters of the wild game in this country, and as far as a she-bear and a couple of cubs—the farther I am away from her the better, and I have seen them with their cubs and have been near them, but I have beat it.

These men when injured received no workmen's compensation. Any of the conscientious objectors who were killed on the job and had dependents could get no compensation, and the dependents were left on the charity of the country in which they lived.

This is not a good law to have and it is in violation of the 13th Amendment, and I hope when the Executive Council takes action on this that they will act strongly and try to get that thing wiped out. Thank you.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried unanimously.



## CONSERVATION OF NATION'S TIMBER LANDS

**Resolution No. 2**—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, More than three-fourths of the nation's virgin commercial timber stands have been cut over at least once and in consequence there has developed in many parts of the United States a scarcity of saw-log, pulp and pole timber, and

WHEREAS, During the past thirty years the total volume of saw-timber in the United States was reduced by approximately 40 percent, and

WHEREAS, We are still using timber faster than we are growing it and this downward trend in the depletion of the Nation's timber supply still continues, and

WHEREAS, A part of this decrease is due to the ravages of fire, insects, and disease damage as well as to wasteful cutting and milling practices, and

WHEREAS, This situation is affecting the welfare of the people of Montana and will continue to do so, and

WHEREAS, Montana's 15 million acres of commercial timber lands containing 52½ billion board feet of standing saw-timber and 69 million cords of pole timber could, under proper management and utilization, sustain the lumber and woods-using industries of the state on a permanent basis and even on a larger scale than they are operating today, and

WHEREAS, We believe that a National and State forestry program will contribute to increased and more stable employment in Montana, will make more lumber available to meet the present shortages, and will be a constructive move in the direction of assuring the future of the Nation against a timber famine, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor immediate action in the development of a State and National program for all forest lands that will protect the forests from fire, insects, and disease damage; promote forestry practices that will result in full use of the productive capacity of these lands but not overuse which would bring exhaustion of usable timber at a later date; promote greater utilization of the wood products thereby eliminating waste and conserving timber supplies now available; and provide for an aggressive start on reforestation of lands now not producing anything of commercial value, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we specifically favor immediate action through the passage by Congress of a cooperative insect control law comparable to the cooperative fire control law which will provide for the protection of privately owned lands now threatened by outbreaks of destructive insect pests which each year destroy much valuable timber in northern Idaho and western Montana, and be it still further

RESOLVED, That we demand immediate action on an expanded Federal forest road development program to open up inaccessible timber stands in the mountainous country most of which are within the boundaries of the National Forests and which roads are needed if overmature or diseased timber is to

be salvaged and these back country timber stands put on a better managed basis.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## WAR SHIPPING ADMINIS- TRATION'S TRAINEES

**Resolution No. 3**—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Maritime Commission has been operating schools for the purpose of training merchant seamen during the period of World War II, and

WHEREAS, There is no longer any need for the training of seamen since the ending of hostilities, and

WHEREAS, The War Shipping Administration has announced the purpose of training more merchant seamen for jobs that are now being filled by the unions without any trouble whatsoever, and

WHEREAS, The War Shipping Administration cannot find employment for the men they have in the manning pool since the ending of hostilities and some of the men have been to the Seamen's Union Halls, trying to find employment, and

WHEREAS, The only purpose these men can be used for would be to man the ships, in the event of a strike by the Seafaring Unions, and

WHEREAS, As long as the War Shipping Administration has these trainees in reserve, they will be a constant threat to the Seafaring Unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as favoring the abolition of the Recruitment and Manning Division of the War Shipping Administration as there is no further need for the services of this organization, causing a waste of the taxpayer's money and that the necessary appropriate steps be taken to effectuate this aim.

Your Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and such action as is necessary.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## POLL TAX

**Resolution 4**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton F. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record condemning the poll tax as undemocratic, un-American and unjust, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Illinois, October, 1946, go on record as reaffirming its opposition to the poll tax and supporting Federal legislation for its abolition.

Your Committee approves the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.



## ABOLISHING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN TRADE UNIONS

**Resolution No. 5**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Discrimination on account of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry in the trade union movement makes for division and division makes for weakness which robs the workers of the power to protect and defend their interests and rights against the ruthless attacks of organized business, and

WHEREAS, Discrimination based on race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry has been used by Hitler in Nazi Germany to create scapegoatism for the victimization of the Jews which helped to lead to the Second World War, resulting in the destruction of billions of dollars of property and millions of human beings, and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement must stand as the bulwark of democracy and freedom in the United States and give to America the spiritual and moral leadership of the democratic forces of the world, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn discrimination in all trade unions, international and local unions, central and state bodies, as a disruptive and destructive evil which gnaws at the heart of organized labor and go on record calling upon the International's locals and federal bodies to set up anti-discrimination committees for the purpose of teaching the membership, through discussion and the dissemination of literature, the dangers of discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin and ancestry to our American democratic system and world peace.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## WHITE PRIMARIES

**Resolution No. 6**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court went on record in the Texas Primaries case outlawing white primaries as an invasion of the constitutional rights of citizens set forth in the 15th Amendment of the Constitution, and

WHEREAS, This decision of the United States Supreme Court has been defied by Bilbo, Talmadge and other southern political leaders, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the practice of certain southern States designed to invalidate the constitutional rights of Negro citizens by intimidating them at the polls and by the employment of other deceptive and terroristic practices to prevent these citizens from exercising their right to vote as being un-American, undemocratic and unconstitutional and to support the fight now being waged by civic, religious and labor organizations,

to uphold the decision of the United States Supreme Court against white primaries.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## ANTI-LYNCH BILL

**Resolution No. 7**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Lynching stands as a grave disgrace and a blot upon the life and record of the United States of America because it is a shocking violation of human decency, justice and civilized society, and

WHEREAS, Lynchings have gripped the southern section of this country, placing the United States in an embarrassing and indefensible light before the nations of the world assembled in the United Nations Assembly and also before the Peace conference, and

WHEREAS, The States have shown by the five thousand or more persons lynched in them in the last fifty years, and without bringing many of the criminals to justice that they are wholly incapable of eliminating this assault upon humanity, Christianity and democracy, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning lynchings and mob law and supporting Federal legislation for the abolition of this social evil.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## OUTLAWING THE KU KLUX KLAN

**Resolution No. 8**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Reliable reports in various parts of the country and especially the South show that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which rose in the Reconstruction period to nullify the Amendments to the Federal Constitution giving citizenship to former slaves, is reviving and re-establishing its organization in different parts of the country for the avowed purpose of fomenting, engendering and inculcating hatred and carrying on persecution of Negroes, Catholics, Jews and foreigners in the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, This sinister program of hate is in conflict with the basic principles of our American constitutional government and Christian ideals, and

WHEREAS, It will sow the seeds of whirlwinds of racial riots and color wars of devastating and destructive effect upon our country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 65th convention in Chicago go on record as condemning the Ku Klux Klan and calling upon the United States Department of Justice to take necessary action toward outlawing this nefarious movement in the interest of justice and peace for our country.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### SUPPORT FEDERAL FEPC LEGISLATION

**Resolution No. 9**—Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in several conventions has gone on record supporting Federal legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission to eliminate discrimination in industry and labor organizations based upon color, creed, country and ancestry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor in Chicago go on record as reaffirming its position of supporting Federal legislation for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission because it represents and expresses the basic democratic spirit of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY: I move that the report of the Committee be adopted.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE WEBSTER, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President and delegates to the convention: The delegates from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters wish to take this opportunity to express their appreciation and congratulations to the Resolutions Committee on its report on this resolution. However, we feel that it is important enough to make a few remarks about this question of fair employment practice as it has developed in this country.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has been largely instrumental in bringing about the Executive Orders that were issued during the war which resulted in this Fair Employment Practice program. In addition to myself there were two other A. F. of L. members who served upon that committee during wartime, in the person of Frank Fenton, organizer of A. F. of L., and Boris Shishkin. As an organization that is interested in the problems that were involved in the Fair Employment Practice program, we want to state that we received the utmost cooperation from the two representatives of the American Federation of Labor who sat on that committee.

I also wish to take this opportunity to briefly state to the delegates to this convention the significance of this particular problem—not only its significance to the Negro workers of the nation, a million of whom are members of this organization, but it is significant to the democratic processes which we are attempting to maintain at such tremendous cost.

It developed that even at the time we were faced with the menace on the other side of the water we had many people in high places in this country who tried to carry on as usual their discriminatory practices, particularly against the Negro workers and other minority groups during the war. While during the life of the Wartime Committee we were not able to bring about a correction of all difficulties, substantial progress has been made. It also developed in the early deliberations of this committee that there appeared to be a planned attempt, wherever the discriminatory practices prevailed, to place the responsibility on the workers, and because of the fact that there were on that committee people connected with the organized labor movement, particularly with the American Federation of Labor, we were able to show that at least part of the discriminatory practices originated in the minds of those who employed the workers.

This question of fair employment legislation is all-important. We feel that it is equally important at this time as the efforts to put the child labor laws on the statute books in the early days, because there cannot be any democracy in this country unless all people who are ready and willing and able to work and have the ability to work are allowed to work on an equal basis with everybody else.

So, we offer congratulations to the committee and to the Federation for the part that it has taken in this particular program, and we feel that with the support of the American Federation of Labor we have a good opportunity of getting permanent legislation on the statute books on this subject matter.

The Wartime President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which went out of existence just a few weeks back, recommended that the subject matter on this question of fair employment practice was so significant that there should be permanent legislation to carry this program over into the peacetime economy. It might be interesting for the delegates of this convention to know that here in this country in the year of 1946 Negroes are driven off of jobs, jobs where they have been working for 35, 40 and 50 years, for no other reason than that they are Negroes. We have in the courts of the Nation today two injunction suits pending. One is in Kansas City, involving eighty-four Negro employees of M. K. and T. Road and one in Chicago involving a hundred or more employees on the Santa Fe, where there have been deliberate efforts made to drive these men off of these jobs where they worked for many, many years, but for no other reason than that they are Negroes. We feel that permanent legislation on the statute books supported by the American Federation of Labor will bring about a cor-

rection of these things and bring about some real democracy in this country.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

### LABOR DAY

**Resolution No. 10**—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, at the request of organized labor, has set aside a national holiday known as Labor Day, for the purpose of taking stock of the position of labor in society and giving recognition to the contribution that labor has made to the development of the country, the defending of its institutions, and the elevation of the standard of living of its citizens, and

WHEREAS, In most industrial localities, it is customary for the local central body to provide for a fitting observance of Labor's national holiday, and

WHEREAS, On such occasions, frequently, local unions fail to participate, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago urge that local central bodies conduct a fitting and proper celebration of Labor Day and that international unions be called upon to request of their local unions to participate in such observance and that federal local unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, be ordered to participate in such official Labor Day observances whenever and wherever such observances are held.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### INCOME TAX

**Resolution No. 11**—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, as a measure to raise funds to finance the war, instituted a pay roll withholding tax as part of the income tax setup, which effectuated a 10% withholding on wages, and

WHEREAS, The 10% withholding was later increased to 20% taking a large share of the gross income of the wage worker for governmental purposes, and

WHEREAS, While taxes on industry were increased during the war, immediately upon its cessation, the Congress gave tax relief to industry which resulted in many cases of money that otherwise would have gone to the Government now being used to fight organized labor and to try to impose a lower standard of living in America, and

WHEREAS, The present income tax brackets on wage earners are imposing an unnecessary hardship, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in Chicago, demand of the United States Congress immediately upon its reassembly that a reduction in income tax on wage workers be made that will effectuate at least a fifty percent reduction in the withholding tax.

Your Committee concurs with the objective of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Committee on Taxation of the A. F. of L.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

**DELEGATE MARTEL**, Detroit Federation of Labor: With the indulgence of the delegates, I would just like to take a moment to make a few remarks on this resolution.

At the 1941 convention in Seattle we had at that time a 10 percent withholding tax. We had some representatives from the Treasury Department who visited the Committee on Legislation and there we discussed the withholding tax as it then existed. There was some discussion in the committee that if Congress proposed to raise the withholding tax the American Federation of Labor should demand of Congress that those paying any rate higher than 10 per cent be reimbursed by applying the additional amount to the purchase of Government bonds, and there was a feeling at that time that the 10 per cent withholding tax was all that they were justified in asking the wage worker to cough up.

However, within a few months after the convention adjourned Congress jammed through a bill raising the withholding tax to 20 per cent. I want to call your attention to this, my friends, that we are still paying that 20 per cent but immediately when hostilities ceased, Congress gave tax relief to industry, where today many millions of dollars that were taken from the Government in excess profits taxes are now being used to fight organized labor, being used in an effort by the industrialists of America to finance every crackpot in the country that they can get hold of to fill the columns of our newspapers, our radio stations and other avenues of publicity in a barrage of propaganda designed to destroy organized labor, and it is being done out of the excess profits that industry made off of the people of this country during the war. I hold that if Congress can give relief to industry they can give relief to the people that do the useful work in this industry.

It is time that the American Federation of Labor raised its voice in no uncertain terms demanding of Congress that there be tax relief given to the wage workers of America.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Resolutions Nos. 12, 15, 28, 63, 80, 81, 110, 119, 149, 151 and 159.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY**: Mr. Chairman, your committee found a number of resolutions dealing with the same subject of subsistence allowance for veteran apprentice trainees, so they are reporting on Resolutions Nos. 12, 15, 28, 63, 80, 81, 110, 119, 149, 151 and 159.

## RESTORATION OF SUSTENANCE ALLOWANCE FOR VETERAN APPRENTICE TRAINEES

**Resolution No. 12**—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The "G. I." Bill of Rights, as originally passed provided for \$50.00 a month for unmarried veterans and \$75.00 a month for married veterans, to supplement the lower wage that those who were enrolled in apprentice training to become journeymen draftsmen, etc., were compelled to accept, and

WHEREAS, At a later date, recognizing the inadequacy of this amount, the sustenance allowance was increased to \$65.00 and \$90.00 per month, and

WHEREAS, Many veterans, having faith in the commitments of the United States Government and a desire to equip themselves with the knowledge and skill to become journeymen craftsmen, engineers, architects, etc., entered apprentice training, feeling safe in assuming the responsibility of adulthood, bought homes, got married, and made certain other commitments depending upon the pledge of the United States Government to see them through the period of training by supplementing their apprentice wage to bring it to journeymen standards; and

WHEREAS, A majority of the veterans, whose training was interrupted by their service to their country, would not ordinarily have entered an apprentice training program but would have sought employment at an occupation paying a higher wage but with less opportunity of learning a skilled trade or occupation and less earning capacity over a long period of time, and

WHEREAS, This pledge of the United States Government under the "G. I." Bill of Rights of an additional sustenance allowance was a contract under which many fine American young men assumed the above mentioned commitments, and

WHEREAS, Under ruling of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, the sustenance allowance has been reduced in such a manner as to cut to a maximum the combined earning and sustenance to the sum of \$50.00 a week, and

WHEREAS, This amount is not sufficient for an adult who has been out of employment because of his service to his country in the armed forces, and the ever increasing cost of living, and it is a breach of faith on the part of the Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its convention in the City of Chicago hereby express its unalterable opposition to the action of the Federal Administrator of Veterans Affairs in causing the above mentioned reduction in sustenance allowance which will result in the lowering of the standards of apprentice trainees and tend to discourage them in continuing in their apprenticeship, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to demand with all the vigor at its command a restoration of those standards that were held out to the apprentice trainees upon their induction into the Apprentice Training Program, and that such standards

be made uniform for all legitimate apprentice training programs conducted under the "G. I." Bill of Rights.

## VETERANS' SUBSISTENCE ALLOWANCE

**Resolution No. 13**—By Delegate A. J. Porth, Trades and Labor Assembly, Wichita, Kansas.

WHEREAS, Congress in a sincere endeavor to provide war veterans with an opportunity to prepare themselves for a future of job security enacted Public Law 346, known as the G. I. Bill of Rights, and

WHEREAS, Through and by this law the Government obligated itself to thousands of untrained veterans, who are now attaining skill through programs of apprenticeship training, and

WHEREAS, It can be assumed that while veterans entering apprenticeship training did so with the objective of gaining a skilled trade, many would have been unable to do so without the benefits accruing from the G. I. Bill, and

WHEREAS, Congress, in the last session, hastily passed Public Law 679, a provision of which limits the earnings plus subsistence allowance for single persons to \$175.00 and to those with dependents to \$200.00, and

WHEREAS, This law will work a definite hardship on thousands of bona fide apprentices in skilled trade, and is also a breach of faith to our deserving veterans, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the delegates here assembled to memorialize Congress to speedily repeal the section of Public Law 679 which places a ceiling on veterans' earnings and subsistence, and be it further

RESOLVED, That subsistence payments be fixed at a level in keeping with the present cost of living and which will enable war veterans to continue their training without interruption.

## VETERAN APPRENTICESHIP

**Resolution No. 28**—By Delegate Joseph Wilke, Trades and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States of America enacted the G. I. Bill of Rights, and

WHEREAS, This bill when originally enacted provided subsistence pay for veterans over a four-year apprentice training period, and

WHEREAS, This payment of subsistence coincides with the standards of apprenticeship practiced by all American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, During the last session of Congress, the subsistence pay of G. I.'s was reduced from four years to two years, and

WHEREAS, This will work an unjust and undue hardship upon all veterans seeking to avail themselves to our skills, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand of the Congress of the United States, to repeal this two-year subsistence pay for G. I. veteran apprentices and restore the original four-year subsistence.

## SERVICEMEN'S READJUSTMENT ACT

**Resolution No. 63**—By Delegate Wm. Nagorske, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 was based on a recognition of the fact that the majority of veterans whose training was interrupted by service in the military forces of the United States would now be journeymen, earning journeymen's wages, and

WHEREAS, Congress, therefore, provided in the Servicemen's Readjustment Act as originally amended that a veteran without dependents would be entitled to receive \$65.00 per month, and a veteran with dependents, \$90.00 per month, from the Government, in addition to the wages earned while training to become a journeyman-craftsman, for a period not to exceed forty-eight (48) months, and

WHEREAS, The Act provided for equal subsidies for veterans engaged in on-the-job training programs other than for highly skilled occupations, as well as for institutional training, such as attendance at a university, and

WHEREAS, In order to combat alleged abuses by unscrupulous employers, misguided veterans, and lax administrative agencies in approving training programs which sprung into being only to take advantage of the benefits under the Act, rather than established long-term apprenticeships, Congress rushed through an amendment to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, known as Public Law 679 by which a ceiling was placed on the total amount to be earned and received as wages and subsistence payments of \$175.00 per month for veterans without dependents, and \$200.00 for veterans with dependents, while receiving on-the-job training, and

WHEREAS, Millions of veterans have entered into or are about to enter into apprenticeship programs for the more highly skilled occupations which require years of training before becoming a journeyman, and

WHEREAS, Prior to the enactment of Public Law 679 the Government recognizing the desirability of having as many veterans as possible enter into apprenticeship programs in the more highly skilled trades, consistently encouraged veterans to enter into such programs, and

WHEREAS, It is desirable that the subsistence payments to veterans be fair and equitable whether the veteran chooses to attend a university, pursue an apprenticeship program for a highly skilled trade, or pursue a short training course, and

WHEREAS, The amendment to the Act instead of eliminating abuses which it sought to correct will only create greater abuses in that wages earned by a veteran over and above \$110.00 per month may leave him with less money, after the deduction of income taxes, than he would receive based on monthly earnings of \$110.00, and full subsistence, depending on the number of dependents, and the inevitable result is that instead of benefiting the veteran, the employer will in effect, be receiving a subsidy from the Government, and

WHEREAS, Numerous veterans relying

upon the provisions of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 as it existed prior to the recent crippling amendments entered into contracts for long-term on-the-job apprenticeship programs, and for the purchase of homes, and for other long-term commitments, and

WHEREAS, With regard to long-term apprenticeship programs for training for the more highly skilled occupations, the approving agencies could effectively guard against any abuses by limiting the total earnings on the job plus subsistence allowance at a sum not to exceed the established journeymen's rate in the particular trade in the community where the trainee is employed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled goes on record deploring the action of Congress and the President of the United States in passing Public Law 679, which amended the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 so as to take away from millions of veterans rights and benefits given to them by the Act which was passed while they were fighting World War II, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention recognizes that veterans in entering into long-term apprenticeship programs, purchases of homes, and other commitments, had a right to rely on the promise of the Government to give them subsistence payments in the amounts and for the periods stated in the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 before the recent crippling amendments, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the opinion of this convention the recent amendments to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 will make it possible for conniving employers to turn the subsistence pay for veterans into a subsidy for employers since wages received by the veteran over and above the \$110.00 per month may leave him with less money after the deduction of income taxes than he would receive based on monthly earnings of \$110.00 and full tax-free subsistence depending on the number of dependents, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, to each member of the House and Senate Committees on Veterans' Affairs, and to General Omar N. Bradley of the Veterans' Administration, and that said officers and Executive Council be directed to use all other efforts to obtain the repeal of the recent amendments to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, and to establish subsistence payments so that the veteran will have a total income not less than a journeyman's wages where a bona fide apprenticeship program has been set up and a net income geared to an adequate standard of living where no such program has been in effect.

## VETERANS APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

**Resolution No. 80**—By Delegate Harry S. Jordan, Niagara Falls Federation of Labor, Niagara Falls, New York.

WHEREAS, Public Law No. 679 was

passed and enacted by Congress on the last day of session of Congress without a hearing on due consideration of the apprenticeship training standards that have been set up for veterans, and

WHEREAS, Public Law No. 679 disrupts the subsistence program as given to the veteran by the previous legislation, and

WHEREAS, It limits the indentured apprentices to subsistence when earning more than \$175.00 per month for veteran without a dependent or \$200.00 per month if he has a dependent or dependents, and

WHEREAS, Many apprentices have purchased homes or remodeled their present homes with the promise of subsistence from the United States Government during the period of apprenticeship training, and

WHEREAS, Public Law No. 679 destroys the morale of the indentured apprentice and his opportunity of procuring a home, and

WHEREAS, The governmental agencies are asking the joint apprenticeship committees to provide apprentices, said law makes apprentice training less attractive, and

WHEREAS, The suggested apprenticeship training period if limited to two years when most craftsmen training periods are over four or five year periods, and

WHEREAS, Apprenticeship training is a law that is set up to prevent the abuses which have come to the attention of the veteran associations in the on-the-job training, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled at this convention, condemn the detrimental features of Public Law No. 679 affecting the apprenticeship training system now established throughout the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States be advised that the objectionable features in Public Law No. 679 be stricken out and a new bill be introduced allowing the veteran apprentice the benefits of \$65.00 a month plus his earnings, and \$90.00 a month if married, plus his earnings, but allowing the apprentice at no time to earn more than a journeyman during his period of apprenticeship.

### RESTORATION OF SUBSISTENCE ALLOWANCE TO VETERANS

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Frank J. Coleman, Washington Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, When Congress enacted the G. I. Bill of Rights, Public Law No. 346, it provided that a veteran of World War II who took "On the Job Training" or attended school or college would be paid a subsistence allowance of \$65.00 per month if single, or \$90.00 per month if he had dependents to compensate him for loss of time from his work or studies while serving in the armed forces of this country. This subsistence allowance was necessary in order that many apprentices could finish their trades and at the same time support themselves or their families. During the last days of the 79th Congress, an Amendment was enacted to Public Law No. 346, which is known as Public Law S. 2477 which reduces this subsistence allowance to such an extent that many

apprentices to skilled trades find themselves working in the fourth year of their apprenticeship for less salary than they received in their first year, when they were paid the original subsistence allowance, thus working an extreme hardship on these apprentices and discouraging them from finishing their apprenticeship, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to have legislation introduced in the early part of the 80th Congress restoring to the veterans of World War II the original amounts of subsistence allowance that was granted to them under the G. I. Bill of Rights, Public Law No. 346, and that these payments be made retroactive to July 1, 1946, when these reduced rates of subsistence allowance went into effect.

### APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate A. M. Witzling, Omaha Central Union, Omaha, Nebraska.

WHEREAS, The Apprentice Training Program was first adopted to provide training for apprentices in the various crafts, and

WHEREAS, The G. I. Bill of Rights, provided additional compensation and length of training period for veterans of World War II under this program, and

WHEREAS, P. L. 679, amendment to Title II, P. L. 346 as passed by Congress and signed by the President of the United States discriminates between the veteran who takes college training and those who take apprenticeship training, and

WHEREAS, The facts are known that Government subsidies paid to on-the-job trainees has created a deplorable condition in the various industries where such trainees are employed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do vigorously protest against P. L. 679, amendment to Title II, P. L. 346, which changes compensation and length of training period for veterans under this Apprenticeship Training Program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposing the practice now being used in various on-the-job training programs.

### VETERANS SUBSISTENCE ALLOWANCE

Resolution No. 119—By Delegates Wm. J. Bowen, H. C. Bates, R. J. Gray, Elmer Spahr, A. J. Cleland, T. H. O'Donnell, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, At the adjourning session of Congress, Public Law 346 (G. I. Bill of Rights), was amended which included a sleeper in the amendments; That a veteran that was single could not receive any subsistence allowance if he received in wages \$175.00 a month, and a veteran that was married could not receive any subsistence allowance if he received in wages \$200.00, and

WHEREAS, The original law 346 provided, that a veteran that was single could receive



\$65.00 a month until he earned the same as a journeyman, and a veteran that was married or who had dependents would receive \$90.00 a month, and

WHEREAS, This action of Congress was underhanded and unjust to the veterans who served in the armed forces, and is an apprentice, and being trained under the G. I. Bill of Rights, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in protest against the action of Congress, and that Congress be requested to restore the previous payment to the veterans who are apprentices.

### APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 149—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madson, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Mehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been doing everything in its power to assist the returning veteran in adjusting himself to normal civilian life, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was highly gratified by the training provisions of Public Law 346, which enabled a veteran serving an apprenticeship to draw a training allowance from the Government until such time as he received the journeyman's scale, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of returning veterans have already availed themselves of the opportunity to enter bona fide apprentice programs established by various unions and the employers, and

WHEREAS, Many of these veterans, on the strength of receiving this training allowance, have taken on obligations such as purchasing homes, cars and household equipment, etc., and

WHEREAS, In the closing days of the recently adjourned 79th Congress there was passed Public Law 679 which, among other items, contained the provision that a ceiling of \$175.00 per month for single men and \$200.00 per month for married men was established as the total amount of wages and training allowance that a veteran could receive, and

WHEREAS, At the same time, the Government is embarking on a tremendous building program and entreating all building trades crafts to go all out in their efforts to build homes for veterans, and

WHEREAS, There is and has been a serious shortage of highly skilled mechanics in all trades, and

WHEREAS, There is but one way to train these mechanics and that is through a bona fide apprenticeship system, and

WHEREAS, The ceiling provisions of Public Law 679 will, in most cases, cut off the training allowance of the single men at the end of the first year of their apprenticeship, and the married men at the end of a year and one-half, and

WHEREAS, It is the considered opinion of this convention that the ceiling provisions of this bill were hastily conceived and passed without seeking information or con-

sultation from those most vitally concerned, thereby perpetrating a rank injustice on these veterans who have served their country so well and to whom we owe so much, by taking away that which was already given and on which the veteran had built hopes, made plans and assumed responsibilities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being unanimously opposed to that section of Public Law 679 which places a ceiling on the amount of training allowance to be given to a returned veteran serving an apprenticeship and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention requests its Legislative Representatives to do all in their power to have restored the original provisions of Public Law 346, pertaining to apprenticeship and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans and all other interested groups requesting them to assist in this worthy cause and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be published requesting all local unions to take this matter up with local groups and have them request their Congressman to take early and definite action.

### VETERANS' ALLOWANCE

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madson, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Mehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The veterans have made such great personal sacrifices to defeat world fascism, and

WHEREAS, The Government allowance for benefits given to our veterans is based on cost of living which has already risen 45%, and

WHEREAS, The veterans have been left stranded economically, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring legislation to raise all veterans' allowances in accordance with increases in the cost of living, and passage of the Lesinski Bonus Bill which is endorsed by most veteran groups.

### VETERANS APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

Resolution No. 159—By Delegates Ed J. Brown, G. M. Bugnizet, Charles M. Paulsen, Walter Lenox, Edgar S. Hurley, Rex Fransway, D. T. Johnstone, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, Public Law 679, relating to Veterans Apprenticeship Training was recently passed and enacted by Congress at the last week of its recent session without a hearing or due consideration and deliberation, and

WHEREAS, The said Public Law 679 in its present form imposes a hardship upon trainees because it fails to adequately compensate trainees and their dependents during their training periods, and

WHEREAS, Public Law 679 presently tends to discourage eligible veterans from accept-



ing the advantages of apprentice training and on-the-job training programs to which benefits veterans are entitled and which they rightfully receive the benefits of, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L. request and instruct our Legislative Committee to take all necessary action to induce Congress at its next session to restore to veterans all the benefits which they received prior to the passage of Public Law 679.

All the resolutions deal with the general subject of sustenance allowance for Veteran Apprentice Trainees.

Your Committee is in sympathy with the objectives of these resolutions.

Your Committee is further of the opinion that because of the legislative action required, these resolutions should be referred to the Executive Council, with the request for thorough investigation, and such legislation as will be most helpful in establishing the objective sought.

## SEVENTH DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

### SPECIAL ORDER—ELECTION OF OFFICERS

**DELEGATE MILLIMAN**, Maintenance of Way Employees: I move, Mr. President, that the rules be suspended and there be a special order of business for the election of officers at 3:30 o'clock, P. M., Wednesday, October 16th.

The motion was seconded and carried.

### Introduction of Major James L. Kelly

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: We have here as a visitor a former Vice President of the Firemen and Oilers International Union. He has served with distinction in the armed forces of the nation, not only in one war but in two wars. He has served as a delegate to the American Federation of Labor. He participated in active fighting on the battlefields of Europe. I know you will recall him when I present him to take a bow. His record has made us very proud of him.

I present to you Major James L. Kelly, former Vice President of the Firemen and Oilers International Union, a veteran of two wars.

The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions for a continuation of the report of that committee.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY**: Mr. Chairman, stepping out of the numerical order of the resolutions in one instance, your

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

**DELEGATE MARTEL**, Detroit Federation of Labor: I would like to ask this question. Are we to construe that if this recommendation of the Committee carries it places this convention on record demanding a correction of the condition that now exists and a restoration of the condition that did exist before the sustenance allowance was chiseled on by the Administrator of the Veterans Administration?

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL**: Absolutely so.

**DELEGATE MARTEL**: Thank you.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

After several announcements as to time and location of various Committee meetings, the convention adjourned at 12.05 o'clock P. M. until 2:00 o'clock P. M.

committee is reporting on Resolutions Nos. 37, 90, 168 and 187, which are as follows:

### JURISDICTION

**Resolution No. 37**—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, Organized labor recognizes the necessity of providing procedures for the prompt and final settlement of jurisdictional disputes which arise from time to time among organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Chicago, instruct its Executive Council to study ways and means of establishing a position of a permanent arbiter not under the influence of any national or international union, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That such arbiter shall have the full power and authority to hear and determine all jurisdictional disputes; that the arbiter's decision shall be final and binding on every affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make a definite report to the 1947 convention of the American Federation of Labor, recommending a plan to carry into effect the intent and purpose of this resolution.

### A JURISDICTIONAL BOARD

**Resolution No. 90**—By Waterloo Central Labor Union, Waterloo, Iowa.

**WHEREAS**, Jurisdictional disputes seem to be the greatest evil in the American Federation of Labor makeup, and

**WHEREAS**, Jurisdictional disputes not only create public sentiment against organized

labor, but also create dissension between our internationals and our local unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes give the C. I. O. and other alien labor organizations very strong talking points against the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes have meant the losing of contracts by many American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes have caused a terrific loss of income to the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes can be averted by the setting up of a Jurisdictional Board with the power to determine the jurisdictional lines, and

WHEREAS, The sooner the American Federation of Labor takes such action and creates such a Jurisdictional Board, the sooner the American Federation of Labor will be able to put its own house in order, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor create a Jurisdictional Board, comprised of six members that are not officials or members of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council and not more than one member from the same craft and shall be chosen from the rank and file of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the term of office for members serving on the Jurisdictional Board shall be two years and members of the Board shall be elected by the convention; three members for the term of two years and three members for the term of one year, and at each succeeding convention there shall be elected three new members to replace the senior members of the Board. The chairman of the Board shall be elected by the members of the Board with no vote except in cases of a tie vote, and be it further

RESOLVED, That no member of the Jurisdictional Board shall serve for more than one term, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Board shall be on the permanent payroll of the American Federation of Labor with their office in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C., with the members receiving an adequate salary and expenses, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Board go to the scene of any jurisdictional disputes and all such disputes be decided on the basis of the merits of each case argued; all cases being presented in briefs or oral arguments before the Board and this Jurisdictional Board sit in judgment on all such disputes between any and all local unions or international unions and the decision of the Board will be binding on all local unions or international unions involved, and be it further

RESOLVED, That any international or local union desiring, may appeal their case at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

### JURISDICTIONAL BOARD

Resolution No. 168—By Delegate H. E. Griffin, Central Labor Council, San Bernardino, California.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes seem to be the greatest evil in the American Federation of Labor makeup, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes not only create public sentiment against organized labor, but also create dissension between our internationals and local unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes give the C. I. O. and other alien labor organizations very strong talking points against the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes have meant the losing of contracts by many American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes have caused a terrific loss of income to the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes can be averted by the setting up of a Jurisdictional Board with power to determine the jurisdictional lines, and

WHEREAS, The sooner the American Federation of Labor takes such action and creates such a Jurisdictional Board the sooner the American Federation of Labor will be able to put its own house in order, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor create a Jurisdictional Board, comprised of six members that are not officials or members of the American Federation of Labor Executive Board and not more than one member from the same craft and shall be chosen from the rank and file of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the term of office for members serving on the Jurisdictional Board shall be two years and members of the Board shall be elected by the convention; three members for the term of two years and three members for the term of one year, and at each succeeding convention there shall be elected three new members to replace the senior members of the Board. The Chairman of the Board shall be elected by the members of the Board with no vote excepting in cases of a tie vote and, be it further

RESOLVED, That no member of the Jurisdictional Board shall serve for more than one term, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Board be on the permanent payroll of the American Federation of Labor with their office in the American Federation of Labor headquarters in Washington, D. C., with the members receiving an adequate salary and expenses and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Board go to the scene of any jurisdictional disputes and that all such disputes be decided on the basis of the merits of each case argued; all cases being presented in briefs or oral arguments before the Board, and that this Jurisdictional Board sit in judgment on all such disputes between any and all local unions and the decision of the Board will be binding on all local unions or international unions involved and, be it further

RESOLVED, That any international or local union desiring, may appeal their case at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

## MACHINERY TO SETTLE JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES IN AMUSEMENT INDUSTRY

**Resolution No. 187**—By Delegates Paul Dullzell, Pat Somerset, George Heller, Associated Actors and Artists of America.

WHEREAS, There exists in the motion picture, amusement and all other industries a situation wherein multiplicity of unions, all members of the American Federation of Labor, work in close association one with the other, and

WHEREAS, For the benefit of all members, our unions and the entire American Federation of Labor, it is desirable that peace and harmony prevail in all of these industries, and

WHEREAS, There now exists within the structure of certain American Federation of Labor international organizations, such as the Building Trades Council and the Metal Trades Council, machinery for arbitration of disputes between A. F. of L. unions which has accomplished the desired purpose, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council undertake to set up within the motion picture and amusement industries, and with the sanction and agreement of all unions working in those industries, ways and means for the purpose of examining, considering, and after deliberation, setting up machinery with the sanction and agreement of the national and international unions affected, which will insure the peaceful settlement, without work stoppage, of all jurisdictional disputes within the structure of the motion picture and amusement industries.

Your Committee has considered these four resolutions as they all relate to a kindred subject, that is the adjustment of jurisdictional disputes. Your committee recommends non-concurrence with Resolutions Nos. 37, 90 and 168 because their objective is to establish a committee, commission or arbiter clothed with authority to decide jurisdictional disputes.

Resolution No. 187 has approached the problem from an entirely different angle. The resolution does not call for the setting up of any individual or body with authority to settle jurisdictional disputes, instead it endeavors to provide a method by which stoppages of work in connection with jurisdictional disputes can be prevented through understandings reached between the international unions involved. It approves in general terms of the methods already established by the Building and Construction Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department to prevent work stoppages.

To assure that the principle of consent is respected in all of its steps, your committee recommends that after the word "machinery" in the tenth line of the resolved the following words be added "with the sanction and agreement of the national and international unions affected." With this amendment your

committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

## MACHINISTS

**Resolution No. 13**—By Delegate A. J. Porth, Trades and Labor Assembly, Wichita, Kansas.

WHEREAS, By convention action of 1914 the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution outlining the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor Executive Council in February 1933 reaffirmed this resolution and ordered the president of the American Federation of Labor to send telegrams to any interested parties involved in a jurisdictional dispute, and

WHEREAS, A misunderstanding has existed between the American Federation of Labor and the International Association of Machinists, and

WHEREAS, This dispute is a result of action of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council whereby they have failed to comply with the terms of said resolution, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has held in escrow all per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has continued to cooperate with and respect the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor unions who do likewise respect their jurisdiction, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to comply with the convention action of 1914, and the Executive Council action of February 1933, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the International Association of Machinists be allowed to pay per capita tax now due the American Federation of Labor and various subsidiary councils become reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor as a union in good standing, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention reaffirm and approve the action of the 1914 convention and the Executive Council action of 1933 whereby the president of the American Federation of Labor shall give a letter outlining the jurisdiction of any organization upon request of the parties involved in a jurisdictional dispute.

As negotiations are now pending on the question of reaffiliation of the International Association of Machinists, your committee recommends that no action be taken on Resolution No. 13 by this convention.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## FEDERAL RESERVE ACT

**Resolution No. 14**—By Delegate A. J. Porth, Trades and Labor Assembly, Wichita, Kansas.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States, Article 1, section 8, states emphatically: Congress shall have power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of

foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures," and

WHEREAS, Congress has demonstrated to us their lawful ability to provide us with a standard measurement of weights and measures as follows: ounce, pound, and ton; pint, quart, and gallon; inch, foot, and yard, and

WHEREAS, We can see the power and wisdom of Congress decreeing that weights and measures should be standard and not be permitted to vary, and

WHEREAS, Congress according to the one and same Constitution, the same Article 1 and the same section 8 have the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof, yet they have not exercised this constitutional mandate, and

WHEREAS, Congress since 1776 has failed to carry out the mandate of our early forefathers who provided us with a most wonderful Magna Charta so empowered to provide us with a means of using a medium of exchange, and

WHEREAS, Our forefathers in their wisdom saw the advantage of providing us with a regulated money instead of continuing the cumbersome practice of barter, and

WHEREAS, Congress must be reminded of its obligation to provide for the general welfare so outstandingly mentioned in the Preamble of the Constitution, and

WHEREAS, Congress by delegating this power to a bureau known as the Federal Reserve Board, has placed in their hands, subject to their discretion, the power of providing Federal Reserve notes in a woefully inadequate lot or supplying them in an overabundance, and

WHEREAS, More and more daily we can see the folly of Congress delegating the constitutional power which is theirs "to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin," as compared to the wisdom and statesmanship declared by Congress when the law was given us regulating weights and measures, and

WHEREAS, Daily the oppression which is being forced upon us is becoming more burdensome and depriving us of our rightful lot by the tyranny of paying interest and dividends which are the two foes of a regulated money, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled and by the action of its delegates, favor the repeal of the Federal Reserve Act, the debauching of our present monetary system and the asserting by Congress of its power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin."

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for thorough-going study of the subject.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### COMMERCIAL TELEGRAPHERS' JURISDICTION

Resolution No. 16.—By Delegates W. L. Allen, George R. Pawson, John B. Alcorn, Harry S. Leimbach, Commercial Telegraphers Union.

WHEREAS, There presently exists three directly chartered American Federation of

Labor federal labor unions in Western Union, named and numbered as "Telegraph Employees' Federal Labor Union No. 22671, Telegraph Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 22679," and "Federal Labor Union No. 22780," and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union is a chartered international union, having jurisdiction in the communications industry, encompassing the workers in the Western Union Telegraph Company, and

WHEREAS, The federal labor unions herein named have failed to affiliate with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union in accordance with the prescriptions of the American Federation of Labor constitution, and

WHEREAS, The collective bargaining power of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union and the American Federation of Labor has been and is materially weakened thereby, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of directly chartered federal labor unions in the Western Union Telegraph Company has caused and will continue to cause bitter jurisdictional fights within the American Federation of Labor to the detriment of the morale and welfare of the workers, and

WHEREAS, The Western Union Division of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union will not again sit at the bargaining table with the federal unions in bargaining a contract or wages with the Western Union Telegraph Company, which action necessarily will result in destroying the present contract and preventing the negotiating of a new contract, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of directly chartered federal labor unions in this industry violates the letter and intent of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article IX, Sections 3 and 11, and Article XIV, Section 2, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention forthwith instruct the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, or the president of the American Federation of Labor, to order said named and numbered federal labor unions to affiliate with the Western Union Division of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union; or, failing to so affiliate that their charters be revoked.

Your committee recommends that the request to withdraw the resolution be granted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### DISCRIMINATION AGAINST UNION TEACHERS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Resolution No. 17.—By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma Borchardt, Arthur Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The United States Department of State in recent months has consistently favored and co-operated with non-union teachers' organizations and has discriminated against the American Federation of Teachers, as a union organization, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers was denied representation at the San Francisco Conference of Educational organizations while teachers' organizations opposed to the teachers' union were strongly

represented, at the invitation of the Department of State, and

WHEREAS, The Department of State appointed a number of professional functional committees and, only after formal frequent protest, was the teachers' union invited to any meetings except such meetings as were called to receive such information as the Department of State wishes to have the public have, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers was denied representation of the London Conference to draft the UNESCO charter and as a result the United States of America was the only nation supporting a free public school system which denied its classroom teachers any representation at the London conference, and

WHEREAS, The Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State has advised foreign governments to deal with non-union organizations to the exclusion of the American Federation of Teachers, and

WHEREAS, The Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State has set up an advisory committee on teacher exchange, and has excluded the American Federation of Teachers from this committee, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago in October 1946 protest to the President of the United States and to the Department of State this unjust and unfair discrimination against union teachers of the nation and demand that the American Federation of Teachers as the largest voluntary organization of classroom teachers in the nation and as the educational union of an organization of more than seven million members be given fair and adequate representation in all phases of the educational programs of the Department of State.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE REID, Michigan State Federation of Labor: I don't know whether the Teachers are too late with this resolution or not, but I notice by the morning paper that a committee has already been appointed by President Truman to go to Europe to take part in this conference. From the history of this thing there must be someone in the State Department who believes that there is no one qualified belonging to the only nationwide free organization of teachers, the American Federation of Teachers, they don't think there is anyone qualified from that group to act in this organization set up within the State Department. I don't know why they should take that stand.

We have in that branch of the teaching industry a large company union known as the National Education Association. Several years ago the American Federation of Teachers expelled some Communist local unions and they immediately joined the National Education Association.

According to a report of the New York

Times in 1921 the National Education Association made an alliance with the National Manufacturers Association, whereby they could place National Manufacturers Association propaganda on the desks of the school teachers throughout the nation, in behalf of the company union. There are many States where a teacher cannot work at his or her particular trade or profession unless they belong to the company union, and now we find an alliance between the Communists in the teaching industry, the N.E.A., the company union, and the National Manufacturers Association.

There will be some advisors appointed to advise this group that is taking part in this organization in the State Department, this organization of educational, science and cultural people, and I understand there is a move on foot to again freeze out the only group of teachers who have a nation-wide free organization, the American Federation of Teachers.

I think it is time that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor find out why this attitude against a union belonging to the American Federation of Labor, and why the only bona fide union in that industry is being discriminated against.

Personally, I intend to ask that question from the senior Senator from Michigan, who in the last year or so has worked very closely with the State Department, and I intend to ask him that question, because I think that if we are going over to Europe and set up a democratic education system in the countries of Europe, we should be represented by some representatives from a democratic teachers' organization.

I hope the Executive Council, after this convention is over, will find out who it is in the State Department who appears to have a yen against the American Federation of Teachers representatives.

DELEGATE GRAHAM, Montana State Federation of Labor: The Tribune last night carried a story that the UNESCO Committee had been appointed in Paris, and no members of the Teachers Union were on that committee. If that is so, they have got the jump on this resolution.

However, there is to be an Advisory Committee appointed. Would it be all right for the Executive Council to try to get a member of the American Federation of Teachers appointed on the Advisory Committee? If so, will it be necessary to amend the committee's report, or will the Executive Council act on it?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: The committee's report on the resolution involved is comprehensive enough without adding any amendment such as you propose.

DELEGATE GRAHAM: Those who are appointed on that committee in Paris are what we call around the country representatives

of the company union in education. I know in Montana we have a fight on between the Education Society, or the State Branch, and the Teachers' Union and organized labor in general. We have a case in the courts now where a teacher was discharged for being secretary of the Teachers' Union, and a delegate to the Central Council in Helena. We fought the thing through the District Court, and the District Court declared the teacher was not discharged and was entitled to her pay. It has gone up to the Supreme Court. The School Board took it up.

The National Manufacturers Association is behind the Education Society in this country and they are doing everything possible to fight organized labor, and when it comes down to a committee of education being appointed with that group to represent the educators of this country, I think it is all wrong.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL:** Mr. Chairman, might I state that the resolution reported on is very extensive and embracive and includes all that the two previous speakers have in mind. I wish only to point out that this is but one of many organizations being formed under the United Nations and its Social and Economic Council, and your consultants, as well as the officers of the American Federation of Labor, are equally concerned that the American Federation of Labor have representation on the trade and commerce and employment commissions, and all the other international bodies being created.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

### CONSERVATION OF NATION'S TIMBER LANDS

**Resolution No. 18—**By Delegate Dexter D. Clark, Central Labor Union, Marquette, Michigan.

**WHEREAS,** The timber supply of the United States of America has been subjected to abnormal inroads the past ten years, and

**WHEREAS,** The present housing program will increase the annual timber cut for the next several years, subjecting our national supply to still greater inroads, and

**WHEREAS,** This timber supply is one of our greatest national assets and of vital need in both peace and war, and

**WHEREAS,** Our timber is our only natural resource that can be made more or less eternal through reforestation, and

**WHEREAS,** State reforestation and Federal reforestation has not as yet been promoted on a broad enough basis to come anywhere near compensating for the past or present demands, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor use all its facilities to the end that, necessary Federal legislation be enacted to insure as large a timber supply as possible down through the years.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 19 and 106, which are as follows:

### A. F. OF L. POLITICAL POLICY

**Resolution No. 19—**By Delegate Walter O'Hagan, Federation of Labor, Auburn, New York.

**WHEREAS,** This year marks the 40th anniversary of the official adoption of two distinct types of political action by organized labor; the policy of independent political action adopted by the British Trades Union Congress when it launched the British Labor Party in 1906 and the policy officially adopted by the American Federation of Labor that same year of endorsing candidates of the major parties in an attempt to reward the friends and defeat the enemies of labor, and

**WHEREAS,** The successful results of the policy of British Labor which won last year's general election by a 2 to 1 majority, stands in sharp contrast to the dismal political failure of 40 years time, money and effort of organized labor in the United States in futile attempts to win friends in Congress by endorsing candidates of the major parties that are financially controlled by business interests, and

**WHEREAS,** The fact that the 79th Congress had one of the most anti-labor and anti-consumer records in the past 40 years and was "dominated by reactionaries" as charged by A. F. of L. President William Green, and

**WHEREAS,** The fact that only 13 Congressmen out of 435 members of the House of Representatives could be depended upon to vote against President Truman's bill to draft striking workers, and that labor was saved not by its handful of friends but by disagreement among its enemies, proves beyond doubt the necessity of scrapping the outmoded and unsuccessful policy of the past, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor recommends the immediate abandonment of the traditional unsuccessful political policy pursued by organized labor in the United States for the past 40 years and urges the adoption of the proven effective policy of independent political action by the formation of an independent political party of Labor, Farmers and Consumers on a national scale such as the British Labor Party and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party of Canada, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor to implement this resolution by electing a committee to lay the foundation for such a party on a national scale in 1947.

### POLITICAL ACTION

**Resolution No. 106—**By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS,** The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its Chicago session characterized the record of the 79th Congress as a dismal one and condemned Congress for "its subservience to lobbyists for special interests, its legislative assaults against the American workers which consti-



tutes a 'danger signal' to the American people," and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council called upon all affiliates to assert their full political power in elections this fall, and effect "A sweeping Congressional house cleaning," and

WHEREAS, In order to carry on effective political activity as described by the Executive Council it will be necessary to set up political campaign committees in all phases of the labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council for all-out political action in the coming elections.

Both of these resolutions deal with the subject of political action. Your committee recommends non-concurrence with Resolution No. 19, and the adoption of Resolution No. 106, which reaffirms the well-established non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE FEDERMAN, Fur Workers: I rise to speak against the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee in spite of the fact that I believe I will be the only one to do so at this convention. I believe that the time has come in the United States where the labor movement should organize a labor party to represent them in Congress, just like in any other place in Canada or England. The labor movement has experience. When you organize a political committee and go out during the election and elect, whether it is a Democrat or a Republican, it is the same party. We have found the same thing in Canada. During an election, when the labor movement goes out and elects a Democrat or a Conservative or a Liberal, before the election everyone is in favor of labor. Everyone says to the laboring class that if they are elected they are going to put forward legislation in favor of labor.

We know in Canada today we have, as this resolution puts forward, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. We have today twenty-eight members in Parliament. We have today in Canada in one Province, Saskatchewan, organized and controlled fully by this party, when they were in power they put forward the 40-hour week, two weeks' vacation with pay and collective bargaining recognized by the Province of Saskatchewan. This is proof that when the labor people are organized under a labor party this is the only way out.

I think it is high time, in spite of the fact that I as a Canadian and probably haven't any right to speak on this question in this convention, but I do say that this has proven in Great Britain that the only reason that they have a Labor Government today is because they have an organized labor body and the labor legislation that they have put in recently could never have been put in before

when it was a Liberal or Conservative party, and the same thing is happening in the United States.

Therefore, I would say that in the future the laboring class in this country will recognize that the only way out to have legislation, improved working conditions is by having a Labor Party in the United States.

DELEGATE O'HAGAN, Auburn, New York, Central Labor Council: President Green and fellow delegates: The lesson to be drawn from a comparison of the successful political action, independent political action of the British Labor Party, with a comparison of the unsuccessful efforts of political action on the part of labor in the United States should be obvious to everyone. Just think of it—only thirteen Congressmen could be depended upon to vote against President Truman's bill to draft striking workers. Where, I ask you, were all the friends of labor—the so-called friends of labor who got into office through the votes and support of organized labor?

One more point. Upon the arrival of the next depression, which everyone seems to predict will happen in the next few years, there will be great unrest in the land. This unrest will be directed against the two major parties who have taken turns escorting us from one depression to another. Ready to take advantage of that unrest would be Fascist demagogues, creating hatred against labor and the minorities. Also ready and far more dangerous will be the Communists, fellow travelers and innocent liberals who will front for them. If we are not to leave the field wide open for these totalitarians we must be ready, and by being ready I mean start now within the next twelve months to lay the groundwork for a new political party of farmers, laborers and consumers.

I move as an amendment, that we submit this resolution to the Executive Council for their consideration—Resolution 19.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair did not catch the amendment, or substitute motion. I would like to have the delegate repeat it.

DELEGATE O'HAGAN: I move the amendment to refer Resolution 19 to the Executive Council.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. The committee reports on two resolutions—Resolution No. 19 and Resolution 106. On Resolution 19 the committee recommends non-concurrence and affirmation of Resolution No. 106, introduced by the Illinois State Federation of Labor. It is impossible to act on the committee's report or on a motion to refer without first defeating the committee's report.

The motion is, therefore, not in order.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It is the opinion of the Chair that the point of order is well taken. The convention must either concur or



nonconcur in the committee's report and then, if you wish to refer the matter or wish to offer the motion for reference, you can do so. Are there any further remarks?

**DELEGATE O'HAGAN:** A point of information. Is it possible to defeat the recommendation of the committee and then take up the resolution separately?

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Yes.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

## COMMUNISM

**Resolution No. 20—**By Delegate Richard J. Seltzer, Central Labor Council of San Pedro and Wilmington, San Pedro, California.

**WHEREAS,** The Communist Party is inimical to the principles of free collective bargaining between employers and representatives chosen democratically by the workers, and

**WHEREAS,** The Communist Party today is striving harder than ever before to spread its philosophy throughout the ranks of organized labor in order to gain control of the workers in key industries, looking forward to the day when Russia will attempt to spread the iron curtain throughout the world, and

**WHEREAS,** The Communist Party is attempting to gain control of our educational system, thus poisoning the minds of the adolescent, and

**WHEREAS,** The Communist Party is spreading lies, creating suspicion, advocating direct action and in general attempting to create chaos in order to bring nearer the day of revolution, and

**WHEREAS,** The Communist Party follows the teachings of Karl Marx, who stated that there exists in the world two directly opposing ideologies, Communism and Capitalism, that the two cannot exist together, that there must be a struggle to determine whether Capitalism or Communism shall prevail, and every sign points to the approach of that struggle, and

**WHEREAS,** A great number of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have written into their constitutions, clauses providing for the expulsion of communists from membership; however, these provisions in all cases have not been enforced and many known communists are still active within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor organizations today, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor go on record requesting all of its affiliates to hold meetings for the purpose of educating its membership of the evils of communism, such as was done at a Mass Meeting held in Wilmington, California, where 30,000 members of the American Federation of Labor attended one of the greatest meetings against communism ever held in America, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power, through propaganda, meetings, etc., to call to the attention of the American people, the menace of communism and that this convention recommend to all affiliates of the American Federation

of Labor to make a thorough search of its membership for all communists and upon their discovery, to expel them immediately from membership in the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee is in approval with the whereas of this resolution for they are in harmony with the long established and vigorously applied policy of the American Federation of Labor in opposing Communism in all of its forms, and the educating of American trade unionists so that they will better understand the subversive methods and tactics by which the Communist Party in the United States has endeavored to infiltrate the trade union movement and secure a voice in the formulation of trade union policy. In lieu of the resolved of the resolution, your Committee submits the following as a substitute:

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor approve the holding of trade union mass meetings so that workers and all other citizens may become acquainted with the methods and purposes of Communism, and acquire an understanding of the distinction between orderly government under free institutions, and government controlled by a dictatorship, but can only maintain its authority through nation-wide purges and the suppression of all free institutions, and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That this convention further approves of all other methods which may be applied by affiliated organizations having for their objective the elimination of Communism in all of its forms, and its menace to the institution of freedom established by self-governing people.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY:** The Committee on Resolutions believes that a statement of greater detail relative to Communism should be submitted to this convention. Later on the committee will present its special report on Communism to the convention.

## RESOLUTIONS TO AMEND SOCIAL SECURITY ACT LOWERING RETIREMENT ACT SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

**Resolution No. 21—**By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Bernard M. Egan, John Forster, John W. Austin, Tillman K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, International Typographical Union.

**WHEREAS,** The Social Security Act of 1937, as it now stands, sets the age at sixty-five (65) years as the eligibility age for securing old-age retirement benefits, which is many years beyond a good and proper age for retirement, and

**WHEREAS,** The age of sixty-five (65) years defeats one of the great aims and purposes of the said Act—retiring older men from industry—thus making room for younger men, and

**WHEREAS,** The wife, being a dependent instead of an earner or bread-winner and in

the great majority of cases she is several years the husband's junior, with the same set age of sixty-five (65) years as the time for receiving her social security benefits, and

WHEREAS, No right and proper provisions have been made for prior age disability benefits, through industrial accident or otherwise, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby urge members of Congress and the Senate of the Government of the United States to amend the Social Security Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Act be amended, lowering the retirement eligibility age from sixty-five (65) years to sixty (60) years, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Act be amended, setting the eligibility age for women and/or wife at fifty-five (55) years of age, this particularly in cases where the husband takes retirement benefits on age eligibility, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Act be amended, making right and proper provisions for securing benefits on disability at any prior age after ten (10) years of social security tax payments, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request all international and national unions to urge through their local unions individual member action by contacting their Congressmen and Senators by letter or telegram, urging and insisting upon the foregoing amendments to the Social Security Act.

### EXTENSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

**Resolution No. 24**—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Bernard M. Egan, John Forster, John W. Austin, Tillman K. Garrison, Harold H. Clark, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Employees of competing non-profit-making religious, charitable and educational institutions are exempt from unemployment insurance laws, and

WHEREAS, Some of the work performed in these institutions is in direct competition with employers covered by the unemployment insurance provisions of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The employees of such institutions are subject to seasonal layoffs and are otherwise exposed to unemployment but are deprived of the benefits of unemployment relief, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act excludes old-age and survivors' benefits to employees of religious, educational and charitable agencies, and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned employees have no assurance of protection in their old age as a result of being excluded under the Act, and

WHEREAS, Certain religious organizations have submitted a program to the Ways and Means Committee of Congress that would permit employers to cover their employees under the law if such amendments were enacted into law, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as favoring amending of the Social Security Act to permit the

coverage of these employees and institutions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor seek the cooperation of all labor organizations in support of these amendments, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to President Harry S. Truman.

### SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

**Resolution No. 35**—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The employees of certain non-profit organizations operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific or educational purposes, including hospitals, are denied the benefits of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, These same employees have been paid lower wages for the same work than are paid in other fields of employment, and

WHEREAS, These same employees have no opportunity to accumulate retirement funds and in old age become burdens upon their families or upon charity, and

WHEREAS, They are deserving of the benefits of the Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record favoring amendment of the Social Security Act to provide the benefits of the Act for employees of non-profit organizations operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, or educational purposes, including hospitals, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Chicago, Illinois, from October 7, 1946, until the conclusion of its business, instruct its legislative representatives at Washington to seek amendments to the Federal Social Security legislation enabling the above named classes of employees to receive the benefits of the Act.

### LOWER AGE FOR SOCIAL SECURITY RETIREMENT BENEFITS

**Resolution No. 36**—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The worker and the employer each contribute a sum equal to 1% of the employee's earnings into the social security fund, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security law presently provides that a worker is eligible to receive social security benefits at 65 years of age, and

WHEREAS, As a result of numerous inventions and mass production methods in industry, unless social security benefits are extended by lowering the eligible age for securing such benefits, there will not be enough jobs to employ all those seeking jobs, and

WHEREAS, It is in the best interest of the public to extend and increase social security benefits, and

WHEREAS, To do so of necessity requires greater contributions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled here

in Chicago go on record favoring amendment of the Social Security law to provide for immediate contributions of 3% (but not to exceed 3%) of the employees' earnings by the employer and an equal amount by the worker and making workers eligible for the receipt of social security benefits at 55 years of age.

### LOWER AGE FOR SOCIAL SECURITY RETIREMENT BENEFITS

**Resolution No. 40—**By Delegates Richard F. Walsh, William P. Raoul, Thomas V. Green, Eugene J. Atkinson, Michael J. Mungovan, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The Federal Social Security Act is one of the most humane and progressive enactments of the Congress of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Such Act can best serve the interests of the peoples of this great democracy by periodic amendments to meet the exigencies of our advancing society, and

WHEREAS, The present Act provides for old age benefits to begin at the age of 65, and

WHEREAS, Experience has proven that because of the advanced age at which benefits commence, a substantial number of persons have been deprived of the benefits of the Act during their lifetime, and

WHEREAS, The reduction of the retirement age to age 60 would enable more people to enjoy the benefits during their lifetime; would alleviate the postwar problem of providing employment for veterans of World War II; and would further the best interests of all of the people of the United States and of labor, particularly, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby adopt, as a part of its legislative program, a proposal to amend the Federal Social Security Act so as to reduce from 65 to 60 the age at which payment of old age insurance benefits shall begin, and, in addition thereto, a proposal to include in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill now before Congress, a provision that, where applicable, the benefits accorded therein commence at age 60.

### INCREASED OLD AGE BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

**Resolution No. 73—**By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The objective of the old-age benefit feature of the Social Security Act of 1935 was to provide economic security for workers who retired after attaining the age of 65 years, and

WHEREAS, It was the consensus that the amounts fixed for old-age pensions were inadequate and not realistically keyed to the cost of maintaining a person in even minimum comfort in the year 1935, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has soared since the inception of the Social Security Act

in 1935 and is still rapidly mounting with the end not yet in sight; this makes it glaringly obvious that the recipients of old-age pensions are now face to face with the grim reality of living at the lowest of substandard levels, with their situation growing worse daily; the aim of the Social Security Act to provide economic security is defeated, and

WHEREAS, The United States and its citizens are meritoriously providing the peoples of the impoverished nations with foods and the essentials of life; the United States is contemplating making huge loans to foreign nations; according to the press, the United States is spending large sums of money in building up and strengthening the military might of certain nations, and

WHEREAS, There is an extreme contrast between the liberality displayed on the one hand and the penuriousness exhibited on the other whereby old-age pensions are held at such a low level that the receivers, a segment of American citizens, the old and helpless ones are forced to live on what amounts at this time to a pittance that spells near starvation, and

WHEREAS, These citizens receiving old-age pensions are unorganized and politically impotent; they are unable to form blocs; they are unable to send high-pressure lobbyists to Washington; accordingly their interests are callously disregarded by Congress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention records itself in favor of amending the Social Security Act of 1935 to provide that old-age benefits be increased in the amount of 50 per cent over present rates and, moreover, that employers' contributions to the old-age pension fund be increased from 1 per cent to 3 per cent, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers be directed to use their powers to achieve the fulfillment of the intent of this resolution.

### LOWERING RETIREMENT AGE UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

**Resolution No. 75—**By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, In the Social Security Act of 1935 the age of sixty-five (65) years was fixed for eligibility for old-age pensions, and

WHEREAS, In normal times in the United States a considerable proportion of employable workers are unemployed due to the inability of industry to absorb them; these unemployed workers constitute the army of unemployed which is always with us in normal times; this condition has always been a blot on the economy of the nation, and

WHEREAS, The productivity of American workers has been steadily mounting; invention and technological improvements during World War II were responsible for an almost unbelievable jump being made in the productivity of American industrial workers, and

WHEREAS, This accelerated productivity of labor will reflect in fewer workers being required to carry on the work of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Older workers will find it increasingly difficult to maintain a place in American industry, and

WHEREAS, Experiences of the past clearly indicate that unless the eligibility for old-age pensions is reduced so that workers can retire at an earlier age than sixty-five (65) the armies of unemployed of the future will be greater than those of the past; besides it is unconscionable to force old workers to work when there is no need for it, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention goes on record in favor of an amendment to the Social Security Act of 1935 whereby the age of eligibility for old-age pensions will be reduced from sixty-five years of age to sixty years of age, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers be directed to use every means at their command to achieve the fulfillment of the intent of this resolution.

### LOWERING AGE LIMITATIONS SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Ed. J. Brown, G. M. Bugnizet, Charles M. Paulsen, Walter Lenox, Edgar S. Hurley, Rex Fransway, D. T. Johnstone, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The Federal Social Security Act is one of the most humane and progressive enactments of the Congress of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The present Act does not provide for old age and survivors insurance benefits to workers who have not reached the age of 65, and

WHEREAS, Experience has proven that because of the advanced age at which benefits commence, a substantial number of persons have been deprived of the benefits of the Act despite their inability to continue at work or to find employment, and

WHEREAS, The reduction of the retirement age to age 60 would alleviate the problem of providing employment for veterans of World War II, and would further the best interests of all of the people of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor's Legislative Committee urge Congress to amend the Federal Social Security Act reducing the age of payment of old-age insurance benefits to begin at the age of 60 and to provide for payments to disabled workers at any age, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council take the necessary steps to mobilize the active support of all American Federation of Labor organizations to bring about this necessary change in the Social Security Act.

### RETIREMENT PLANS FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Joe Wilke, Trades and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Social Security was intended to alleviate the economic hazards and hardships of old age, and

WHEREAS, Congress has retarded the benefits of this great social program by freezing the deductions at one per cent, and

WHEREAS, By such action, Congress is invoking great hardships on our people, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, recommend to its affiliates, that they immediately seek through collective bargaining with their employers and contractors a "Retirement Plan" that will overcome this great loss, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor do everything within their power to obtain such government approval as necessary for such retirement plans.

### SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Mary Morley, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act was enacted by the Federal Government to bring security to the aged and relief to the workers employed in industries engaged in interstate commerce, and

WHEREAS, A number of workers employed by religious and welfare organizations whose business is of a national scope are exempt from the benefits of this Act, and

WHEREAS, The said religious and welfare organizations are engaged in part or in whole in commercialized industries and in some instances competing with private industries, yet through the exemptions in the Social Security Act, these organizations are exempt from providing the benefits which the Act intended for all workers in this and other industries, to wit: old age pensions and unemployment insurance, and

WHEREAS, This condition is discriminatory to this class of workers and is most unfair to the private employers engaged in similar industries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Chicago, go on record as sponsoring an amendment to the present Social Security Act to provide for the inclusion of workers employed in religious and welfare organizations whose products are sold to the public to insure such workers full protection under the Social Security Act.

### LOWERING RETIREMENT AGE— SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Edward H. Weyler, Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Reconversion to production for civilian consumption will bring about a great and serious interruption of full scale employment in and among labor of the several and different crafts, and

WHEREAS, It will be a great and serious economic strain upon the country as a whole affecting every man, woman and child, nationally and internationally, and unless constructive thought and efforts are immediately employed to alleviate such harmful conditions, the situation will be not only aggravated but extended and prolonged, and

WHEREAS, It is the responsibility of both labor and industry, in cooperation with government, to do everything possible and with-

in the power of the people to prevent if and as much as possible, unemployment and the resulting economic hardships, all of which tend to lower and destroy the standard of American living and wreck havoc and chaos among the members of common society, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is desirous of making some worthwhile contribution to the Four Freedoms in general and the cause of Freedom from Want in particular, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the membership of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the 65th convention that we propose an amendment to the Federal Social Security Act authorizing and/or requiring the retirement of all male employees after and upon reaching the age of 55 years, and all female employees after and upon reaching the age of 50 years, and further, that the social security tax be so adjusted as to the tax imposed upon both the employers and employees, so as to adequately and properly provide a schedule of pensions for all such employees upon retirement, adequate and sufficient for them and their legal dependents to maintain a standard of living proper, suitable and consistent with the American standard of living and the environment of an improved public society, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution, after and upon its adoption, be spread upon the minutes of this convention as a permanent record hereof, and in due course, to prevail upon the President of the United States and the proper officers of his Cabinet and particularly the Secretary of Labor, and to urge the United States Congress to give thorough and serious consideration to such amendment to the social security laws as will effect the purpose of this resolution.

### SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many members of the building trades unions are being deprived of the benefits accruing under the Social Security Act, while temporarily employed by various city, county, and state institutions thus reducing the computed yearly average income under the Act, resulting in lower retirement benefits, also depriving them of unemployment compensation for the period thus employed, and

WHEREAS, Such employees cannot benefit by any pension plan established by civil service employees due to the temporary character of their employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the amending of the Social Security Act to cover such temporary employees and that such action be taken as is deemed advisable.

### EXTENDING COVERAGE OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The much needed revision and

extension of the Social Security Act has been long delayed, and

WHEREAS, Congress apparently is willing to make incidental changes and amendments to the Act while being unwilling to revise the entire Act, and

WHEREAS, Approximately two million persons now employed by charitable and so-called "non-profit institutions" are presently denied the benefit of the Act, and

WHEREAS, Experience in the past has shown that all attempts to extend coverage, which has included agricultural workers, have been unsuccessful, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the official policy of the A. F. of L. to work for a revision of the Act be modified to permit its representatives to actively support any campaign to secure coverage for a group of workers not now covered by social security or other public employee pension funds whenever such a campaign is likely to be successful.

### EXTENSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates Joseph Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, Joseph B. Etchison, Anthony C. D'Andrea, Theodore Nischwitz, Patrick Waldron, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, Many members of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America are employed by the Federal Public Housing Authority throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, Said brothers are denied rights of benefits of the Federal Social Security Act, and the State Unemployment Insurance Act, in such States as State Unemployment Insurance is effective, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record instructing its legislative committee to sponsor and promote legislation through the members of Congress in Washington, D. C., to bring all the employees of the Federal Public Housing Authority under the scope of the Federal Social Security Act and the State Unemployment Insurance in such States as State Unemployment Insurance is effective.

### INCREASED OLD AGE BENEFITS

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates John E. Rooney, M. J. McDonough, J. J. Hauck, John Donlin, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association.

WHEREAS, In this country today the economic structure is such that consumer commodity prices have risen beyond all proper bounds, and

WHEREAS, This is more acutely felt by those who are dependent upon social security old age retirement payments, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appeal to the United States Congress to have the social security old age retirement payments increased to a reasonable monthly allotment in keeping with present-day economic conditions, and we also recommend that equal efforts be made to have a retired man permitted to earn, if neces-

sary, at least double the amount he is at present allowed to earn at his own trade or otherwise, monthly, without losing or having it deducted from his security pension for that month.

### EXTENSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY

**Resolution No. 140**—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, J. M. Leary, George W. Thorpe, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, American labor is largely responsible for the passage of the Federal Social Security law and has consistently supported its administration and demanded extension of its provisions to uncovered millions of American citizens, and

WHEREAS, During the Seventy-eighth and Seventy-ninth Congresses the American Federation of Labor obtained the introduction of and gave its whole support to bills which if enacted would have broadened the Social Security Act, extended its provisions to large segments of the American people and made its old age and survivors benefits features effective in the States and in subordinate units of governments, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor will continue to work for the extension of social security and will support members of the Eightieth Congress in their efforts to make effective this program, and

WHEREAS, Due to the fact that there are large numbers of members of the American Federation of Labor particularly seeking the extension to the state and municipal government levels of the old age and survivors benefits features of the Federal Social Security Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue its support without limitation to the extension of social security to the portions of American labor yet without coverage and in particular that it support the introduction and demand the passage of a bill or bills which will provide for extending to the state and municipal governments optionally or by compacts therewith the old age and survivors benefits of social security, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such bill or bills shall contain provisions that such extension of the old age and survivors benefits to the states and to municipal governments shall be made only and whenever a majority of the members of any existing state or municipal insurance or retirement plan by majority vote petition their respective state or local governments for or by majority vote support otherwise the adoption and the extension of such provisions to their unit of government.

### EXTENDING SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

**Resolution No. 145**—By Building and Construction Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Many members of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, are employed by the Federal Public Housing Authority throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, They are denied rights of benefits of the Federal Social Security Act and the State Unemployment Insurance Act, in such States as State Unemployment Insurance is effective, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor sponsor and promote legislation through the members of Congress in Washington, D. C., to bring all the employees of the Federal Public Housing Authority under the scope of the Federal Social Security Act and the State Unemployment Insurance in such States as State Unemployment Insurance is effective.

### LOWERING AGE LIMIT SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

**Resolution No. 147**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Under present conditions it is impossible for the average worker to accumulate enough to enable him to live in comfort in his old age, and makes old age assistance a prime necessity, and

WHEREAS, The provisions for old age retirement benefits under the Social Security Act are woefully inadequate, and

WHEREAS, The age limit for such retirement should be lowered in order to be of any benefit to the average worker, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention go on record as favoring the amending of the Social Security Act, so as to provide retirement benefits sufficient for the maintenance of decent living conditions for old people, and lowering of the age limit from 65 years to 60 years.

### SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

**Resolution No. 150**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Many members of the building trades unions are being deprived of the benefits accruing under the Social Security Act while temporarily employed by various city, county and state institutions, thus reducing the computed yearly average income under the Act, resulting in lower retirement benefits, also depriving them of unemployment compensation for the period thus employed, and

WHEREAS, Such employees cannot benefit by any pension plan established by civil service employees due to the temporary character of their employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the amending of the Social Security Act to cover such temporary employees.

All these resolutions refer to amendments to the Social Security Law which were sought by the introducers of the resolutions.

Your committee is in sympathy with the



objective of these resolutions, but inasmuch as they must be given legislative direction by the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to that committee.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### LABOR LIBRARIES

**Resolution No. 22**—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Frank Evans, Peter G. Noll, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, A majority of universities throughout the country have set up labor libraries, and

WHEREAS, Many of these universities conduct labor classes, and

WHEREAS, The labor libraries at these universities are at the disposal of the regular students as well as the students of labor, and

WHEREAS, We find that many brochures and pamphlets dealing with labor are passed out free to the students, and

WHEREAS, It has been the experience of the U.A.W.-A.F.L. that very few American Federation of Labor brochures and pamphlets appear in the libraries of these universities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, convening in the city of Chicago on October 7, 1946, go on record as recommending to all of its affiliates that they supply the universities throughout the country, and particularly those which conduct labor classes, with adequate amounts of all literature and brochures which are available from time to time, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming Executive Council immediately to forward to all universities an adequate number of copies of all brochures and literature which are available at this time and to forward a sufficient number of copies of future literature immediately upon release of same.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### INCREASE IN REVENUE TO WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

**Resolution No. 23**—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Frank Evans, Peter G. Noll, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America in April of this year celebrated its 25th anniversary with a convention and conference at the Hotel Commodore in New York City, and

WHEREAS, This convention and conference exemplified the splendid progress made by the Workers Education Bureau of America against tremendous odds, and

WHEREAS, Director John Connors and his staff should receive a citation for a job well done with very limited finances, and

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America is a definite asset to the American Federation of Labor and should be enlisted to the fullest extent in the American Federation of Labor Southern drive for a million new members, and

WHEREAS, It is evident that the function of the Workers Education Bureau of America must be enlarged to cover a wider scope of activities to compensate for the influx of members into the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor contribution to the Workers Education Bureau of America be increased to the sum of \$50,000 annually, effective as of the next contribution date.

Your committee calls to your attention the fact that the American Federation of Labor now contributes \$10,000 annually to the Workers Education Bureau of America. This is a substantial contribution. The Workers Education Bureau has accomplished most worth-while service to the American trade union movement. It is the opinion of your committee that affiliated unions, because of the benefits their members have received from the work of the Bureau, should be willing to make contributions. Your committee, however, cannot agree with the resolve of the resolution and recommends non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 25 and 26, as follows:

### ESTABLISHMENT OF A. F. OF L. WORKERS COLLEGE

**Resolution No. 25**—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Frank Evans, Peter G. Noll, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The lack of education, knowledge, and training in the field of labor for the past 65 years has been a serious detriment to organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The immortal Samuel Gompers once said, "Labor's salvation lies in education," and

WHEREAS, A few national and international unions have accepted the burden of promoting their own educational programs, and

WHEREAS, The activities of so few national and international unions who have sponsored their own educational programs have had no effect on the millions of organized workers who are members of other national and international unions, and

WHEREAS, The directors and faculty of some 68 universities throughout the country are now offering short term labor courses, and

WHEREAS, Although the courses offered by the various universities are in the right direction, they do not afford sufficient time



nor the proper curriculum which might be most advantageous to certain groups of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The U.A.W.-A.F.L. has in the past two years conducted educational classes in collective bargaining throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, The U.A.W.-A.F.L. in conducting these classes has found a dire need for education in the field of labor, and

WHEREAS, The U.A.W.-A.F.L. seriously believes that labor must train and educate its own people, and that the instructors must come from the ranks of labor and be well versed and well seasoned in the field of organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor convening in Chicago on October 7, 1946, give due consideration to the setting up and sponsoring of a workers' college, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall be in full charge of and shall administer the affairs of the workers' college and shall assume all financial responsibilities and obligations, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the workers' college of the American Federation of Labor be staffed by a faculty well trained in all phases of organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the workers' college of the American Federation of Labor be centrally located in the United States in order to make the school readily accessible to all branches of the American Federation of Labor, and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its first meeting after adjournment of this convention, stand instructed to appoint a Board of Directors and faculty for the Workers' College of the American Federation of Labor.

## WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

**Resolution No. 26**—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Frank Evans, Peter G. Noll, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America has for 25 years functioned as a separate entity from the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America has received its sole revenue from voluntary contributions and per capita tax, and

WHEREAS, The revenue received by the Workers Education Bureau of America is not at all in keeping with the expansion of the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Many national and international unions, due to their tremendous financial responsibilities find themselves in no position to burden their treasury further with additional per capita tax payments, and

WHEREAS, The Workers Education Bureau of America, with its trained staff and personnel, could be used as a nucleus for the Workers' College of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, convening on the 7th day of October, 1946, in the city

of Chicago, go on record as making the Workers' Education Bureau of America a part of the Workers College of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee reports upon these two resolutions by recommending non-concurrence with them. Your committee makes this recommendation because it is of the opinion that workers' education would be hampered, instead of fostered by converting the Workers Education Bureau into a college.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair will interrupt the report of the committee now for the purpose of dealing with some special matters that call for attention at this time.

First of all we have with us an outstanding representative of a great organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Screen Actors Guild. This is made up of artists, high-class artists. We are proud of their association and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. We feel deeply honored because they are with us, and they are associated with us in our great economic movement.

So, I am pleased now to present to you for a few moments, Mr. Edward Arnold, member of the Executive Board and past president of the Screen Actors' Guild. Mr. Arnold.

## MR. EDWARD ARNOLD

Mr. President, distinguished guests, my brothers of the American Federation of Labor, ladies and gentlemen: I am most happy and deeply grateful for this opportunity to bring to you the greetings from the A. F. of L. Union of Motion Picture Players, the Screen Actors' Guild.

As President Green told you, we are part and parcel of the international, known as the Associated Actors and Artists of America.

At the outset, I would like to make one point crystal clear. It may have been thought by some that we actors came to this convention to get publicity for ourselves. I assure you from the bottom of my heart that such is not the case. We do not need to trade on the good name of the Federation to obtain personal publicity. We have come here as good trade unionists, as good members of the American Federation of Labor, and as good Americans, to cooperate with the Federation and its leaders, in seeking a solution to a very tough problem.

Some people are under the impression that motion picture actors spend their time sitting around swimming pools, sipping champagne. To such people, it does not seem proper for actors to belong to an active, working branch of organized labor. But there is no doubt in the minds of the actors as to where they belong. Nor is there any doubt as to the great economic benefits and im-

provements in working conditions which actors have obtained through their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

In California, the Screen Actors' Guild takes a most active part in the deliberations and meetings and all activities of organized labor. One of our delegates to this convention is Mr. Pat Somerset of the Screen Actors' Guild, who is a Vice President of the California State Federation of Labor. I mention these facts only in order that you will understand why we of the Screen Actors' Guild feel that we are a part and parcel of the Federation. And when we have a problem to be solved which requires national action by the A. F. of L., it is not only our right but our duty to bring this problem to this convention.

The problem I am referring to is that created by quarrels between A. F. L. unions over which union should have as members the men doing certain work—in other words, the jurisdictional dispute. We know that many A. F. L. men from all parts of our great nation are concerned with this problem. We must all work together to find an intelligent solution. Federation members in Southern California are particularly concerned with this question because there are working in the motion picture studios the members of fifty-four different A. F. L. unions—most of whom come in daily and close association one with the other.

All of us know that in every big family there always will be family quarrels, just as long as human nature is human nature and man is a free agent. I say thank God that here in America we trade unionists can still be free human beings, not slaves.

Because of that very fact, we must protect our right to have our own family quarrels by keeping them within the Federation—and settling them peacefully within the Federation. It is only by so doing that we can insure that our family quarrels remain our own business. If A. F. L. family quarrels should continue to affect persons and interests outside the A. F. L. there is no assurance that we can continue to have quarrels without outside interference. We do not want government regulation of our own family quarrels.

The principle of impartial arbitration is an American principle—and it is a good principle. It is a principle which has been used, and used successfully, by some of the international organizations in the Federation, such as the Building Trades Council and the Metal Trades Council. It is time that every union in the Federation of Labor, international and local, give serious consideration to the use of the principle of impartial arbitration in settling jurisdictional disputes.

We on the West Coast are going through particularly troublesome times. There are some Communists in some of our unions—and

those comrades can take a minor jurisdictional quarrel between two A. F. L. unions and develop it into a major war. Let me say right here and now that in the union I represent, the Screen Actors' Guild, we have a few, but a very few Communists. I would hazard a guess that not more than one per cent of the Guild membership of 8,500 is actually Communist or in sympathy with the Communists. This was demonstrated at a membership meeting a few weeks ago when a Communist-supported resolution was defeated by an overwhelming majority. It is unfortunate that because actors, by the very nature of their profession, must live in the limelight, if one happens to get off base, it reflects on all actors.

But this limelight is not all bad, from the viewpoint of the American Federation of Labor. It also works in reverse, and it enables the Screen Actors Guild to say to the American Federation of Labor: This limelight gives us the power to reach the public at all times. We are ready to use this power, in cooperation with you, to advance the cause of organized labor. Thank you and may God guide the American Federation of Labor in the years ahead of us.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I thank you, Mr. Arnold, for your visit here and for your address to the delegates this afternoon. I know we appreciate your visit and your remarks.

Now I want to present to you a visitor who has attended previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor and who has always manifested a deep interest in the work of the Federation. He is the Labor Attaché at the British Embassy in Washington. He was sent here by Ernest Bevin and was the first representative of the British Government to be appointed to such a post anywhere in the world. He came here in 1942. He has been to our conventions before and has always kept in close touch with the American Federation of Labor. He has traveled extensively and introduced Lord Halifax, when he was British Ambassador, to representatives of the American Federation of Labor in almost every State. He has recently introduced the present British Ambassador, Lord Inverchapel, to A. F. of L. representatives in some of our States. I can say truthfully that he has promoted understanding between the representatives of the British Embassy and labor in the United States.

I present to you now Mr. Archie Gordon.

### **MR. ARCHIBALD McDONALD GORDON**

**(Counsellor and Labor Attaché, British Embassy, Washington, D. C.)**

President Green, distinguished visitors and delegates, I thank you very much, Mr. Presi-

dent, for again giving me the opportunity of coming to your convention and speaking to you, and particularly for the very kind way in which you worded your invitation to come here and the warm terms in which you have referred to me this afternoon. I am particularly grateful to have an opportunity to speak, knowing full well that it is the second week of the convention, a week which is mainly devoted to business and I won't interrupt your time more than I can help.

One of the reasons I did not come last week was because I was attending the Conference of the International Labor Organization, an organization which this American Federation of Labor has always supported most heartily.

Then here may I mention that while I was there I had once again the opportunity of seeing in action the representative that you sent to that organization, Mr. Robert Watt, and if he won't mind my saying so, I have attended such conferences on many occasions, and I can assure you that whether the conference meets at 7 o'clock in the morning or during the night, Bob is always in his seat. Moreover, if you want to see a human dynamo in action, if you want to see plain common sense and realism injected into a meeting, you should attend the I. L. O. meeting and see Bob Watt in action.

The interests of American workers, the interests of his country, and the interests of workers generally are safe at the International Labor Organization in the hands of Bob Watt.

Ladies and gentlemen, the first time I was privileged to speak to you at a convention was at Toronto in 1942, and there I gave you some account of the efforts which Britain was making in an attempt at total mobilization for war purposes and of the measures she had been obliged to impose upon herself to secure maximum production. Conscription had been extended from the field of the armed services to that of labour. We had to ensure that people were employed where they were required and moreover, that they were used in the most effective way. This transfer of labour raised many important problems, housing, welfare, education, care of children, etc., but they were in the main solved by the cooperation which existed between the Government and the representatives of employers and of workers. A Nation Joint Council was established consisting of representatives of the Trades Union Congress and the British Employers' Confederation with the Minister of Labour as Chairman, and this Council was consulted on all matters affecting labour, e.g., the mobilization of manpower, labour controls, labour supply, training, welfare, etc. This proved to be of inestimable advantage and greatly facilitated the putting into effect of the various measures necessary for

the prosecution of the war. Many improvements in conditions of employment were necessary to secure maximum production and some of those achieved during the war period were as follows:

The provision of a guaranteed week and security of employment under the Essential Work Orders; the securing of a national minimum wage and wage increases for agricultural workers; the provision of regular employment and minimum weekly wages for dockers under port labour schemes; the establishment of a national wage machinery for miners and the provision of new medical services in the mining industry; the introduction of new standards of wages and conditions under the Catering Wages Act; the improved arrangements for the rehabilitation, training and retraining of men, women and young people for industrial work; and the great extension in welfare facilities—both inside and outside the factories—including the erection of hostels and canteens, the provision of hot meals, and the appointment of doctors and nurses.

Many will want these improvements obtained during the war to be continued.

The end of the war found Britain, as other countries, facing a very difficult task. It had been geared up for war as never before. Dependent for its life on its export trade, it had reduced this to less than one-third of its pre-war volume in order that men and women might be employed in the services and essential war industries. This was a deliberate policy and was made possible largely by the magnanimity of Lend-Lease. Our overseas investments were greatly diminished and our shipping suffered grievous losses—more than half of our pre-war tonnage. On the home front, industry had been converted and dispersed, homes and families redistributed, food and essential articles rationed. One-third of our houses had been damaged or destroyed. The population had suffered privation and the strain of excessive hours of work for six years.

The problem of reconversion in such circumstances might therefore have caused dismay to many but the spirit of our people is as indomitable as ever and we have no doubt that in the absence of unforeseen difficulties at home or abroad we shall emerge successfully.

It is just over a year since the war ended and I may perhaps be allowed to mention some of the tasks which we have accomplished in that time. Our demobilization plans have worked smoothly. Already out of a total of 5,100,000 in the Armed Forces 3½ millions have been released, whilst the number of people engaged on production of munitions and supplies for the forces has been reduced by 3¼ millions. Since the war ended over one million women have left the Forces or industry and gone back home, to

resume their household duties. Approximately, therefore, six million men and women have become available for peacetime employment in civilian industry. Yet in spite of this addition to the labour market, our unemployment figure stands at only 360,000, which is very much less than we expected.

To assist men and women returning from the Forces in their resettlement problems, special Resettlement Advice Offices with specially trained staffs have been established throughout the country. Here advice may be obtained by returning ex-servicemen and women on such matters as their rights under the Re-instatement in Civil Employment Act; Resettlement Grants, the possibility of Vocational Training, Further Education, Training in Business Management, Overseas Settlement, Interrupted Apprenticeship Scheme, assistance for the disabled, and many other matters.

Our first task is to try and revive our export trade which we have to build to a much higher level than in pre-war days for reasons I have already mentioned, and in this task we, and we think the world generally, will be greatly helped by the credit which Congress recently approved. And here may I mention with gratitude that it did not escape me that the American Federation of Labour was one of the first in its declaration in favour of this credit and continued both in the written and spoken word to support it until it was finally approved.

It is therefore necessary to see that our industries are as efficient as possible. The Government's policy is to apply to some of the basic industries a policy of nationalization in the belief that it will provide in the circumstances the best economic remedies for the problems involved. This still leaves 80 per cent of our industries under private enterprise and in a number of these, in order to secure improvement in the organization, production methods and distribution, Working Parties have been set up. These consist of representatives of employers and workers from the industries themselves, together with representatives of the public. Working Parties, some of which have visited this country, have been set up in the following industries: cotton, carpets, glassware, jewelry and silverware, pottery, boots and shoes, linoleum, jute, wool, china clay, cutlery, lace, clothing, hosiery and furniture.

Our imports, largely food and raw materials, comprise about two-thirds in volume of the pre-war figures, and to maintain our pre-war standard of living we have to increase our exports by more than 75 per cent in order to balance the payments. When we remember that our export trade before the war was 20 per cent of that of the whole world, the magnitude of our task is apparent. That is why, with an over-all acute shortage of labor, we have to endeavor to

secure the utmost efficiency in our industries and by every skill and scientific device, by improvement in organization, distribution, and scientific management, and by the promotion of good industrial relations, to increase productivity to its maximum extent.

We have established in our Board of Trade a Production Efficiency Branch which we hope will be of assistance, especially to smaller manufacturers, and much is hoped from the new British Institute of Management to which the government had promised help.

The British Government is committed to a policy of high and stable level of employment. The figures I have already given show that at the moment the over-all unemployment figure is very small indeed. In pursuit of this policy it intends as part of its economic planning to use its manpower budget, which helped in the mobilization for war, for purposes of peace, believing that a regular manpower budget as well as a financial budget together with the demands for employment will enable it to avoid the catastrophic disturbances which follow in the wake of booms and slumps. Involved also in this is the provision of training or retraining facilities for workers in new occupations and this is a serious problem today when we are already suffering from an acute shortage of skilled workers vitally necessary for the urgent work of reconstruction.

Training has been part of the Government's policy since 1920 and many Training Centers of various kinds were in existence before the war. The number of these centers is being increased and it is hoped by the end of the present year to have 100 of them providing 42,000 training places.

On the subject of training special mention should be made of the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944, which might be called "A Charter for the Disabled."

The Government's policy is to re-equip and retrain disabled workers, however, the disablement arises and to ensure that employment is available for them. Permanent disablement is one of the most ugly legacies of war. Great Britain has been faced with the problem not only of disabled soldiers, sailors and airmen but also of civilians, including young children, who have been disabled as a result of air raids. Of the 86,000 civilians wounded in air raids over Britain, a large number were disabled. The British Government has accepted full responsibility for the rehabilitation, training and resettlement of all such persons, whether they were in uniform or not when they were struck down. But the Government has gone even further than this. In March 1944, Parliament passed the above-mentioned Act which provides for industrial rehabilitation, vocational training and, if necessary, sheltered employment for any person over 16 years of age, who on account of injury, disease or disablement is

substantially handicapped in getting or keeping suitable employment. Thus, it is not limited to those disabled during the war, but covers anyone whether the victim of injury, accident, disease, neurosis or even congenital deformity. Disabled persons have been invited to register if they can show that their disablement is a substantial handicap in getting or keeping suitable employment, and we already have a register of over 600,000. The Act provides that with certain minor exceptions all employers employing 50 or more work people must employ a minimum quota of 3 per cent registered disabled persons. Only registered disabled persons may be employed as elevator operators and car park attendants. Further occupations may be designated. Moreover, for those whose disability is sufficiently serious to make their employment economically impossible in a competitive market, the Government is establishing special factories where they will be employed regardless of their productive capacity, where they can work at their own trade at the rate for the job and where any loss incurred in operation as a result of their employment will be borne by the state.

This surely is a great constructive task and will bring renewed hope and a fuller life to many of our people.

Social security on which interest was focused by the Beveridge Report in 1942 is now well advanced in Great Britain. A National Insurance Act passed this year provides for everyone, through a single weekly payment made compulsorily, compensation in the event of loss of earning power due to unemployment, sickness, maternity, widowhood, old age and death. This in addition to Family Allowances, Insurance against Industrial Injuries and the provision of a National Health Service form a most comprehensive provision by legislation against the hazards of life and employment.

In the field of education, further advances have been made but progress is dependent on the provision of buildings and the training of the teachers required.

The ravages of war have left us with an acute housing problem on which a start has been made and we are hopeful of more rapid progress with the increase in the supply of workers in the building industries and in the supply of materials.

We have been fortunate so far in our work of reconversion in the absence of any major industrial disturbances. We have had a few "unofficial strikes" but they have occurred against the advice and without the support of the unions. We have relied upon a policy of self-government in industry leaving the settlement of wages as far as possible to free negotiation between employers' organizations and trade unions.

Before the war the idea of compulsory arbitration which we adopted in the interests

of war production had always been repugnant to employers' organizations and trade unions alike in Great Britain. Accordingly as soon as the war was over the Government asked both sides of industry if they wanted the war-time order providing for compulsory arbitration abolished. Both the employers' organizations and the trade unions asked for the continuation of compulsory arbitration for a further period, and it is interesting to note in this connection that compulsory arbitration in Great Britain does not seem to have weakened in any way the well-established machinery of voluntary joint collective bargaining. While, therefore, the Government maintains its traditional policy of non-intervention in the determination of wages and working conditions by employers' and workers' organizations, disputes must be referred to the National Arbitration Tribunal whose decision is final and legally binding and a strike or lockout remains illegal unless the dispute has been reported to the Minister of Labour and he has not within 21 days referred the dispute for settlement by negotiation or arbitration. Our system of voluntary collective bargaining has stood the test of time and we believe that industrial settlements freely negotiated lead to a minimum of industrial discontent and to improved production.

Another development of great importance in the Government's post-war wage policy has just taken place. The Government now intends, through the medium of the wartime National Joint Advisory Council mentioned above, to keep employers' organizations and trade unions fully informed at regular intervals about the general economic position of the country. This will mean detailed information about the employment position, the state of trade, the national income and the balance of foreign payments. The object is to enable both sides of industry to give the greatest possible help to the Government in re-establishing the national economy of Great Britain and also, and this is of great importance, to enable both sides of industry to negotiate their wage settlements with a full and authoritative knowledge of the economic situation of the country.

Despite the great efforts made during the reconversion, austerity still pervades British life. Some of the wartime controls have been relaxed but in a few instances they still remain. Most labour controls have disappeared although they still continue in the coal-mining, agriculture, the building trade and the building material industries—in all of which an acute shortage of labour still exists. Rationing of food and clothing is still, however, necessary, and the strain of the war years is doubtless being felt. Also our homes are not likely to be very warm in the coming winter.

We can not, however, emerge from a world

upheaval such as we have just witnessed and expect our hopes to be immediately fulfilled. We should do well perhaps in our comparisons to compare our present state not with the world of our hopes but with the world as we saw it in 1940. Then surely we should count our blessings and go forward with patience, courage and determination. Let me assure you that whatever measures may be necessary to surmount the difficulties which beset us, the love of the average Briton for individual liberty and the freedom we all cherish, remains as dear today as ever.

In the difficult tasks which face us all I pray that the partnership of our two great nations, forged in war, may continue in peace, strong in the support of the United Nations, toward the attainment of the ideals for which we have both sacrificed so much.

### HONORS FOR PRESIDENT GREEN, VICE PRESIDENT WOLL AND VICE PRESIDENT DUBINSKY

And now before I conclude I have what is to me one of the most pleasing announcements it has ever been my lot to make. You may remember that when I addressed you in New Orleans in 1944 I expressed thanks on behalf of my country for the great help of all kinds which America gave us, particularly in the early days of the war. In reciting some of the things which had been so helpful to us I mentioned particularly the great and generous work of British War Relief in which President Green, David Dubinsky and Mr. Matthew Woll and so many others played such magnificent parts. You will all therefore understand how great is the pleasure it gives me to announce at your convention today that I have received a communication from my Government, stating that His Majesty, The King, has been graciously pleased to confer on President William Green the Most Excellent Order of Commander of the Order of the British Empire, and if he will kindly come forward I shall be honored to present him with a token ribbon.

President Green, you have been a staunch friend of my country, and through your consistent and wholehearted support to the magnificent efforts of the American workers you have directed and aided throughout the war period a stream of medical supplies, warm clothing, food and money to us which enabled the provision of clubs for merchant seamen, rest homes for war workers, shelters for orphans, civilian rest rooms and amenities of all kinds which we could not have provided, in the circumstances, for ourselves and which were of immense comfort and encouragement to us in times of grievous stress and strain. You have honored me personally with your friendship, which I treasure, and with your counsel and help, which I value

highly, and I am sure you will therefore realize what happiness it gives me to inform you, on behalf of Lord Inverchapel, the British Ambassador, of the announcement I have just made, and to present to you this ribbon as a token of the insignia to follow.

I also add my sincere congratulations, and I know that both your many friends in this country and in Great Britain will doubtless wish to do the same. No one could be more deserving of this distinction.

I am also glad to say that further awards have been notified in recognition of the great and generous work done in the cause of assistance to Great Britain by two other representatives of the American Federation of Labor and friends of mine, namely, Mr. Matthew Woll and Mr. David Dubinsky, and if they will kindly come forward I shall be most happy to present them also with token ribbons.

Mr. Woll, it is a great pleasure to me to announce to you, on behalf of Lord Inverchapel, the British Ambassador, that information has been received from my Government announcing that His Majesty, The King, has been graciously pleased to award to you the King's Medal for services rendered in the cause of freedom. I offer you my sincere congratulations.

Mr. Dubinsky, it is also a great pleasure to announce to you, on behalf of Lord Inverchapel, the British Ambassador, that information has been received from my Government announcing that His Majesty, The King, has been graciously pleased to award to you the King's Medal for services rendered in the cause of freedom. I offer you my sincere congratulations.

I know that the many friends of you both in this country and in Great Britain will wish to do the same thing.

I mentioned earlier that austerity still prevails in England. The shortage of materials and the shortage of craftsmen prevents my offering other than token presentations, but I hope very soon in the case of President Green, that the insignia will follow and that it may be possible for him to receive it at the hands of Lord Inverchapel at the British Embassy in Washington. I also hope that the medals awarded to Mr. Woll and to Mr. Dubinsky will soon be received, and I can promise that they will be suitably conveyed to them.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have finished. Nothing could have been more pleasing to me or have given me greater happiness than the honor and privilege of taking part in this event today.

Thank you again for inviting me to your convention and for allowing me to speak to you. I wish you every possible success.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** It is very difficult for me to find language that would adequately express my appreciation of the distin-



guished honor just conferred upon me. At this moment I am unable to express completely my thanks and my appreciation for this high honor. It comes as a surprise and I know I voice the sentiments of my good friends, Vice President Woll and Vice President David Dubinsky, who have also been honored when I say we are overwhelmed by being so signally honored.

I do not know exactly what this order means—an Honourary Commander of the Civil Division of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire—but I appreciate deeply this award which has been conferred upon me through the medium of my good friend, the Honorable Archibald McD. Gordon, Labor Attaché of the British Embassy.

My good friend, Percy Bengough, from Canada, reported to me last night that such an honor had been conferred upon him a short time before he left Canada to come to Chicago to serve as fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I congratulated him highly and I told him that I shared his feeling of pleasure and satisfaction and appreciation over the great honor conferred upon him.

And now, behold you, today, following that report that he made to me, I find myself a recipient of the same honor.

It seems appropriate and fitting for me to tell of an incident that occurred some few years ago. It stands out as one of the brightest, most pleasing experiences of my life. I was invited by the late President Roosevelt and his good wife, Mrs. Roosevelt, to attend a garden party at the White House as their guest. It was a garden party given in honor of their Majesties, the King and Queen of Great Britain. I responded with a feeling of pleasure and satisfaction to the invitation extended me.

There were a large number of people present, but I am pleased to tell you I was fortunate enough to be presented to their Majesties by themselves and was accorded the most extraordinary opportunity of sitting down and talking to them, face to face, just as I talk to you. And I found that they were just a great deal like us. I was surprised, indeed, when I learned of the grasp that His Majesty, the King, held of the economic, industrial and social life of our Nation. I was privileged to talk to them quietly by themselves for at least twenty minutes, and I thought that was most extraordinary. It stands out as one of the brightest, most pleasing experiences in my whole life.

Now, I want to say to Mr. Gordon that I shall express my thanks in a direct and fitting way later. I am placing in the record a telegram I have just received from the British Ambassador and I ask you, Mr. Gordon, to carry back to the British Ambassador in Washington and through him to the representatives of the British Government, my

profound and sincere thanks for this high honor conferred upon me this afternoon. Thank you very much.

Washington, D. C., Oct. 15, 2:30 P.M.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

It is with much pleasure that I am able to inform you that the King has been pleased to approve your appointment to be an Honourary Commander of the Civil Division of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire in recognition of your valuable services and those of the American Federation of Labor in the cause of freedom. I offer you my personal congratulations on this well-merited award.

#### INVERCHAPEL.

VICE PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: President Green practically expressed my sentiments, as well as Brother Matthew Woll's. I consider it a distinct honor on this occasion to be presented by the British Government with this recognition. The honor that comes from His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, at this time represents the sentiment of the Labor Government of these democratic people, and I know anyone in labor who gets this recognition is deeply appreciative for that recognition.

Whatever part I have played in helping, I have done it as a trade unionist. It is now recognized by the trade union movement and the trade union government of Britain. I am very grateful to them.

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: I join with my colleagues in expressing not only surprise, but great appreciation for the honor conferred upon us. I don't know whether we are really deserving of these honors or what they imply, but may I say this, that from the inception of the war, when England was first being assaulted by the Nazi hordes I undertook to organize Labor's League for Human Rights, and undertook the first campaign to raise funds from our American trade unionists in order to help relieve the situation in England. Our purpose was threefold, not only to bring relief to our British workers and our British friends, but likewise to give to them that moral stimulus so essential during those trying days; and thirdly to meet the onslaught that was being made upon Britain's imperialistic war condition right within our own midst.

During all these years in time, of course, we have done what we could to bring alleviation to all of the suffering people of the Allied Nations. That, however, is not a matter of reward by any particular nation or government. It was a humanitarian instinct, the instinct of self-preservation, that of patriotism to the principle of liberty and freedom that prompted our activities in that regard.

Of course, I appreciate the honor extended



to us and I consider it a tribute, not so much to President Green, to David Dubinsky or myself, but rather to the American Federation of Labor and all who have made possible the contributions made.

### PRESENTATION OF GIFTS TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I now want to discharge a very pleasant duty, as the agent through whom you speak. It has been a pleasing custom at all conventions of the American Federation of Labor to present to the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress appropriate presents, and we do not forget the helpmates of each of our fraternal delegates who may not be privileged to accompany them to the United States and to the different cities where our annual conventions are held.

Now, we are doing that this afternoon in the usual fitting way. You are presenting to them beautiful presents which will always serve as a reminder of what we hope will be a delightful and pleasant visit here in the United States.

Without any further ceremony, I am going to present to each of them tokens of remembrance to which I have referred.

First of all, I want to present this watch and chain to my very dear friend and your friend, one for whom we have all high regard and esteem, Brother O'Brien, the fraternal delegate from the Trades Union Congress. This is your present, appropriately engraved, and one that will constantly remind Brother O'Brien of his association with us here in Chicago and of his visit to this convention.

Please accept this from the delegates and officers in attendance at this convention as an expression of their appreciation of your visit here and of the high esteem and regard in which you are held.

As I said, we do not forget the controlling forces at home. Here is a beautiful wrist watch for Mrs. O'Brien, and we want Mr. O'Brien to take it back and tell her the truth, tell her that we sent this present to her through Brother O'Brien, because we hold her, too, in our high regard.

**FRATERNAL DELEGATE O'BRIEN:** Well, Mr. President Green, I think we should call this afternoon's session the presentation session. It was with great surprise, agreeable surprise, that I heard Mr. Gordon announce that our King had conferred upon President Green a very high honor, an honor which is regarded in my country with a great deal of acquiescence—that is the word—a considerable number of public personages in Britain would give anything to obtain that honor, and I am saying these few words to indicate how privileged I feel to be here this after-

noon to witness the actual passing of the announcement of the honor to your very great President and also the King's Medal, which is one of the highest medals of that Order, of that category, to my friends, Dave Dubinsky and Matthew Well.

I should add this, which Mr. Gordon obviously didn't say—the honor conferred upon President Green, as well as the others, is only given in my country to people who have deserved it, not by status of their position, not because they have large banking accounts, or not because they are poor. It is conferred only on one test, and that test is merit. The people who have these honors conferred on them must merit them. They must have done something very great, extraordinarily great for our country, and it is all the more pleasing that the services rendered not only to Britain by President Green and his colleagues, but the services rendered to democracy at large has been recognized by my sovereign, and on the advice, no doubt, of His Majesty's Government.

Now, having said that I do feel that I have associated myself as the fraternal delegate with great pleasure in that.

It remains for me to thank you, sir, and to thank you all very much for these most valuable and charming presents, and on behalf of Mrs. O'Brien. She is not here, but I hope one day she will be able to come and look after me.

I was going to mention something about the injunction which President Green gave me after I concluded my fraternal address, but the afternoon is so charming, everything has been so nice, that I think I will refrain from coming back with a crack at President Green with what I wanted to come back on him when I heard him say what he did say. However, I had my chance last night after dinner, and I didn't think when we were talking about the C. B. E. as the President has referred to, that he would be the recipient today.

It has been very nice being with you. It has been my first trip to the States. I have managed to see quite a lot of it for the little time I have been here. I have gone to the West Coast and back, and I have got to go for a few more days to Washington and New York. I have had nothing but hospitality, kindness and friendship wherever I have gone, from members of this Federation and from trade unions and from the American people generally. America is everything it is cracked up to be. You have had Britishers coming over here from time to time telling you how to run your country. I have not made that mistake. You are quite capable. I am speaking now as a public man, as well as a trade union official at the moment. You are quite capable of running your

own country. In fact, you can give us a few lessons ourselves in how to run ours.

So, I take back many happy thoughts and many pleasant memories of my visit, and the greatest and best thing I can say is that I hope circumstances will permit me to come back to the States again in some other way and to know something more about you, to understand the American people better and to bring about what I said in my address and what we all have said from time to time, to bring about what is the only real thing that matters in the world at the present time—a genuine cooperation and understanding in a closer tie, a getting together of the great English-speaking races, not to attack anybody else, not to defend ourselves against anybody else, but just because we are a great English-speaking nation like yourselves, that friendship and loyalty, and that closeness which we had during the war and the ties we formed during that great conflict must never be severed. We must go on in our democracy, in our love of freedom, in our love of liberty, in our love of justice together, whatever the divergences that may operate in between.

Thank you very much indeed.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now, in like manner, I present to Brother Watson, the other fraternal delegate, from the British Trades Union Congress, a beautiful present similar to the one presented to Brother O'Brien. This watch and chain is your present to the British fraternal delegate who has visited with us during this convention.

I present this to you now with the assurance of the deep appreciation we all hold of your visit here. I want to say to you, without repeating it, the same things I said to our friend Brother O'Brien, and we wish that you may come back to us again and that you shall have a happy return to your homeland.

Of course, we didn't forget Mrs. Watson. We want you to take this home to her and tell her that this is a present from the finest men and women you ever saw attending a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

**FRATERNAL DELEGATE WATSON:** President Green and delegates: Words fail me in expressing thanks in behalf of myself and my wife for these beautiful gifts. I observe that mine is suitably inscribed. Therefore, no difficulties of explanation will arise either at the customs or at home in explaining where it was received.

I note, however, that Mrs. Watson's watch is rather too small to be engraved and we foresee a jurisdictional dispute arising in the home as to where this watch actually came from and the causes for which it was given.

Nevertheless, we are deeply grateful to the officers, president and members of the A. F. of L. for the splendid gifts which we

hope will intensify the fine relationship between the Trades Union Congress and the A. F. of L., and will make stronger, if possible, the ties that bind our two countries.

We have been searching all week for something nice to say to this convention before we sail for home, and after a great deal of search, we have come across the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. In that constitution is a very fine principle, embodied by the pioneers who made this great movement, and it is undoubtedly the guiding star of the Federation and the instrument which the present leadership bears in mind in all the work that it carries out. We want to read this, and with it offer every good wish for the success of the A. F. of L. in the hope that the principle embodied in this preamble is one day common across the earth.

"A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries. A struggle between the capitalists and labor which grows in intensity from year to year and will work disastrous results to the quarreling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefits."

Thank you very much indeed.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Last of all, but not least, I present a gift similar to the ones that I have just presented to the fraternal delegates to our good friend, our close neighbor, one who just lives across the line, in Canada, Brother Percy Bengough, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Please accept this gift from the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention as an expression of their appreciation of your attendance at this convention, of their good will and of their assurance of cooperation and support to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

I present to you, in their name and in their behalf, this beautiful present for Mrs. Bengough. Now, you ought to stand in a good deal better with her in the future than you have ever stood in the past. So, good luck to you, safe journey home and come back and visit us again whenever you can.

**FRATERNAL DELEGATE BENGOUGH:** President Green and delegates: I really find some difficulty in saying how much I appreciate your kindness. I will certainly treasure these gifts all my life and they will be a memento of a very happy occasion.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and this great organization have very much in common. As you know, we are comprised of the same membership. The Congress in Canada represents the Canadian membership of the international organizations that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We have many Canadians who have been elected to high offices in your organization. There are many bonds that

I think of and of which you know that bind our two organizations together.

I think that this convention, in setting up a cooperative committee to work between the two organizations, has done a wonderful job. I think we can build the spirit, the good-will and brotherhood that exists between us, now that we have some clearing house for our differences.

I am glad to be here today and find that we have another thing in common, and that is that the President of the American Federation of Labor is now a fellow Commander with the President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. I don't know who is going to command what, because we are in the difficult position of being on equal status in that very excellent order, and I am really pleased to be able to welcome President Green into the excellent Order of the British Empire.

Thank you very much.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We have two other distinguished visitors here—distinguished because they came all the way from Switzerland to the United States and Canada and because of their deep interest in the American Federation of Labor, they came by way of Chicago for the purpose of visiting with us very briefly. I want to introduce them to you, not for an address, but so that you may become acquainted with them.

First I want to present Brother Ernest Koch, General Secretary of the Swiss Food and Transport Workers' Trade Union, with headquarters in Zurich, a delegate to the Twenty-ninth International Labor Conference in Montreal.

Then I want to present to you his fellow delegate, Brother Ernest Bircher, General Secretary of the Federation of Swiss Garment and Leather Workers, and member of the Council of Swiss Trade Unions Federation, Berne, Switzerland.

### MR. ERNEST KOCH

**(General Secretary of the Swiss Food and Transport Workers' Trade Union)**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters: First of all, I cannot explain my feelings in language which is not mine, to be able to speak a few words in a country which is so much appreciated by our people, especially by the workers. We always have the same feelings upon the workers' trade union movement in the whole world, especially America.

I am disturbed to be in a convention on a large continent, coming from a small country such as we are. We have not millions, we have not big towns, we have small, peaceful towns, made up of the workers and the people themselves. But they are touched to be under the sign of America and to have the great honor to meet your president,

Brother Green, of whom we have heard so much, and now in this moment I have this pleasure.

I thank you, Mr. President, for giving me this honor, which I believe I do not merit as a young secretary of our movement. But I hope we can, as you do, conduct our workers to the highest freedom and the best life, and freedom for all in all the world.

### MR. ERNEST BIRCHER

**(General Secretary of the Federation of Swiss Garment and Leather Workers, and Member of Council of Swiss Trade Unions Federation)**

Brothers and sisters and delegates: I do not speak good English. I have heard many beautiful speeches, but I will say a few words. We have in Switzerland only as many inhabitants as you have here in Chicago. You see it is a little country, but I think that we are a democratic people, too, and it was most interesting for us, coming from a free country, to see here free trade unions working for peace and working for a better world.

I hope that the democratic trade unions in the whole world and the labor of all democratic unions in the world will finally find a way for a better and for a more peaceful world, in freedom and in good democracy, as we have in Switzerland and as you have it here in the United States.

I thank you, and I hope for a good future for democracy.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Indeed we appreciate the visit of these two young representatives of labor from Switzerland. We interpret their presence here this afternoon as evidence of their deep interest in the work of the American Federation of Labor. We are happy to have them as our guests, even for a brief period.

Now, after this pleasant and interesting interlude this afternoon we will resume the work of the convention, and I will recognize the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions.

### Report of Committee on Resolutions—(continued)

Committee Secretary Frey continued the report of the Committee as follows:

### DISPLACED PERSONS

**Resolution No. 85—**By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, President Truman, in a recent declaration, has gone on record in favor of admission into the United States, above the regular immigration quotas, of 50,000 displaced persons domiciled temporarily in various European camps, in addition to 40,000 to be granted under unfilled back quotas, and

WHEREAS, The President's humanitarian proposal deserves the support of all freedom-loving Americans because it embodies the principle that in calling upon other nations to open their gates to the uprooted sufferers of the war, our country, too, should contribute its share in a similar way toward their material and spiritual rehabilitation, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently and vigorously opposed Nazism, Fascism in all their manifestations, raising its voice in behalf of the oppressed and persecuted minorities the world over, regardless of creed, race, and national origin, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, lend its full support toward an early and practical application of the President's proposal that would alleviate the miseries and agonies of some of the victims of the cruelest persecutions of recorded history.

In lieu of the resolution your committee offers the following as a substitute:

Your committee, as all other trade unionists and humanitarians everywhere, has been profoundly disturbed by the plight of the dispossessed millions in Europe as a result of the war. Torn from their surroundings, in many instances separated from their families and friends, with all of their worldly goods destroyed, they find no safe haven where they can again begin normal living, with the comforts and opportunities of homes of their own, and of communities in which they can become a part.

Among those who have suffered the most have been the Jews, for, in addition to being robbed of their possessions and brutally tortured, an effort was made by the Nazis to exterminate them as a people. Millions of Jews were murdered in cold blood as a result of a thoroughly planned mass murder program. With no place to go where a permanent home seemed possible for many of them, their plight is the most tragic one which has ever been visited upon so many at one time.

It is the responsibility of the civilized countries to see that these persecuted people of Europe be given an opportunity to begin life again under circumstances which will permit them to become members of a civilized community, and once more endeavor to establish a residence.

Because of the real part taken by the American Federation of Labor in the passage of most necessary legislation regulating immigration, your committee would not recommend that our nation's immigration laws be amended or modified, but your committee is of the opinion that some immediate relief should be given to the dispossessed of Europe.

During the war it was not possible for immigrants to come to this country; the annual quotas were not filled. Your committee therefore recommends that this convention give its approval to the immediate entry of immigrants composed of displaced persons in Europe of whom the Jews are a large number, which will permit the unfilled quotas of the war period to be completed by the entering into our country of the number

of immigrants who otherwise would have been able to enter our ports if it had not been for the war, such action in no way modifying the existing immigration laws which have always had the support of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## COST OF LIVING BONUS

**Resolution No. 27**—By Delegate Joseph Wilke, Trades and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Prices control the value of wages, and

WHEREAS, Price controls are inadequate and ineffective, and

WHEREAS, Our veterans and workers are the victims of continuous rising prices, and

WHEREAS, Our agreements with employers extend over long periods of one year and more, and

WHEREAS, Prices increase from day to day, and week to week, and month to month, and

WHEREAS, Our present agreements or contracts are ineffective in keeping pace with the rising cost of living, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, seek through its affiliates and their employers or contractors, because of these circumstances, a monthly cost of living bonus, payable on or before the fifteenth of each month, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Honorable Harry S. Truman, President of the United States and to proper government officials urging them to take such action necessary for legalizing payment of such bonus.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## PUBLICITY

**Resolution No. 29**—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge that a move be brought about through a concerted effort to establish news broadcasts by radio, radio commentators, columnists in as many daily papers as possible, and to work toward the establishment of more daily newspapers throughout the United States which will editorially espouse the cause of organized labor.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## BETTER HOUSING FOR RAILROAD AGENTS AND TELEGRAPHERS

**Resolution No. 30**—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers Regional Conference made up of members from the four railroads entering

Portland has for the past two years been endeavoring to secure better housing for railroad agents and telegraphers in the isolated sections of these right-of-ways, and

WHEREAS, They have called attention and have had snap-shots made of existing housing conditions where railroad employees live on the deserts, mountainous sections, and other lonely places, hundreds of them having their offices and living quarters in one old discarded box car, many of these cars having first been brought into use for this purpose when the railroads were under construction, and have been used for that purpose ever since, and

WHEREAS, Complaints have been made to the employing carriers during the past fifty years to no avail, and

WHEREAS, All state laws and city ordinances exempt common carrier railroads because of being covered by the Interstate Commerce Law and Railroad Retirement Acts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record against allowing common carrier railroads from being exempt from state and city health, sanitary, housing, and working conditions as prescribed by state laws and city ordinances, and will assist in every way possible to bring this body of workers under the provisions of these laws, in order that they may benefit therefrom the same as any other worker.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L., and further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to give every assistance in connection with the resolution which may be requested by the Railway Employees Department.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### INFRINGEMENT OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES ON JURISDICTION OF I.F.T.E.A. & D.U.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Many years ago the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, granted to the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions jurisdiction over the employees performing technical work, and

WHEREAS, This organization (I.F.T.E.A.-D.U.) has carried on an active effort throughout industry and civil service to organize the men and women employed who are performing technical work, and has spent large sums of money in our effort to organize these workers, and

WHEREAS, The CIO, through its activities has caused confusion in their attempt to organize these workers into dual organizations outside the American Federation of Labor, thereby seriously interfering with and encroaching upon the recognized rights and jurisdiction of the I.F.T.E.A.D.U., such encroachment including the building and construction projects, and

WHEREAS, Employer-dominated professional societies, like the American Society of Civil Engineers, during the past several years, have been organizing and spending large sums of money in the formation of so-called independent groups titled "Committees on Employment Conditions of Professional Engineering Employees," thereby not only seriously interfering and encroaching upon the recognized rights and jurisdiction of the I.F.T.E.A.-D.U., but in preparing the rules and regulations under which these groups of professional employees (technical) shall operate (see official publication titled "Civil Engineering," May 1944) specifies that no agreement will be entered into which involves strikes, closed shops and permits such group committees to represent engineering employees in all conciliations and negotiations short of active collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, Such American Society of Civil Engineers, in its official publication "Civil Engineering" for August 1944 tells these professional engineering employees (many of whom actually earn \$30 and \$35 per week) that professional employees are exempt from the overtime provisions of the law and therefore the correct professional attitude is for such employees to abide by the hours of work established by the particular office in which he works or job on which he is engaged—thus tearing down the overtime payment practice for architectural and technical engineering, surveying and other technical and chemical engineering employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in 1946, does hereby condemn these unwarranted efforts of the many parties outside of the A. F. of L. in their interference with and obstruction of not only the organizing efforts of our I.F.T.E.A.D.U., but in attempting to deprive the technical employees of economic benefits and security and that the convention pledge its support to the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions in their effort to organize such technical employees and to resist the encroachment upon their jurisdiction by the American Society of Civil Engineers and other professional societies, as well as by the dual organization established by the CIO, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to all international unions, state federations of labor, all central bodies, all federal labor organizations for their information and guidance.

This resolution, among other things, refers to the opposition encountered by the I. F. T. E. A. & D. U. from organizations not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Your committee offers the following as a substitute:

"That the affiliated organizations do what lies within their power to assist the I. F. T. E. A. & D. U. to organize those workers who properly come under its jurisdiction, and to resist the encroachment upon the jurisdiction made by organizations not affiliated with the A. F. of L."

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### MINIMUM WAGES

**Resolution No. 32**—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, B. L. Eberts, Benjamin Haskell, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The 79th Congress adjourned last summer without any action whatsoever on pending legislation to raise the legal minimum wage, and after burying it for virtually the whole session in the files of the House Rules Committee, despite the protests of all organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Industries with substandard wages and working conditions, like the textile industry, are still providing their workers with standards far below the decent levels available to the bulk of American workers, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living, during the war years and in the period since the war, has risen inordinately and undermined the already insufficient legal minimum wage of 40¢ an hour, and

WHEREAS, A healthy and stable economy in the United States can only be based upon the vast market provided by a working population living at American standards, under a high wage economy rather than a poverty economy, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor demands that Congress pass the bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act so as to establish a 65¢ minimum wage immediately and to raise it to 70¢ and 75¢ an hour within 1 year and 2 years, respectively.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### VACATIONS FOR A. F. OF L. ORGANIZERS

**Resolution No. 33**—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has become a national policy to grant to all regular employees a paid vacation, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been a leader in obtaining paid vacation for employees, and

WHEREAS, The organizers of the American Federation of Labor do not now receive vacations with pay, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Illinois, grant to all its organizers two (2) weeks vacation each year with full pay.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS IN METAL TRADES COUNCILS

**Resolution No. 34**—By Delegate William Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, As now constituted under the

American Federation of Labor Metal Trades Department by-laws, federal labor unions and local trade unions, even though engaged in metal trades work, cannot obtain full-fledged membership in the American Federation of Labor metal trades councils, and

WHEREAS, This means that while they may be permitted to affiliate with a local council they cannot vote nor hold office in the council, and are only permitted to pay per capita tax and give cooperation, and

WHEREAS, This old rule of the Metal Trades Department not specifically adopted to bar federal labor unions and local trade unions, nevertheless it affects them adversely and keeps out the potential backbone or nucleus for any metal trades council, and

WHEREAS, The skilled trades in the metal industry are more or less now organized in their own particular district councils, and

WHEREAS, During the last three preceding A. F. of L. conventions a similar resolution has been introduced and adopted without any known action having been taken on this resolution during these years, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago, Illinois, goes on record urging the Metal Trades Department to amend its constitution and by-laws so as to permit full-fledged membership in metal trades councils to those federal labor unions and local trade unions engaged in the metal industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the international unions now affiliated or eligible to full-fledge membership in metal trades councils be requested to extend their aid and influence to the end that federal labor unions and local trade unions be granted full-fledged and bona fide membership in all metal trades councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Metal Trades Department and the Executive Council be called upon to immediately make known to the state federations of labor and city central bodies their action on this resolution.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the Metal Trades Department, the proper authority to make any changes in its constitution or policies.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### COOPERATIVE BUYING

**Resolution No. 38**—By Delegate Clyde Foster, Central Labor Union, Miami, Florida.

WHEREAS, The cost of living continues to rise and wages have not as yet caught up with the cost of living and this indicates that it is not due to wage rates that the cost of living is increasing, and

WHEREAS, An article that costs 50¢ to produce will probably cost the consumer \$2.50 and this is caused by too many non-producer profits being added to the cost of production. We expect a reasonable handling cost, transportation and profit to be added to the cost of production, but it should not be of such great percentage, and

WHEREAS, We must be prepared to offer some form of relief to the high cost of living



conditions of the present and there is but one answer, roll back prices. How? In any roll back price program, it will be necessary to consider the employees who make a living from the selected commodities, therefore, national buyers strikes, and the O.P.A. are not beneficial, and

WHEREAS, We believe the answer lies in a national cooperative marketing program, something as follows: The American Federation of Labor, all affiliated international unions, all state federations of labor, city central bodies, federal unions, local unions and their members enter into cooperative buying. A commissary to be run under the direct supervision of every central labor union in the United States. The American Federation of Labor and all affiliated will buy shares based on their ability in view of their membership. This will provide working capital. The American Federation of Labor to act as wholesaler and buy in large quantities for national distribution to the central bodies. Every member, in order to purchase from the cooperative, must be issued a cooperative card each month. No two cards to be issued to an immediate family. Food products only to be handled at first, since about half of the average worker's salary is spent on food, therefore, the greatest benefit to the workers will come from that saving on food. Later, other items to be added, and

WHEREAS, The pattern for operation of a cooperative plan may easily be worked out by studying the plans of various cooperatives now in existence, and

WHEREAS, It is our belief that such a cooperative will eliminate many non-producing capitalists who are getting rich off the workers of this country and giving nothing in return, but only plan to keep the working class poor. It will also handle the government's failure to keep the price line as they did the wage line and also their failure to do any thing about the black market operations, and

WHEREAS, National publicity should be planned well in advance of the operation. The threat of diverting such a tremendous portion of the national buying power from the usual retail market will also have its effect on prices and local retailers will have to reduce their prices in order to compete with us, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give some thought and study to the cooperative retailing of consumer products.

Your committee in recommending concurrence with the objective of the resolution, calls attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor has given the subject of cooperative buying its active and substantial support for many years.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FULL VOTING RIGHTS FOR PUERTO RICANS

Resolution No. 39.—By Delegate Nicholas N. Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The President of the United

States, Hon. Harry S. Truman, appointed Hon. Jesus T. Pinero, a Puerto Rican-born American citizen as Governor of Puerto Rico with the consent of the Senate of the United States, and

WHEREAS, This is the first time in our political history that a Puerto Rican has been selected for the governorship of the Island, and

WHEREAS, In the inaugural ceremonies the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Julius A. Krug read a message sent by President Truman offering his support and that of the nation to Governor Pinero, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has given constant support to the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen and the people of Puerto Rico in their demands, toward bettering the political conditions of the two million American citizens living on this Island, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Chicago, Illinois, expresses its satisfaction to the President of the United States for the appointment of Mr. Jesus T. Pinero for the governorship of Puerto Rico, a step which is considered as the initial one toward the strengthening of the local self-government of the Island, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends to the Congress of the United States that the Organic Act of Puerto Rico be amended to the effect of granting the people the right to elect their Governor at or before the general elections to be held in November 1948, consistent with the resolutions of previous conventions of the A. F. of L. and the demands of the people of Puerto Rico, and be it further.

RESOLVED, That said Organic Law be liberalized to the extent that its provisions be in conformity with the rights that should be vested in the Puerto Ricans as American citizens and in accordance with the Treaty of Paris.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

DELEGATE RIVERA, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen: Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am taking this privilege to make some remarks in connection with the report of the Resolutions Committee and in connection with our Resolution No. 39, asking for full voting rights for Puerto Rico. It is really helpful to Puerto Rico that the American Federation of Labor approves this kind of a resolution year after year, helping our people to get those rights to which we are entitled as American citizens.

This fight for more rights for our people has been carried on since the American troops landed down there in our Island. The American Federation of Labor has gone on record time and time again helping us in this fight.

Now President Truman voices the sentiment of this American Federation of Labor and the Puerto Rican people in having se-



lected one of our Puerto Rican citizens for the governorship of the island. This is the first time in nearly fifty years of American domination in Puerto Rico that we have had this privilege. We were granted American citizenship in 1917, and we have been struggling hard in the labor movement to have the privilege of entering the Union as one of the States.

The approval of this resolution helped us greatly in our fight against those people within and without who are trying to separate Puerto Rico from the blessings we have had in this great nation. From within we have local movements, led by nationalists and even a small group of Communists. We have the constant pressure of the leaders of the Latin American labor movement with headquarters in Havana, Cuba, the constant pressure to get independence for Puerto Rico, and now from within we have Senator Tydings insisting in every session of Congress that independence be granted to Puerto Rico.

We should say to you liberty-loving people that we want independence. Yes, gentlemen and brothers, we want independence, but independence within the Union, not outside the Union, not outside the blessings of the flag and American institutions. We have constant pressure, as I said, from within. There are many influences trying to separate us from the States.

This morning I had the opportunity to read in the Chicago Daily Tribune an editorial note which shows part of the movement here in the States to take 2,000,000 American people out of the Union, because we consider ourselves within the Union as long as we are American citizens. The editorial note says:

"Another area in which our government must abandon its paternalism is Puerto Rico. That island has a greater population than most American states. The majority of its people live in a poverty and squalor that cannot be matched anywhere in the slums of American cities or the share cropper huts of the south.

"Puerto Rican culture is radically different from that of the United States. The vast majority of its people speak only Spanish, to cite one dissimilarity. Whereas we have no right to run their lives, they are not qualified for a voice in running ours, which they would have if they were granted statehood. There is, however, no very strong movement in Puerto Rico for statehood. The island wants independence. It should have it.

"Independence would not solve all of the economic problems of the country and it would aggravate some of them temporarily. Instead of devoting the best land on the island to sugar culture under the ownership of big American corporations, Puerto Ricans would have to divide that land and use it for subsistence to supplement their shockingly

low dietary standards. The population is so dense that the island would have little to export if its own people were fed properly.

"That, however, is a limitation for which the people of the United States are not responsible, except insofar as our public health measures stimulated the increase of population. The Puerto Ricans are entitled to make the best of what they have, and it is our duty to give them that chance."

Today I sent this message to the Chicago Daily Tribune:

Chicago, Ill., October 15, 1946.

Chicago Daily Tribune,  
Chicago, Illinois.

Your editorial Tuesday, October 15, 1946, entitled, "Alaska and Puerto Rico," indicates you have been misled by unexact information about our Island. Overwhelming majority of the people advocate Statehood. U. S. Senators Chavez and Langer who attended Puerto Rico Statehood Congress held in the city of Ponce last year could have verified personally vigorous strength of movement. Of the three principal political parties in the Island two advocate Statehood in their platforms and the other stands for plebiscite. Even the Republican and Democratic Parties here in the States included Statehood in their platforms. American Federation of Labor has unanimously approved Statehood resolution. Recently Secretary of Interior Krug recommended Statehood for Puerto Ricans. We were honored and privileged with American citizenship in 1917. Honored and privileged forever. No secessionism could be encouraged effectively among us. We adhere to American citizenship and American ideals with dignity and loyalty. Over sixty thousand Puerto Rican American soldiers enlisted almost voluntarily in the armed forces under Old Glory to defend democracy. Puerto Rico covered fully and with honor all the Liberty Loans. Puerto Rico occupied normal times the fifth place in U. S. world market list, and is far above some territories in inter-commercial relations. We speak Spanish as thousands of New Mexicans and do speak English, too, although not so fluently as you do. We are doing our best to be good Americans. At least we have proved once and again to be full-fledged American citizens. Be absolutely assured that the one million tons of cane sugar produced in the Island comes mostly from Puerto Rican sugar cane growers and producers. The distribution of land you propose was started by present Insular Government under Tugwell's Administration and it is being carried on.

In the name of Puerto Rican labor I appreciate deeply the mention you made of Puerto Rico, but I hope you will find sufficient motives and evidence to make an honest rectification in behalf of the two millions loyal American citizens living in Puerto Rico.

Cordially yours,

NICOLAS NOGUERAS RIVERA.

Delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention  
and Secretary-Treasurer, Puerto Rico  
Free Federation of Working Men.

I ask you to approve the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

### WIRE WEAVERS JURISDICTION

**Resolution No. 41**—By American Wire Weavers Protective Association.

WHEREAS, By a charter issued by the American Federation of Labor, the American Wire Weavers Protective Association has exclusive and sole jurisdiction over the trade of fourdrinier wire weaving and the weaving of wire cloth used in the manufacture of paper and paper products, and

WHEREAS, On two separate occasions within the past eighteen months, the jurisdiction of the American Wire Weavers Protective Association has been ignored by organizers representing the American Federation of Labor, in that federal charters issued directly by the American Federation of Labor have been granted to two small groups of workers operating as fourdrinier wire weavers, one located in the State of Massachusetts, and one located in Menasha, Wisconsin, and

WHEREAS, Upon the protest of the American Wire Weavers Protective Association, the federal charter granted in the State of Massachusetts was withdrawn, but the charter granted in Menasha, Wisconsin, has not been withdrawn and as a result, there exists a dual organization of fourdrinier wire weavers in competition with the American Wire Weavers Protective Association, working under a contract providing a scale of wage far lower than that provided by the general contract of the American Wire Weavers Protective Association, and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice and policy of the American Wire Weavers Protective Association throughout its more than fifty years of existence, to insist upon and secure uniform contracts throughout the United States, which established a uniform rate of wage and uniform conditions of work, and

WHEREAS, The granting of a federal charter to a local group of wire weavers has created in the City of Menasha, Wisconsin, a group of allegedly "union" men who are, in fact, operating at sub-standard wages and working conditions, threatening the jobs and security of the members of the American Wire Weavers Protective Association, and therefore, acting in the nature of "scabs" under the purported sanction of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby directed immediately to withdraw the federal charter issued to the group of fourdrinier wire weavers in Menasha, Wisconsin, and the director of organization of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to refrain in the future from granting charters to persons employed in the weaving of wire for the manufacture of paper or paper products, but to refer all such applications to the properly constituted national union, having jurisdiction in the trade, the American Wire Weavers Protective Association, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to all general organizers of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 43 and 115, as follows:

### INDUSTRIAL SAFETY

**Resolution No. 43**—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The alarming rate of industrial injuries has become a national scandal, and this is especially reprehensible in view of the fact that the causes for the almost unbelievably large number of accidents which main workers can be eliminated, and

WHEREAS, One of the basic factors contributing to the repugnant state of affairs is the failure of a great many manufacturers to provide or install proper safeguards on the machines they produce. Exemplifying this failure is the absence of any guards on unit-contained transmission apparatus. This apparatus includes V-belts and pulleys, chains and sprockets, flat belts and pulleys, or gears on the outside of machines, completely exposed to contact by workers or any other persons passing them, and

WHEREAS, A solution of this serious problem cannot be expected to result from the efforts of one single State, since the problem is national in scope and not confined within the boundaries of any single State, dictating the need, therefore, for an organized national program directed toward improving the entire field of industrial machine guarding by manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, In the interest of safety for the millions of workers in A. F. of L. organization and others, it is imperative that we unite our efforts to correct this practice of any and all manufacturers who fail to provide the necessary guards, and make a sustained and earnest effort to promote safeguarding of machines, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby goes on record to request that the Honorable Lewis B. Schwellensbach, Secretary of Labor, institute a nation-wide program encompassing all manufacturers of industrial equipment and urging them to install proper safeguards when the machines are manufactured.

### SAFETY STANDARDS

**Resolution No. 115**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The alarming rate of industrial injuries has become a national scandal, and this is especially reprehensible in view of the fact that the causes for almost unbelievably large numbers of accidents which main workers can be eliminated, and

WHEREAS, One of the basic factors contributing to this repugnant state of affairs is the failure of a great many manufacturers to provide or install proper safeguards on the machines they produce. Exemplifying this failure is the absence of any guards on unit-contained transmission apparatus. This apparatus includes "V" belts and pulleys, chains and sprockets, flat belts and pulleys,

or gears on the outside of machines completely exposed to contact by workers or any other persons passing them, and

WHEREAS, A solution of this serious problem cannot be expected to result from the efforts of one single State, since the problem is national in scope and not confined within the boundaries of any single State dictating the need, therefore an organized national program should be directed toward improving the entire field of industrial machine guarding by manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, In the interest of safety for millions of workers in the American Federation of Labor organizations and others, it is imperative that we unite our efforts to correct this practice of any and all manufacturers who fail to provide the necessary guards and make a sustained and earnest effort to promote safeguarding of machines, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record to request the Honorable Lewis B. Schwollenbach, Secretary of Labor, to institute a nation-wide program encompassing all manufacturers of industrial equipment and urging them to install proper safeguards when the machines are manufactured, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the 65th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor concur in this program and coordinate its implementation.

Both of these resolutions deal with the question of industrial safety. Your committee recommends that where the word "requiring" appears in the resolved, that it be stricken out and the word "urging" put in its place, and with this amendment your committee recommends the adoption of these resolutions.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### WILLIAM H. SOMMERS

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is with a sincere feeling of sorrow and deep regret that the labor movement of Racine and of Wisconsin record the passing of William H. Sommers on June 6, last, and

WHEREAS, As one of the pioneers in the labor movement he actively, unselfishly and with no personal gain, participated in the formation of Wisconsin labor organization, and

WHEREAS, As one of the many hardy pioneers in the labor movement, he took unto himself, in spite of the bitter and sometimes dangerous opposition of the unenlightened employers of that day, the task of organizing the underprivileged and underpaid worker, and

WHEREAS, As president of Racine Trades and Labor Council, and member of the Iron Molders, and as a member of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor Executive Board for many years, he sponsored many resolutions, demanding legislative action to protect the worker on his job. Many of these resolutions have received legislative approval,

and further have served as guide in other States, and

WHEREAS, He was one of those completely unselfish individuals whose life was devoted to the labor movement without thought of monetary gain, and

WHEREAS, He was a leader of labor, honest, able, and sincere, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### REPRESENTATION FOR RAILWAY SYSTEM ORGANIZATIONS IN STATE FEDERATIONS AND CENTRAL BODIES

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Oregon State Federation of Labor, in convention June 10, 1946, called upon the American Federation of Labor to devise ways to give representation to Railway System Organizations, and

WHEREAS, The structure of some railroad unions, built on rail systems or divisions of the different rail lines, find it difficult or impossible to affiliate with city central labor bodies and state federations of labor, and

WHEREAS, Some state federations and central councils have devised a plan to enable railroad labor unions that are organized on a system or district plan to become affiliated with central bodies for the number of members of the union residing or working in the area-jurisdiction of such central bodies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this convention instruct the Executive Council or some other appropriate committee to prepare and present an amendment to the Federation constitution which will require state federations and city central councils to admit to affiliation railroad unions of the system types in order to give to such railroad unions the right to representation and participation in the affairs of state and city central bodies.

Because of impractical conditions and the multiplicity of representation involved, your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### COMPENSATION FOR A. F. OF L. ORGANIZERS

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Oregon State Federation of Labor assembled in convention June 10, 1946, unanimously adopted a motion to call upon the American Federation of Labor to liberalize its policy of employment of organizers, and

WHEREAS, Any amount less than \$100 per week for salaries to organizers does not in our belief attract and hold the best qualified people to these positions, and

WHEREAS, Since the time wage schedules were adopted by the American Federation of Labor, prices of all merchandise have steadily increased, thereby constituting a cut in wages for these employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as declaring that all A. F. of L. organizers be paid not less than one hundred dollars (\$100.00) per week in salary.

As this resolution relates to the administrative responsibilities of the American Federation of Labor, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### INTER-RECOGNITION OF UNION MEMBERSHIPS

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The 1946 convention of the Oregon State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution favoring the interchange of union cards by all American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, The practice of international unions of requiring an applicant for membership in local unions to pay an initiation fee into each union, even if such applicant is a member of a union of another craft, is a hindrance to organization effort and may, in many cases, place an undue and difficult burden upon members of American Federation of Labor unions who desire to change from one craft to another, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appeals to the international unions to voluntarily consent to receiving, without exaction of an additional initiation fee, the application of anyone who presents evidence of his membership in good standing of another union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That no union under such circumstances shall be required to accept the application of a person unless he be qualified in the craft in which he seeks membership, and that in case a member of one craft seeks membership in a union of a craft having a higher initiation fee, and commanding a higher wage scale, the applicant may be required to pay as an initiation fee the difference between the higher fee of the union to which he seeks membership and the lower fee of the union in which he holds membership.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### ORGANIZERS' SALARIES, EXPENSES, PENSIONS

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor has had but one general increase since 1939 which amounted to approximately 16%, and

WHEREAS, The policy of the Wage Stabi-

lization Board is 33½% above 1941 levels, and

WHEREAS, There has been a tremendous increase in the cost of living for those people who are compelled to travel; such as increased hotel meals, increased expenses to secure adequate transportation, etc., and

WHEREAS, The allowance of 5 cents per mile for operating an automobile is far below the actual cost of said operation, and

WHEREAS, Vacations with pay should be allowed as this is a standard pattern of all employers, and

WHEREAS, A pension plan should be established for men who have devoted the greater portion of their lives for the benefit of organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record in favor of granting an increase in salaries, increased per diem, and hotel allowance, increased automobile allowance, paid vacations and a pension plan established for the organizers who are directly on the staff of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### NATIONALIZATION

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Strikes in basic industries, transportation and public utilities are certain to lead to adverse labor legislation, note the recent coal and railroad strikes, and

WHEREAS, Under our present banking system we are faced with recurring booms and depressions which could be prevented, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring government ownership of all mines, transportation and public utilities, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention goes on record as favoring the nationalization of all banks.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### INCREASED COMPENSATION FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Injury and death compensation in government service is based on average earnings of government employees, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Employees Compensation Act of 1916 was amended February 12, 1927, increasing the monthly compensation from \$66.66 to \$116.66 for total disability per month, and

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WHEREAS, The members of the Molders' Union who are employed in government foundries are subject to strict medical examinations believe that compensation should follow the general trend of increase both in wages and in cost of living, and

WHEREAS, This applies to all forms of retirement and compensation, both in the Federal Government and in the State Governments, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention now assembled, make every effort to secure legislation to provide increases in the Federal Employees Compensation Act and all other such State and Federal retirement and compensation acts as are now in effect in the various States, and this increase should be in accordance with the increased cost of living since 1927.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the newly organized Government Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## INCOME TAXES

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor now assembled in convention petition the Congress of the United States through their legislative bodies to enact legislation to reduce federal income taxes and to exempt taxes on all incomes under \$5,000.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Tax Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES  
COMPENSATION ACT

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention now assembled, make every effort to secure legislation to provide increases in the Federal Employees Compensation Act and all other such State and Federal Retirement and Compensation Acts as are now in effect in the various States, and this increase should be in accordance with the increased cost of living since 1927.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Government Employees Council for consideration and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## ANNUAL VACATIONS

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, J. A. Burks, Alfred Cook, John

F. Dunachie, Philip Bennett, Hugo Benson, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Technological progress was undoubtedly responsible for a large portion of pre-war unemployment, and

WHEREAS, It is reasonable to believe that this trend will be accelerated in the post-war period, and

WHEREAS, A 26-day vacation period would increase employment, both directly and indirectly, and

WHEREAS, Time and means for extended travel would create a more homogeneous nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention does hereby go on record as advocating the universal adoption of the 26-day annual vacation leave.

Your committee believes that many vacation periods should be extended, and therefore recommends as a substitute for the resolution the following:

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor declare in favor of the progressive lengthening of the vacation period.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spien, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Our country and its democratic institutions are playing a greatly enhanced and ever-more active role in world affairs, and

WHEREAS, The problem of international relations and the winning of a just and lasting peace are the vital concern of the organizations representing the great mass of our people—the free and democratic trade union movement, and

WHEREAS, The above new situation and the complicated problems confronting our nation and the post-war world make it imperative that the American Federation of Labor prepare itself to meet the new tasks in the critical days ahead, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has shown increasing recognition of its new responsibilities by expanding its international work (enlarged moral and material solidarity with the genuine free trade unions and democratic elements in Europe, Asia and Latin America; publication of a "Special Bulletin" on international problems; the preparation and submission of an International Bill of Rights to the United Nations Social and Economic Council; and timely contributions toward a vigorous democratic American foreign policy), therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to coordinate, intensify, and improve the greatly enlarged and varied international activities, the incoming Executive Council of the A. F. of L. establish an International Department headed by one of its members, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the tasks of this De-

partment shall be: (a) to keep the membership of the trade union movement and the interested general public in our country adequately informed regarding the international policies of the A. F. of L.; (b) to provide the officers and membership of the A. F. of L. with authoritative information about the international labor movement and its problems; (c) to acquaint the labor movement abroad with the policies and practices of the A. F. of L. toward the vital problems of the day; (d) cooperate with the democratic-minded European workers abroad and to help coordinate their activities in behalf of a bona fide free trade unionism.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### AUTOMOBILE SAFETY CAMPAIGN

**Resolution No. 82**—By Delegates Ed J. Brown, G. M. Bugnizet, Charles M. Paulsen, Walter Lenox, Edgar S. Hurley, Rex Fransway, D. T. Johnstone, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, Accidents in the electrical industry for the past few years have been decreasing in number because the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers through their advocacy, teachings and legislative activities towards improved safety measures have been chiefly responsible in the lowering of industrial accidents, and

WHEREAS, While electrical accidents have been decreasing, automobile accidents have been increasing and from statistics, produced by the National Safety Council it is learned that almost 70% of all fatal accidents occur between dusk and 10:00 p. m. at night, and

WHEREAS, Many reasons have been attributed for this extraordinary condition but from tests actually made by organizations interested in accident prevention, we find that the chief cause of these accidents is lack of or improper street and highway lighting, and

WHEREAS, This condition can be corrected by proper legislation and allocation of sufficient funds to properly light the highways and the streets of the cities of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in the city of Chicago, Illinois, pledge itself to the work of reducing to the lowest possible minimum automobile accidents which have heretofore been caused from insufficient and improper lighting, and that we instruct our officers to use their influence to bring about and cause the proper lighting of the highway system and the streets of the cities of these United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our action and efforts in this behalf is one of safety alone, bearing in mind that for every two industrial workers killed on the job there are 17 killed on the highways and we feel the comparison is an odious one so far as safety is concerned.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### LABOR EXTENSION DIVISION IN U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

**Resolution No. 84**—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Workers' education is rapidly becoming one of the basic functions of the trade union movement, creating constructive labor awareness toward industrial relations, community problems and responsibilities and rights of citizenship, and

WHEREAS, The Labor Extension Act of 1946 (H. R. 7141) calls for the creation within the U. S. Department of Labor of a Labor Extension Division, establishing a National Labor Advisory Council on the matter of Labor education, and authorizing the appropriation of fixed sums of money to be allotted annually to participating State universities, land-grant colleges and other educational institutions in return for which they would make available to workers everywhere their educational facilities and resources on a systematic and planned basis, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, Illinois, go on record in support of the Labor Extension Act of 1946 (H. R. 7141) and instruct the Executive Council to work for its passage in the next session of Congress.

H. R. 7141 would provide for a Labor Extension Division in the Department of Labor to channel the research and information data of the Department through an extension service created in cooperation with the various states.

The Morrill Act (1862) which made grants of money to colleges to enable them to serve agriculture and the mechanical arts, has never been implemented to help workers promote their welfare as in the case of farmers. We are, therefore, proposing a labor extension service through which information and research resources of the Department of Labor will link up with the State facilities organized by either a land grant college or State research agencies to provide local unions and workers with data, information, and consultant services they desire to advance their economic interests and social welfare. Such relationships and services must develop in accord with the needs of those served and with their cooperation. Such a service would give workers the material and tools with which to meet their educational needs.

We recommend that the Permanent Committee on Education study this bill to make sure it conforms with the American Federation of Labor's position that the Federal Government may aid local education but control over the plans and content must be in the hands of those directly concerned.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.



## LABOR ATTACHES

**Resolution No. 86**—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, Samuel Shore, Morris Bialis, Louis Nelson, Ben Gilbert, Josephine Spica, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Our country is assuming an ever more pivotal role in world affairs, and

WHEREAS, The chances of the democratic forces winning the peace are increasingly dependent on America's pursuing an active and progressive policy in its international relations, and

WHEREAS, The importance of labor participating in the conduct of international affairs has grown during the war and is bound to become increasingly significant, and

WHEREAS, The growth of good-will between nations can be greatly facilitated by the promotion of mutual understanding of the aims and activities of their labor movements, and

WHEREAS, The bona fide trade union movement can render inestimable services in strengthening the bonds between the truly democratic forces of our country and other nations, and

WHEREAS, In recognition of the above, the State Department has appointed labor attaches in several countries where the United States has diplomatic representation, and

WHEREAS, Recent international developments have accentuated the urgency of expanding the system of labor attaches, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the creation, within the State Department, of an Under-Secretariat of Labor to organize and supervise the work of the labor attaches who, along with the head of the Secretariat, shall be chosen from the ranks of labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the above-mentioned Secretariat and labor attaches be granted statutory status through the enactment of appropriate legislation empowering them to act in a like manner as attaches in other fields.

Your committee recommends approval.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

**Resolution No. 88**—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Mary Morley, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, publishers and manufacturers of school books, operating with its own plant, located in Cincinnati, Ohio, under non-union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades have, for many years, endeavored to organize the employees of this company and have always met with the direct opposition of the American Book Company and its agents, and

WHEREAS, The American Book Company through its agents have on numerous occasions misrepresented their attitude toward organized labor by making statements to the effect that they were fair to organized labor, thereby getting school book contracts

from school boards who believed in this misrepresentation, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades are, at the present time, carrying on a campaign to organize the workers of the American Book Company and to enter into contractual relations with this company, and

WHEREAS, We believe that every effort should be made to bring about the unionization of this company's plant; in view of the fact that the school books sold by the American Book Company are in a large part paid for by taxes paid by members of organized labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as opposed to the American Book Company and condemn their non-union policy as unfair to all members of organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various international unions, central trades and labor bodies be informed of the action taken at this convention.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE

**Resolution No. 91**—By Delegate Edward H. Weyler, Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention at Toronto, Canada, October, 1942, adopted a resolution supporting a Labor Extension Service, through which organized labor leaders and rank and file members may receive much needed educational advice and assistance; and which service would parallel other U. S. Governmental and Educational Services, and

WHEREAS, The Labor Legislative Conference held in Washington, D. C., December, 1945, adopted a resolution recognizing the need of development of an informed union membership and trained competent union leaders, and supporting a Labor Education Service formulated and administered by the U. S. Department of Labor Education Advisory Committee, and

WHEREAS, The Asheville Conference, composed of two thousand A. F. of L. delegates from the twelve southern States, adopted a resolution supporting the above stated action of the American Federation of Labor and the Labor Legislative Conference, urging each of the twelve southern States to follow suit, and

WHEREAS, President William Green in the June 1946 issue of the Federationist, so splendidly and forcibly stated our A. F. of L. position on labor education in which he said, "In addition the Department of Labor should have a Labor Extension Service similar to the Extension Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture," and

WHEREAS, The Committee for the Extension of Labor Education, composed of approximately thirty outstanding national labor leaders, has drafted a bill to fully cover the amendments and proposals set forth above, and

WHEREAS, This bill was introduced in the Congress of the United States, by Con-



gressman Andrew J. Biemiller for himself and Congressman Kefauver, July 23, 1946, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor fully indorse the principles written in this bill, introduced by Congressmen Biemiller and Kefauver, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention call upon President William Green of the American Federation of Labor to use every effort toward its speedy enactment into law, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to all state federations of labor urging adoption, and support, and that copies be sent to all Congressmen and Senators urging their support toward the passage of same.

Your committee, while favoring the extension of the Labor Department's activities in the field of labor education, cannot give its approval to the transferral of any control over labor education to the Department of Labor, or any other Federal agency. It does believe that the Extension Service provided for in the resolution is entitled to the convention's support, and with this comment your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee reports jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 93 and 98, as follows:

### CIVIL SERVICE

**Resolution No. 93**—By Delegate Edward H. Weyler, Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, In the city of Louisville, Kentucky, the position of the Chief of Police and the Chief of the Fire Department, also, the Assistant Chiefs of both departments had been covered, and

**WHEREAS**, In the 1946 session of the Kentucky Legislature a bill was introduced and enacted into law removing these offices from civil service in cities of first class in Kentucky, and

**WHEREAS**, The city of Louisville is the only first class city in Kentucky, therefore, the committee of cities of first class of the Kentucky Legislature was composed exclusively of legislators from the city of Louisville, and

**WHEREAS**, Several members of this House Committee were members of organized labor and the chairman of the committee was the business agent to the Sheet Metal Workers Union, and

**WHEREAS**, In the absence of the chairman of the committee a vote to report the Ripper Bill favorable was tied, but was untied by the vote of the chairman upon his arrival at the Legislature, and

**WHEREAS**, The opponents of civil service and the proponents of the merit system as apparently concerning their activities to remove the offices of Chief and Assistant Chiefs of the Police and Fire Departments from all civil service laws in the nation, and

**WHEREAS**, This group is apparently attempting to replace civil service in these de-

partments with a merit system, which is contrary to the basic principles of civil service and opposed by the International Association of Fire Fighters, A. F. of L., therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby reiterate its position of supporting the incorporation of Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of the Fire Department and Police Department in civil service laws, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That President William Green bring same to the attention of the president of every national and international union, urging that every said national and international union in their next convention amend their constitution to the extent that any State Legislator, and who as such, violates the principles incorporated in this resolution, shall, when proven guilty, be expelled from any local union of, and or the international union.

### CIVIL SERVICE

**Resolution No. 98**—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George T. Slocum and George J. Richardson, International Association of Fire Fighters.

**WHEREAS**, In the city of Louisville, Kentucky, the positions of Chief of Police and Chief of the Fire Department, also the Assistant Chiefs of both departments had been covered by civil service, and

**WHEREAS**, In the 1946 session of the Kentucky Legislature a bill was introduced and enacted into law removing these offices from civil service in cities of first class in Kentucky, and

**WHEREAS**, The city of Louisville is the only first class city in Kentucky, therefore, the committee of cities of first class of the Kentucky Legislature was composed exclusively of legislators from the city of Louisville, and

**WHEREAS**, Several members of this House Committee were members of organized labor, and the chairman of the committee was the business agent to the Sheet Metal Workers Union, and

**WHEREAS**, In the absence of the chairman of the committee a vote to report the Ripper Bill favorably was tied, but was untied by the vote of the chairman upon his arrival at the legislature, and

**WHEREAS**, The opponents of civil service and the proponents of the merit system as apparently concerning their activities to remove the offices of Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of the Police and Fire Departments from all civil service laws in the nation, and

**WHEREAS**, This group is apparently attempting to replace civil service in these Departments with a merit system, which is contrary to the basic principles of civil service and opposed by the International Association of Fire Fighters, A. F. of L., and

**WHEREAS**, The International Association of Fire Fighters in convention assembled, September 9th to 13th, 1946, in Toledo, Ohio, did reiterate its position of supporting the incorporation of Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of the Fire Department and Police Department in civil service laws, and

**WHEREAS**, The International Association of Fire Fighters is to bring this distasteful situation to the attention of President William Green and urge him to bring same to

the attention of the president of every national and international union, urging that every said national and international union in their next convention amend their constitution to the extent that any State Legislator who is a member of a labor union and who, as such, violates the principles incorporated in this resolution, shall, when proved guilty, be expelled from any local union of, and, or the international union, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 1946 convention of the American Federation of Labor vigorously support the International Association of Fire Fighters in this fight, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor use its utmost efforts in the next Kentucky General Assembly to replace the positions of Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of the Fire and Police Departments under the civil service laws of Kentucky for cities of first class.

Your committee combines Resolutions Nos. 93 and 98 in its report. Your committee recommends that the second resolved in Resolution No. 93 be non-concurred in, and with this amendment that both resolutions be approved.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

**Resolution No. 96**—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George T. Slocum, and George J. Richardson, International Association of Fire Fighters.

**WHEREAS**, The delegates to the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor feels that a third World War is inevitable unless positive action is taken at once. The United Nations Organization is at present inadequate and the major powers of the world have not reached agreement on vital issues that could prevent another war. Recent scientific developments make another war too horrible to contemplate and may set back immeasurably the progress of the human race. If courageous and effective action is taken now to strengthen the United Nations Organization, we believe that such a world-wide catastrophe can be prevented, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Chicago urgently recommend the immediate strengthening of the United Nations Organization by the adoption of three amendments to the United Nations Charter to provide for:

1. Reorganization of the United Nations Security Council and the World Court to give fair representation to all nations and to decide by majority vote all matters involving aggression, preparation for aggression. There must be no veto to protect aggressors.

2. Delegation to the Security Council of the powers to suppress aggression and control heavy and scientific weapons. The powers to be delegated should be strictly limited and well defined and these powers must be interpreted by the World Court. Aggression should be defined as an attack with weapons of violence by a sovereign state or its citizens against the territory of another sovereign state, or the production of specified weapons

of violence by any sovereign state beyond quotas set by the Security Council, or by refusal to permit inspection by duly authorized representatives of the Security Council.

3. Establishment of a strong International Police Force. Such a force must be established to impartially support the powers of the Security Council.

The details of these amendments and the methods of procedure under them should be in accordance with the Quota Force Plan, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we urge the acceptance of the proposal of Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, United States Representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, for the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority. We further urge the incorporation of that proposal into the Quota Force Plan, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That until such time as the above measures, or similar ones, go into effect, we urge the maintenance of the armed forces of the United States at levels recommended by the Chief of Staff, United States Army and the Chief of Naval Operations, United States Navy.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### FEDERAL AID FOR VETERANS' ACCRUED PENSION PAYMENTS DURING PERIOD OF MILITARY LEAVE

**Resolution No. 97**—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George T. Slocum, and George J. Richardson, International Association of Fire Fighters.

**WHEREAS**, Many thousands of civil employees, the Federal Government, State government and political subdivisions served this country in the armed forces during World War II, and

**WHEREAS**, These veterans are heavily indebted to various pension funds throughout the country for accrued pension premiums, and

**WHEREAS**, This indebtedness was accrued because these veterans were in the armed forces, during which service their civil-service salaries on wages were suspended, and they are getting deeper and deeper into debt in order to meet ordinary expenses because of the high cost of living, and

**WHEREAS**, The International Association of Fire Fighters in convention assembled in Toledo, Ohio, went on record to petition the American Federation of Labor to cause legislation to be introduced in the Congress of the United States having for its purpose the appropriation of sufficient funds to be contributed to the Federal pension systems and the pension systems of the various States and political subdivisions in order to defray the cost of these accumulated pension premiums, thereby exempting the individual civil employees from any liability or indebtedness in connection therewith, and

**WHEREAS**, This exemption should not apply to any member or members of the

armed forces who received the difference between their military pay and former compensation as officers or employees of the Federal or State governments or any political subdivisions thereof; or whose military service pay equalled or exceeded their former compensation as civil employees, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates to this American Federation of Labor convention endorse this legislation and instruct its legislative committee to assist in securing the passage of such legislation.

Your committee is sympathetic with the objective of the resolution, but recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: Permit me to interrupt the proceedings of the report of the committee to present to you a distinguished visitor who just came to the platform. We are happy indeed that he has honored us by his presence for just a moment or two. He is held in high regard and high esteem by the membership of the American Federation of Labor who know him and particularly in Massachusetts and throughout New England. I interpret his visit here this afternoon voluntarily as evidence of his deep interest and friendship for the American Federation of Labor.

You will be happy, I know, to have him speak to you. I present to you Governor Tobin of Massachusetts, who will speak to you.

### **HON. MAURICE TOBIN** (Governor of the State of Massachusetts)

President Green and delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor: It is indeed a privilege and an honor for me to be able to bring to this assembly gathered here the greetings of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is always an honor and a pleasure for me to meet with members of the American Federation of Labor. My last meeting with them was at the State convention in the city of Worcester, Massachusetts, at which time I was honored by receiving the unanimous endorsement for election as Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I believe that the philosophy that was instilled in me by my father, who was a charter member of Local 33 of the carpenters' union, A. F. of L., is the philosophy that has kept me on the right side of all labor proposals in my State.

You last visited our State when you held your national convention in the State in the city of Boston in the year 1943. At that time I happened to be the Mayor of the city, and I know that you will find back there once again a hearty welcome. Our city and State are old—yes, almost the pioneers of

the labor movement, and in the old days when much industry left our State because of union organization we still stayed loyal and labor always continued strong. Now that you men and ladies have done such a good job in the remaining forty-seven States we no longer remain handicapped in competition because the high standards of wages and working conditions enjoyed by our people are now shared in no small measure through your organization through the remaining forty-seven States. So, you will find there pioneer members of your organization dating to the very early days of labor and still with as deep an interest as ever.

As Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts I invite you to return to our State, where you will find a hearty and warm welcome.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: I thank Governor Tobin sincerely and from the bottom of my heart for his visit with us this afternoon and for the message he brought to us and for the kind, sincere invitation he extended us to hold the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

However, I interpret his invitation to mean that he has invited us to come to Boston.

I assure you the delegates appreciate this special visit here this afternoon for the purpose of presenting in person this very kind, warm invitation that you have extended to us. I want to say to you that if, after you canvass the situation, the political situation in Massachusetts, you find you might need a few more votes, let us know and we will send them from outside of Massachusetts, so you will be sure of reelection.

The Secretary of the Resolutions Committee.

#### **Report of Resolutions Committee (continued)**

Committee Secretary Frey continued with the report of the committee as follows:

### **PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN**

**Resolution No. 104**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The forces of extreme wealth, spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers, have by their vicious and virulent campaign of vilification against organized labor created a monstrous libel on our traditionally democratic labor movement, and

**WHEREAS**, This campaign of attack against our movement is prosecuted through the medium of the radio, the controlled press, controlled periodicals, and other avenues and instruments operated by the National Association of Manufacturers, and

**WHEREAS**, The control of public opinion in our country is in the hands of an unscrupulous group of talented and efficient propagandists, and

**WHEREAS**, These people are in the employ of the most economically powerful and politi-

cally entrenched confederation of greed ever formed for so vile and reprehensible a purpose, and

WHEREAS, The effectiveness of this campaign to remove organized labor from the economic scheme of things, is clearly demonstrated by the increasing number of anti-labor members of our National Congress, and not for their constituents who send them to our national capital, and

WHEREAS, To offset the distorted picture of labor-management controversy built up in the public mind, it now becomes a duty of public service incumbent upon organized labor to correct wrong impressions, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its many powerful national and international brotherhoods and their thousands of affiliated local unions, seriously consider the necessity of launching a combined and intensive national educational campaign, and a public relations activity program in order that it may give Labor's side of the story to a fair-minded but ill-informed public.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### PUBLIC RELATIONS BUREAU FOR VETERANS

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There can be no doubt that one of the spearheads used by the National Association of Manufacturers against the organized labor movement is the veteran and veterans' organizations, and

WHEREAS, There is a definite move involving returning service men and women in labor disputes as part of this well-planned program, and

WHEREAS, There is already clear evidence that some so-called "veterans' organizations" have been created to sponsor and work for anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, There are many hundreds of thousands of A. F. of L. veterans within the locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. veterans have proven themselves loyal trade unionists, and are not in accord with any anti-labor legislation involving veterans against labor, and

WHEREAS, There is specific evidence that poisonous propaganda levelled against the labor movements was part of a program forced upon many veterans during their period of service in the armed forces, and

WHEREAS, This propaganda was well planned and was used as a base to get the veterans hostile to labor, and in particular to organized labor movement, and

WHEREAS, It is a most important phase in the trade union activity to correct this evil, and to educate the veteran along the educational lines of the labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring an intensified educational

program for service men and women who have returned to civilian status in order to offset the vicious anti-labor propaganda which was given them while they were in the service, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Executive Council in its wisdom, take under advisement the necessity of this educational program and the establishment of a public relations bureau for veterans to offset all the unfair propaganda levelled at the organized labor movement.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### THIRTY-FIVE HOUR WORK WEEK

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, About thirteen million workers were unemployed during the last depression in this United States, and

WHEREAS, At least eighteen million workers were engaged in the manufacture of war essentials during the recent war period, and

WHEREAS, About eleven million men and women were serving in the armed forces of the United States of America during the last war, and

WHEREAS, In the early part of 1945 the production in these United States had increased about four hundred per cent over that of the year 1939, and

WHEREAS, We are the best clothed, best housed and the best fed nation on this earth, and

WHEREAS, In this post-war period many of the workers who were engaged in the manufacture of war essentials and many of our returning service men and women will be faced with unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Our national debt before the Pearl Harbor attack was less than fifty billion dollars and now with the cessation of hostilities our national debt will be more than three hundred billion dollars, and

WHEREAS, Learned people have stated that if our national debt should reach three hundred billion dollars our nation would have to default on its obligation and therefore become insolvent, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the interest of national solvency and the orderly reduction of the national debt, wage levels should be raised and general working hours should be set at a maximum of thirty-five hours per week, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the fire-fighters of the State and Nation who now work as many as eighty-four hours each week should have their working hours reduced so as not to exceed eight hours per day and six days per week to be in keeping with the times, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as endorsing this resolution.

The introducer of this resolution requests

that it be withdrawn. Your committee recommends that the request be granted.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Is there any objection to the withdrawal of this resolution, as requested by the author? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR ALASKAN ORGANIZATION

**Resolution No. 108—**By Delegate Louise Collier, Ketchikan Central Labor Council, Ketchikan, Alaska.

**WHEREAS,** Its strategic geographical location has aroused acute interest in the Territory of Alaska, and

**WHEREAS,** The Alaska Development Board is now definitely promoting a planned program for the development of all its natural resources, to insure economic security for the continually increasing population, and

**WHEREAS,** Due to the consequent building program now under way members of outside unions are hired outside the Territory and are sent to work on construction jobs while bona fide residents of Alaska are often denied gainful occupation on Territorial projects, and

**WHEREAS,** In order to secure jobs and earn their living by the industry of their own hands, Alaskan workers have repeatedly requested the granting of local union charters from international unions having jurisdiction over their various crafts, which requests have all too frequently been denied, and

**WHEREAS,** The bona fide resident workers of Alaska are fully aware of the recently renewed activity of dual unions and their encroaching claims in the field of Alaskan industry where division or non-organization exists, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to appoint an advisory committee of international representatives to confer with officials of the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor to help solve the organization problems now confronting the Alaskan workers, to secure greater economic freedom and true self-government for the resident workers of the future state of Alaska.

Your committee is in sympathy with the objective of the resolution, and with this comment recommends it be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

**DELEGATE COLLIER,** Ketchikan Central Labor Council: President Green and fellow delegates: Before you vote on this resolution we would like to make you better acquainted with our situation. We are strangers here. Our Federation is in its infancy, having been in existence only three years. The oldest labor movement in Alaska is barely ten years old. So, we want to bring an expression of our gratitude to the Organization Depart-

ment of the American Federation of Labor and to all the fine delegates, brothers and sisters, who are in sympathy with this movement.

Sometimes we have felt that we are extremely critical, that we are not satisfied. We are like restless children. The reason for this is that we live much like people in the Provinces, widely separated by sea and by mountains, our travel must be done over snow, over ocean waves or in the air. Hence, our communities are not knit together. We meet in convention only once a year.

At this time in world history you will note that Alaska is on the cross-roads of travel for the whole wide world. We are becoming an international spot on the globe. At the Yukon River I have met in one day travelers from the four corners of the world coming by air, landing for food, refreshments and rest before they go on their way westward.

Unless you realize our position you will hardly be in sympathy with our request. We feel our inadequacy at this time to handle the organization of the Provinces of the Territory of Alaska. We know we are not equal to this situation, and therefore we are coming to you as children come to parents. We have outgrown our infancy, so we are just like your adolescent boy or girl—we want more schooling. We need it badly. Our leadership is mostly women, good faithful secretaries in our servants' union, the Bartenders and Colliery Workers, the Retail Clerks, the Laundry Workers, our building trades who are controlled by the Executive Council of the Building Trades of Seattle, because the contractors will ship in more labor all the time. If you understand this situation then you can bear with us. If you put your boy in school and he is an adolescent, if you select a good school you help him steer his course.

We are deeply grateful for all the Federation has done for us, and at this time we want to ask for an extension of the favor, advisory counsel, so that we may not go astray, because remember the dual labor movement is always with us. We are outnumbered by the leaders of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. We are also outgeneraled by their coaches. We would like to thank you, everyone, and we are asking you for your vote to help us with our resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### MISSOURI RIVER BASIN PROJECT

**Resolution No. 109—**By Delegate Albert M. Witzling, Omaha Central Labor Union, Omaha, Nebraska.

**WHEREAS,** A moratorium has been declared on Federal construction throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, The development of the ten-State Missouri River Basin has been consummated after many years and will be of immense benefit to the entire area as well as to the entire nation, and

WHEREAS, If construction of projects in the Missouri River Basin is delayed it will cause serious obstruction to the desired safety and development of the Basin project, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use every effort to induce President Truman, the Congress and Director of Reconversion, John R. Steelman, to lift the moratorium on the Missouri River Basin Project.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be approved.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

**Resolution No. 112**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Collective bargaining has been accepted by employers and labor unions in the building industry as a practical means of reaching an agreement on wages, hours and working conditions satisfactory to both, and

WHEREAS, Collective bargaining has produced wage increases and improved working conditions for the members of labor unions, and

WHEREAS, The parties to negotiations are in a better position to judge the elements of a satisfactory agreement than any outside agency, and

WHEREAS, Agreements submitted to government agencies for approval under the provisions of the present Wage Stabilization Act, are often modified or amended by a board whose decisions are announced in such vague language as to leave the parties to a collective bargaining agreement without definite information on modifications involved in agency decisions, and

WHEREAS, The terms of an agreement, once established by the parties in negotiation, should not be disturbed by government agencies if the parties are to maintain confidence in the process of collective bargaining, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its good offices to the end that government agencies be relieved of any responsibility to approve, modify, or extend the terms of a collective bargaining agreement entered into by an employer and a union within the framework of established law.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### WAGE ADJUSTMENT BOARD

**Resolution No. 114**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The record of the Wage Adjustment Board, both during and after the

war, shows a discriminatory, if not an outright antagonistic attitude toward the wage-earner by rejecting working agreements collectively arrived at between employers and employees, stipulating wage increases well within the "Little Steel Formula" as well as other methods of discrimination, and

WHEREAS, The increased cost of living necessitates increased earnings, and

WHEREAS, The continuation of the Wage Adjustment Board seems to be for the sole purpose of preventing such necessary wage increases even when the employer can afford and is willing to grant same, thus negating the legal right of the workers to benefits secured through collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, We have arrived at a sorry state of affairs when a government agency can decide that an employer cannot pay a wage he is willing to pay and the employee well deserves; a government agency endowed with dictatorial power to determine the wages of the American working man, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, endeavor to secure the removal of the Wage Adjustment Board.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be amended by adding "The Wage Stabilization Board" so that it would call for the removal of both the Wage Adjustment Board and the Wage Stabilization Board. With this change your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### EXECUTIVE ORDER 9697

**Resolution No. 116**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, believes in free collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, The present wage stabilization policy, as established by Executive Order No. 9697 of the President of the United States, issued on February 14, 1946, and administered by the National Wage Stabilization Board, by virtue of the authority granted in said Executive Order 9697, requires bureaucratic approval for certain types of wage increases, which have been arrived at through free collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, Under these said resolutions of the National Wage Stabilization Board the terms and conditions of collective bargaining agreements, freely arrived at, may be negated because they exceed permissible limits established by bureaucratic regulations, and

WHEREAS, The basic theory of the said Executive Order No. 9697, and the regulations established under its authority is to tie wages to prices, and to permit wage increases only when no price increase is involved, to permit wage increases necessary to eliminate inequities, maladjustments or sub-standards, or to approve wage increases in conformance with a national pattern, and

WHEREAS, These regulations place an undue emphasis on the regulations of wages to prices, and neglect to take into account



that wages may be frequently increased without the need to increase prices, because the wage cost may be only a small part of production costs, and because increased productivity of labor and improved techniques of production entitle labor to higher wages, and

WHEREAS, The policy of approving price increases, as a result of wage increases, is highly inflationary, and denies to the workers the benefits of wage increases by causing higher living costs and a diminution of the real wages of the workers, and

WHEREAS, The said Executive Order No. 9697 and the aforementioned regulations, issued by the National Wage Stabilization Board, give employers an unfair advantage in collective bargaining, because it enables them to make collective bargaining agreements contingent upon receiving approval of price relief, and

WHEREAS, By approving wage increases, based upon wage patterns established by Presidential fact-finding boards, places a premium on strikes, because all such fact-finding boards are established because of strikes or threats of strikes, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its belief in collective bargaining, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to revoke Executive Order No. 9697 and thereby destroy this barrier to free collective bargaining, and remove the threat of inflation caused by the wage policy of the National Wage Stabilization Board, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Honorable Harry S. Truman, the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable Lewis E. Schwellebach, and to the members of the National Wage Stabilization Board.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## PRINTING TRADES

**Resolution No. 117—**By Delegate A. J. Kilday, Central Labor Union, Minneapolis and Hennepin County, Minn.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through sound thinking, good judgment and unity, is the leader of the labor world today, and

WHEREAS, All A. F. of L. affiliated unions should co-operate and strive for greater unity, and

WHEREAS, In the printing industry, unity in many localities where strikes have been authorized is found wanting, and

WHEREAS, On May 1 of this year Typographical Union No. 42 of Minneapolis, Minn., after negotiations had failed, were forced to strike, with the sanction of the international officers, and

WHEREAS, While strike was in progress, international officers of other A. F. of L. crafts within the printing industry ordered their members to ignore banners and cross our picket lines, and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union, as of this hour, is experiencing

a disgraceful condition: that of having other A. F. of L. members within the printing industry, cross our lines, specifically at Trenton, N. J., and St. Petersburg, Fla., and

WHEREAS, When a strike by any local union has been called, and authorized by the international officers, it certainly should be the duty of all other A. F. of L. national and international officers to instruct their members NOT to cross any picket line, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention stress the need of unity among all A. F. of L. unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Executive Council invite the members of the International Allied Printing Trades Council to a conference, the purpose of which shall be to put an end to the deplorable condition which now exists, and to unify the crafts in the printing industry.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## NEBRASKA ANTI-LABOR AMENDMENT

**Resolution No. 118—**By Delegates Wm. J. Bowen, H. C. Bates, R. J. Gray, Elmer Spahr, A. J. Cleland, T. H. O'Donnell, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, There is a concerted effort on the part of some small business men to try and create an open shop movement in the State of Nebraska and other States, and

WHEREAS, These small business men have been successful in securing enough signatures to have placed on the November ballot an amendment to the State constitution known as the right to work, and

WHEREAS, If this bill should pass it would create a condition that would paralyze the union movement in Nebraska, and cause a breeding place for scabs, and

WHEREAS, If ratified by enough States could become a national law, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make a study of this situation and wherever possible contribute funds and talent to combat this movement.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE GUENTHER, Nebraska State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I come here to speak in support of the resolution and also in full approval of the action taken by the committee. I appreciate the action taken by the committee and I also speak here in order that there may not be any question of ingratitude on the part of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor for the very fine support we have been accorded.

I commend, in behalf of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor, the action of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers in intro-



ducing this resolution. They are one of our strong organizations in the State of Nebraska and are very much concerned with the advancement of the labor movement in that State.

I also wish to pay high tribute to President Green for the very fine cooperation which he has given us and the time that he has taken in his busy work to prepare recordings and addresses to be given in our State in the campaign in which we are engaged.

I also express our appreciation to those internationals for the financial assistance which they have given to us and also for the men that they are now sending into our State to help us carry on this campaign. We deeply appreciate that cooperation.

This amendment is better known to many of you as "The Right to Work" amendment. Union members in California, Florida, Arkansas, South Dakota and Arizona, in the very last few days, have sent letters to my office asking for the program which we are adopting.

This morning we placed on the tables in the convention room for the information of the delegates this little paper called "Vote 303—No."

Due to the lateness of the hour I want to refer you to that paper for the language of this amendment.

In order that this convention may fully understand the import and intent of the proposed Nebraska amendment I now quote from an address by Herbert S. Thatcher, who represented Judge Padway, the Legal Counsel of the American Federation of Labor, and from whom we received the very best of cooperation. Herbert Thatcher said: "Turning to the measure proposed in this State we find that it is more dramatic, more complete, more fully prohibitive of closed shop contracts than the Florida or South Dakota laws. It has a provision which states that the law is self-executing. \* \* \*

"There are no ifs or buts about this proposal. The law completely outlaws existing and future closed shops. It does not do so in the same language as the Florida law.

"This law, if passed by the people in a referendum vote, becomes a part of the State Constitution and is fully enforceable. Any person who loses employment because of a closed-shop contract could sue the union or the employer for loss of wages, and it might be possible to get an injunction against the labor organization. It is possible that a criminal action lies against any employer or union entering into a closed-shop contract. In most States there is criminal action available to the Attorney General by common or statutory law.

"The next question is the effect of this proposed legislation in terms of the daily operation of labor organizations in this State:

"It will destroy and it will take away

from labor organizations all union security." No local union can ask that membership in a local union be a condition of employment even though all parties so desire. Under this law, union security, the very heart of the labor movement, is foreclosed to all labor organizations."

Forewarned is forearmed. Because the pattern of the attacks of yesterday on organized labor in California, Florida, Arkansas, and South Dakota are the pattern of the attacks of today on Arizona and Nebraska and will be the pattern of the attacks of tomorrow on other States yet to be determined, I briefly recount what we have been able to learn of the sources from whence these offenses come and the methods which they employ.

On or about April 23, 1946, a group of persons ashamed to reveal their identities conceived a scheme and device to attempt to secure the adoption of a constitutional amendment by purposely couching it in deceptive and misleading wording and by hiding and covering up their own identities and the large amounts of money furnished by them in the preparation, printing and circulation of initiative petitions, and that in spite of the fact that the laws of the State of Nebraska require that the names of all persons making any contribution toward the preparation, printing and circulation of such an initiative petition shall be made publicly known, together with the amount of the contributions. Nevertheless, they kept their identity secret, and three union members of the Nebraska Federation of Labor went into court and forced them to reveal their identity. Thus was defeated their attempt to trick and mislead the voters of the State of Nebraska through evasion of the laws of the State.

In furtherance of their scheme and device this group so worded the proposed amendment as to make it appear that it was directed against any refusal to hire an employee because of his membership in a union, knowing full well that the actual meaning and purpose of the entire proposed amendment was to prohibit employers and their employees from voluntarily entering into union shop agreements or any other form of union security agreements. They deliberately gave the proposed amendment this misleading appearance in its opening language, well knowing that on Election Day busy voters would not take time to read all of the amendment and properly analyze and evaluate the same.

In furtherance of their conspiracy to deceive and mislead the voters of the State of Nebraska and to hide their identity and to prevent their name and the amount of their contributions from becoming publicly known to the voting public, they seized upon the device of forming a corporation just ten

days in advance of securing the signatures to the initiative petition. Thus early they sought to evade the provisions of the Nebraska law.

In organizing the said corporation they purposely gave it a deceptive and misleading name—"Nebraska Small Businessmen's Associations"—thereby attempting to mislead the voting public into believing that it was composed of small businessmen, whereas in truth and in fact the said corporation is dominated and controlled by those who are not small businessmen.

As further evidence of the truth of my last statement, they purposely worded their by-laws to provide for several classes of memberships, not the least among which is one class of membership so worded as to include all those who contribute in excess of \$10.00, regardless of how large their contribution may be and despite the fact that the other classes of memberships in this corporation provide the flat charge of either \$10.00 or \$100.00 each.

To further besmirch and malign the fair name of organized labor in the State of Nebraska they caused these petitions to be conveyed from Omaha, Nebraska, to Lincoln Nebraska, in an armored car protected by armed guards, and caused the same to be photographed and publicized in newspapers throughout the State and also broadcast over the radio the same arrival of the petition in Lincoln, Nebraska, via armored car and armed guard so that the workers of the State, as well as the general public, might know that Fascism was riding high and ruthless in our beloved State.

In the State of Nebraska we have many union shop contracts, and in all of the years of the Federation's existence and during the more than fifty years in which some of these union shop contracts have been in existence, and in existence entirely by mutual consent of the employers and employees—in all of those years and in all of those industries there has always prevailed complete harmony and never once a strike. Yet this corporation composed of the sons of brutish force and darkness seek thus, in the dawning of the morning of peace, to declare industrial warfare in Nebraska against a 100 per cent unblemished union shop contract record.

Yes, they have not hesitated to evade our State laws. Names were forged on their petitions. Unregistered voters and minors were persuaded to sign. Wives of union men were told to sign their husbands' names because the "unions were out to protect the right to work." Emotional appeals were made, couched in the most vicious language highly paid publicity agents are capable of conceiving. We are called every vile name that has ever been applied to labor anywhere. There are even those who seek to bore from within our tightly closed ranks. Yet, with

all these attacks we are fighting a battle such as has never before been necessary in Nebraska. Truly "we are met at Armageddon and we are battling for the Lord."

We beseech today from the American Federation of Labor and all its affiliates your aid and comfort. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts for the aid and comfort which you have so generously bestowed, and without which we could not have withstood thus far the attacks made upon us. God grant that we may soon drive this scourge of the Attilas of entrenched anti-labor Big Business from these United States of America.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

### FOREIGN POLICY

**Resolution No. 121**—By Delegate Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The effective and glorious intervention of the United States in the last war placed our nation in a leading position in creating the instrumentality for a permanent peace and for the international economic readjustments, and

WHEREAS, American organized labor was the fundamental factor which made possible the victorious termination of the war, and

WHEREAS, The course of events shows that American organized labor should take an active part in building up world security through democratic principles and ideals, and

WHEREAS, This objective cannot be reached unless American organized labor is sincerely and solidly united behind a common foreign policy, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Ill., instruct and empower its Executive Council to invite the outstanding leaders of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and Independent Unions to a round-table conference to consider the advisability of working out a plan to carry on a common foreign policy of American organized labor as the best cooperation that could be given to the nation in its efforts to create world peace and social-economic stability.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RIGHTS OF FISHERMEN

**Resolution No. 122**—By Delegates Harry Lundberg, John Hawk, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Over twenty thousand fishermen, members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are employed by boat owners and operators on the Pacific Coast of these United States, and

WHEREAS, Such fishermen are as equally entitled to and dependent upon the benefits derived from collective bargaining as all other

workers in order to guarantee reasonable compensation for their labors, and

WHEREAS, Reasonable compensation for their labors can be derived only if such fishermen are certain of obtaining a minimum fixed compensation based upon tonnage of fish caught, and

WHEREAS, Such minimum fixed compensation can reasonably be determined only if there exists an assured market with a fixed minimum sales price for such fish, and

WHEREAS, Agencies of the United States Government, including the Department of Justice, by pronouncements, publications and threats of legal action, both civil and criminal, have prohibited and precluded boat owners or operators and cannery owners or operators from agreeing to purchase specific species of fish caught by or for said boat owners or operators at a specified minimum price when, as and if caught, and

WHEREAS, Agencies of the United States Government, including the Department of Justice, by pronouncements, publications and threats of legal action, both civil and criminal, have prohibited and precluded such fishermen and boat owners and operators from agreeing to pay such fishermen for specific species of fish caught by such fishermen a minimum wage, per ton when, as and if caught, and

WHEREAS, Such coercive activity by the agencies of the United States Government, including the Department of Justice, evidences an apparent studied attempt to destroy the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of which over twenty thousand fishermen are members, by preventing such unions from performing one of their primary functions, namely, effective collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, Any such union-busting activity by any agencies of the United States Government is repugnant to the fundamental principles of democracy and repulsive to all reasonable people and is subject only to scorn and condemnation, therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record condemning such union-busting activities by agencies of the United States Government and if necessary, have introduced in Congress legislation which will guarantee to the workers employed as fishermen the same fundamental rights as those enjoyed by all workers.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### EXTENSION OF SOCIAL BENEFITS TO AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, F. R. Bretton, B. B. Taylor, National Farm Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers have been systematically excluded from the benefits of the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The Congress, instead of further extending this beneficial legislation to agricultural workers and other excluded groups, seeks to exclude still additional groups, such as those in the food processing industries, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been totally unable to find any morally tenable reason whatsoever for the exclusion from legislation which should be for the benefit of all the people, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call on the 80th Congress of the United States to extend the benefits of the aforementioned Acts of Congress to workers in agriculture, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress should resist further attempts to exclude workers in the processing of agricultural products from the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 124—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, F. R. Bretton, B. B. Taylor, National Farm Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are unprotected by any law which provides minimum wages and maximum hours, and

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers are not covered by any law which protects them in their right to bargain collectively with employers to establish reasonable wages, hours and working conditions, and

WHEREAS, Agricultural workers, particularly those in the south, are the lowest paid and the most outrageously exploited, and

WHEREAS, The United States Department of Agriculture, in shameless collusion with the Farm Bureau Federation, which is dominated by the large commercial farming interests, has, through an unlawful and undemocratic system of so-called referenda in which the concerned workers are allowed no participation, imposed wage ceilings on workers who have no floor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, demand that this abominable practice of imposing wage ceilings, dictated by the employers' group, on defenseless under-privileged and underpaid agricultural workers, cease at once, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor denounce and condemn Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson, the federal official allegedly having sole lawful power to impose and enforce wage ceilings, for having repeatedly imposed maximum wages that can by no stretch of the imagination be considered as a living wage, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution shall be sent to the President of the United States, the Congress, the Secretary of Agriculture and to the public press.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### HOD CARRIERS CHANGE OF TITLE

**Resolution No. 125**—By Delegates Jos. V. Moreschi, Jos. Marshall, Herbert Rivers, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, T. Nischwitz, Patrick Waldron, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The name International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America is lengthy and the name Common Laborers is reflective and out of mode, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the name be changed to International Construction and General Laborers' Union of America.

Inasmuch as this resolution calls for the change in name of an international union, your committee recommends that it be referred to the Building and Construction Trades Department for examination, to be referred by them to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### EXTENDING SOCIAL BENEFITS TO AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

**Resolution No. 127**—By Delegate L. B. Schacter, Camden County Central Labor Union, Camden, New Jersey.

WHEREAS, In its present form, the National Labor Relation Act does not provide for the application of the benefits under that Act to workers engaged in agricultural pursuits, and

WHEREAS, The modern industrial type of farms hire many thousands of workers who are thus required to work under extremely unfavorable conditions, which they cannot seek to correct through organization and through trade unions, and

WHEREAS, Such great number of workers look to agriculture as a sole means of livelihood and are entitled to all of the benefits, as Americans, which are afforded to the great mass of our remaining wage earners, and

WHEREAS, The elimination from the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, known as the Wagner Act, of agricultural workers is a form of discrimination that is un-American and entirely uncalled for, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor do hereby urge that you and your associates exert every effort to make possible the appropriate legislation, if necessary, for the elimination of the exemption from the National Labor Relations Act that presently precludes agricultural workers from the benefits of that law, and be it further

RESOLVED, That each and every organization, both local, state and national, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, be made aware of the discriminatory circumstance under which agricultural workers are now placed and the aid of these organizations

will be enlisted towards the obtaining of remedial legislation to the end that agricultural workers shall be permitted the full benefits of our national laws such as is presently afforded other industrial workers in this great American democracy.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the first resolved, and that no action be taken upon the second resolved, for if the first resolved is approved by this convention no further action is necessary.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### MAY COMPANY

**Resolution No. 128**—By Delegate George W. Brayfield, Colorado State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The dispute between Retail Clerks Union, Local No. 454 of Denver, Colorado, affiliated with the Retail Clerks International Association, and the May Company in Denver, has resulted in a strike of the employees of the May Company, members of the Retail Clerks Union, and

WHEREAS, The Retail Clerks Union has conducted its organization work and its negotiations according to the accepted principles of the American Federation of Labor, and in cooperation with all other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The May Company has consistently refused to bargain in good faith but instead has set out to destroy a labor union with which they have been under agreement for more than four years, and

WHEREAS, The May Company is engaged in a conspiracy with other employer's organizations in Denver to put into effect a "yellow dog" contract as a condition of employment, and

WHEREAS, Because of the unfair tactics of the May Company during several months of negotiations despite all attempts by the Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor, and the executive officers of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, to peaceably adjust the differences involved, it became necessary for Retail Clerks Union, Local No. 454 to call a strike, and

WHEREAS, The May Company has openly boasted that they have set aside a large sum of money with which to fight organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Their present anti-labor campaign in Denver is a serious threat to all American Federation of Labor unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon all national and international unions, state federations, central bodies and local unions to give moral and financial assistance, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a progressive campaign be carried out against the May Company nationally, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor authorize full publicity on the unfair tactics of the May Company and enlist the full force of the American Federation of Labor against this unfair employer in order to counsel them to enter immediately into fair collective bargaining and sign a collective

bargaining agreement as requested by the Retail Clerks Union which these employees have freely chosen according to law as their representative.

Inasmuch as this resolution calls for the approval of a boycott your committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### FREE TRADE UNIONS IN EUROPE

**Resolution No. 130**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, American occupation forces in Germany have interfered with the organization of a free trade union movement by the German workmen, and

WHEREAS, There exists in other countries what is apparently a well-balanced intention to prevent the organization of a free trade union movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their influence in every way possible to prevent any further interference by American authorities with the right of workmen in other countries to the exercise of voluntary organization and the reorganization of the former free trade union movement existing in European countries which were affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That should the officers of the American Federation of Labor fail to secure a prompt compliance with the purpose of this resolution, that they request the appointment of a special committee of the Congress of the United States to investigate the interference of certain representatives of the United States government stationed in Europe with the rights of European workmen to the enjoyment of a free trade union movement.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the permanent Committee on International Labor Relations of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### LOS ANGELES AQUEDUCT SYSTEM

**Resolution No. 131**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The City of Los Angeles, through its Department of Water and Power, has filed with the General Land Office for the approval of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior two applications and amendments thereto (Sacramento Nos. 036130 and 036149) to acquire certain public lands in Mono County, State of California, pursuant to an act of Congress adopted June 23, 1936, entitled "An Act authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to sell to The City of Los Angeles, California, certain public lands in California; and granting rights of way over public lands to the City of Los Angeles in Mono County in the State of California," said

lands and rights of way being necessary in connection with the Mono Basin extension of the Los Angeles Aqueduct System, and

WHEREAS, There has been presented to, and considered by, the Los Angeles Metal Trades Council of the American Federation of Labor the facts concerning said applications, and

WHEREAS, It is of vital public interest to the people of Los Angeles that said applications be acted upon favorably in order that the city of Los Angeles may provide an adequate dependable water supply to meet the needs of its rapidly growing population and industrial development, and

WHEREAS, The public lands sought under said application to be acquired in said Mono County constitute approximately 24,000 acres, and it appears that no additional public lands will be required by said city under said Act, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to secure the approval of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior and the favorable action by the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior; and the Honorable Secretary of Agriculture, to the said application for the purchase of public lands and rights of way in Mono County, California covered by said application, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to appear before Congress or any committee thereof, and to oppose any bills which will be introduced in Congress, the adoption of which may prevent the granting of said application, and be it further

RESOLVED That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior, and the Honorable Secretary of Labor.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### REVOCATION OF AUTO WORKERS CHARTER

**Resolution No. 132**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of several international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department has been invaded by the United Auto Workers, A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, Conferences held in Washington with the president of that organization have failed to bring about any cessation of this invasion of their jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, These international unions can no longer remain passive under the circumstances, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take immediate action to revoke the charter of the United Auto Workers, A. F. of L.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, A. F. of L.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES JURISDICTION

**Resolution No. 133—**By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of the Metal Trades Council of Chicago, that the Building Service Employees Union, which organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is organizing plants which rightfully come under the jurisdiction of metal trades craft organizations, and

WHEREAS, The Pyle National Company of Chicago is a specific case where the employees are practically all mechanics and should belong to their several craft organizations, and

WHEREAS, The Building Service Employees Union has in the Pyle National Company case, taken into their organization men who should belong to the Foundry Workers; Blacksmiths; Electrical Workers; Sheet Metal Workers; Metal Polishers; Carpenters, etc., and

WHEREAS, Should this practice be allowed to continue it will work a hardship on every organization affiliated with the Chicago Metal Trades Council, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up this situation with the Building Service Employees Union, to the end that this invasion of the Building Service Employees Union into the jurisdiction of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be brought to an end.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, A. F. of L.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## IMPORTATION OF LABOR

**Resolution No. 134—**By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, It has been called to the attention of the Metal Trades Department in convention assembled, that there has been an importation of foreign labor into several sections of our nation, and

WHEREAS, It is the invariable practice of those who employ these importees at wage rates considerably less than those in effect in the industries and areas where they are employed, and

WHEREAS, There is the constant danger of destruction of existing wage rates and standards as a result of the use of these importees under the conditions now prevalent, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor now in convention assembled that we go on record as opposing the importation of foreign labor and its use to the detriment of the welfare of American free labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every effort to oppose this misuse of imported labor.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council

for investigation, and such action as the facts warrant.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## C.C.C. CUBAN SUGAR CONTRACTS

**Resolution No. 135—**By Delegate Nicolas N. Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The Commodity Credit Corporation has entered into a contract with the sugar producers of Cuba which has resulted in an increase in the price of sugar being paid by the consumers of the United States and its territories, and

WHEREAS, The basic price of sugar as fixed in the contract is \$3.675 F.O.B. Cuba, plus an additional increase in case the price index in the costs of foods goes over 140.27 which is the base figure in the escalator clause, and

WHEREAS, Sensible increases have been experimented in the food index which will result in supplementary payments to producers in Cuba, and

WHEREAS, The Commodity Credit Corporation cannot absorb any increase over the basic price of sugar fixed in the Cuban contract under the Act of Congress No. 548 extending the OPA and the Stabilization Act, and

WHEREAS, The OPA has increased the wholesale price of raw sugar (\$5.575) and that of the refined sugar (\$7.60) so that the CCC could absorb the increases to be paid to the Cuban producers under the privileged contract signed with them by the CCC, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the price of sugar by the OPA puts the burden of the subsidies upon the shoulders of the consumers in the United States and its territories who are largely working people, so that Cubans may have their increases, and

WHEREAS, Inasmuch as the contract signed by the CCC with the Cuban producers has a basic price of \$3.675 F.O.B. Cuba, the employers of Cuba are relieved from paying the 75¢ tariff now in effect, as well as the 43¢ ocean freight plus other port expenses, and

WHEREAS, The increase authorized by the OPA has determined a retail price of 9¢ a pound of refined sugar paid by labor without any increase in salaries, something which results practically in a tax in behalf of Cuba and detrimental to our people, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the price of sugar produces its effect on the general cost of living considering that sugar is a basic food-stuff the price of which is reflected in the prices of other staples, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the price of sugar will by itself bring an increase in the cost of living index thus enabling Cuban sugar producers to attain a higher price for their sugar under the terms of the purchase contract signed by the CCC, and

WHEREAS, Puerto Rico is a domestic sugar area which has not received such commendable contracts although Puerto Rico is a part of the United States the actual production of which amounts to one million tons of sugar and which could be raised to over



one million and a half tons under proper stimulus on the part of the corresponding agencies, and

WHEREAS, The sugar industry is the basic one in Puerto Rico paying over thirty millions dollars in wages, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Ill., authorizes and empowers the Executive Council to make a thorough investigation and study of the sugar contracts entered into by the CCC with sugar producers of Cuba and how these affect the economic conditions of the working people of the United States and their territories so as to denounce before Congress or the Federal Department of Agriculture or the corresponding bureau any situation that may result in extreme and unnecessary economic hardship to American labor and consumers in general and determine to what extent labor in Cuba has shared in the benefits of the aforementioned purchase contract of the CCC.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS IN PUBLIC HOSPITALS IN STATES, COUNTIES AND MUNICIPALITIES

**Resolution No. 138**—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, John M. Leary, George W. Thorpe, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, In the public hospitals and other institutions in the states, counties and municipalities for the care of the mentally deficient, the mentally ill, for orphaned minors and for correctional and other purposes the pay, the required work day and work week and the living and working conditions generally have been improved but slightly for more than a quarter century so that such conditions and standards today are woefully inadequate and no longer tolerable, and

WHEREAS, Employees, inmates and patients in most of such hospitals and other institutions have been neglected and by-passed by legislative and appropriating bodies for so long that only an aroused consciousness by the public generally will result in placing squarely before the responsible law-making bodies these conditions and in awakening them to their several and collective duties, and

WHEREAS, The benefits of organization and affiliation with union labor have been brought to the employees in a few public hospitals and other institutions with astonishingly satisfactory results in higher wages, better working conditions, shorter hours, up-builed morale, improved care of inmates and patients and in greatly stepped-up efficiency, but the task of organizing the employees because of their isolation and other conditions under which they for long periods have lived make organization efforts difficult and expensive, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor fully cog-

nizant of the conditions described in this resolution and conscious of the responsibility of labor to help to correct them urges all state federations of labor and all subordinate bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make special efforts during the ensuing year to organize and bring about the affiliation of employees in the public hospital and other institutional services and thereafter to assist them in order thereby to finally establish such organizations firmly in the labor movement, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through the state federations of labor and other affiliated labor organizations in the several States urges that active campaigns be instituted before the ensuing legislatures and before appropriating bodies of subordinate units of government in order to bring to the attention of such bodies the conditions herein described and to demand that adequate appropriations be made so that modernized employment standards and efficient public institutional and hospital service may result therefrom, and it is directed that copies of this resolution be sent to all state federations of labor and to all subordinate organizations of labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE ZANDER, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees: I want to say just a few brief words on this, I recognize the time and how unpopular it is to talk at this hour, but at the same time I do want to say that here is a situation that I believe warrants our attention as a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I would just like to point out to you delegates that we have in the public institutions of this country a most deplorable situation about which very little is known, because it is hidden behind the walls of these public hospitals and institutions. We have in these places people working for abominable wages under conditions which are almost indescribable.

To give you one illustration, in one of these institutions just recently in which I visited they have just increased the wages of the working staff. They had raised their people from whatever they had been paid to the grand pay base of \$25.00 a month for colored women, \$30.00 a month for colored men, \$30.00 for white women and \$35.00 for white men working twelve hours a day, one day off a month.

Now, if you reduce that to cents per hour you get about 12 cents an hour for the time these people are putting in on the wards of these institutions taking care of the charges of the State. They work their 12-hour shift. They are then bedded down on the ward to sleep their time out with the patients in the wards of the institutions.



They eat with them; they live their lives with them and at the end of the month they get the grand figure of twenty-five, thirty or thirty-five dollars per month. I am not mentioning institutions in any one section of the country and trying to compare them with another. You can find such conditions as that in institutions in the north or south, the east or west, depending on the extent of organization. If you measure the length of time in which these employees have been organized you get a good estimate of the conditions which obtain in those institutions. In other words, here is a case where organization is proving itself, but by and large in the county institutions, the state hospitals and so on across this country you have people working for a few cents per hour, living out their total time on the wards with the patients of these institutions.

Not only that, but in states very close to this one—perhaps I except this one only because it is present company—these employees are paying political contributions from these meager salaries. Yes, twenty-five dollars a month is an exception. Most of them get more, but they are paying out 2 per cent and 4 per cent to the political party in control in these states. They are doing that because it is long practice, because it is the way we in this country have permitted our public institutions to be operated. It is a shameful thing, it is the kind of thing which I know we want to talk about in these conventions. It is the kind of thing which we want to point the finger of labor and say to these public officials, these governors and these mayors of these county boards that this kind of thing should not continue, it should not be tolerated. Employees who are in these jobs only so long as they can keep a political sponsor, who leave when they lose their sponsorship, who have no rights, are denied the right to

organize, who they organize in secret, and when organized the word goes down from party headquarters to see that these people are removed or somehow disorganized.

That is why we introduced this resolution here, delegates. It is the kind of a thing which we are contending against. We are working to establish these basic rights which the rest of you enjoy. We are trying to take these poor folks who are working under these conditions and bring them up. We are having success in that. We appreciate very much the help we have had from the organized labor movement. I should say, Brother President, that we are in the peculiar position of having to ask help constantly from the labor movement. We ask favors from central bodies and state federations of labor. It is our way through in this troubled situation. We don't find many opportunities to give as much as we get. We would like to have more opportunity to give. We hope to do that. In our asking we have had the finest kind of response from the state federations and the central labor councils. We appreciate it. These tens of thousands of working people appreciate it. So, in addition to painting this picture to you, in bringing out some of the extremes with which we are contending, I want also to thank you all most sincerely for the help we have had in this campaign and in this struggle. Thank you very much.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now, the Chair will ask if there are any announcements. Hearing none, we will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

At 5:30 o'clock P. M. the convention adjourned until 9:30 o'clock A. M., October 16, 1946.

**EIGHTH DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION****Chicago, Illinois, October 16, 1946**

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:50 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The invocation will be given by Father Richard F. Wolfe, Pastor of St. Patrick's Church, the oldest Catholic Church in the city of Chicago. We are happy to have him, and I present him to you now.

**INVOCATION**

**(Reverend Richard F. Wolfe, Pastor, St. Patrick's Church)**

Oh, Almighty and Eternal God, Supreme Architect and Creator of this masterpiece, the world, look down, we humbly beseech Thee, with gracious eye and bless Thy creatures here assembled in this convention. Wipe out of their minds and hearts all ill will, prejudice, hatred, revenge of their fellow men.

Oh, Seat of Wisdom and Source of all knowledge, enlighten their minds and guide the deliberations of those here assembled, so that the decisions of this convention may be made in justice and in charity toward all.

Oh, Almighty and Eternal God, we pray that the work of this convention may not merely redound to the glory of those here assembled, but that it may be the source of everlasting peace and security for their fellow men, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

May God bless all of you and keep you close to His most Sacred Heart.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

**SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT  
COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS**

Committee Secretary Tipton submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has been requested to substitute the name of Max Snider with 1 vote, in place of Sherdie C. Jones, previously reported, who was called away from the city on business, to represent the Urbana-Champaign, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor for the balance of the convention, and we recommend the seating of the delegate.

Your Committee on Credentials has also been requested to substitute the name of Dave Beck with 893 votes to replace John J. O'Rourke on the delegation representing the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, and we recommend the seating of the delegate.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We have with us as a visitor this morning another fine young man who was with the Swedish delegation in the I. L. O. Conference held in Montreal recently. He is interested in our convention and interested in our work, and I am pleased to present him to you for a moment—Yngve Moller, Swedish Trade Union delegate to the I. L. O. Conference in Montreal.

**MR. YNGVE MOLLER**

President Green, fellow delegates: It is a great privilege to me to be present at this convention of the American Federation of Labor. Even if Sweden is far away from the United States, there has always been good relations between the American Federation of Labor and the Swedish Trade Union Federation. We have worked together in the International Federation of Trade Unions, and like the A. F. of L. we take active part in the work of the International Labor Organization. When the Swedish Trade Union Federation some weeks ago held its convention, we had the great pleasure to see Irvin Brown among our fraternal guests.

After the I. L. O. Conference in Montreal I have come to the United States in order to study trade union labor conditions and economic tendencies. I have got a fellowship for this purpose. Because we know what an important role the United States has in the social and economic life of the whole world and we certainly know what the trade unions and the American Federation of Labor have done for the American workers, and we do hope that you will be able to increase still more the trade union's influence in America's social and economic life, because it is of great importance, not only to the American workers, but also to all workers in the whole world. Greater trade union influence in the United States will mean more stability in the world economy, and at the same time it will strengthen the democratic powers throughout the world.

Sweden is a very little nation. With only six and a half million inhabitants my country is of little importance in a world governed by the big nations. We haven't been at war for 130 years, so you may say that we are a privileged country. A delegate said yesterday to us that Sweden is God's country. No, it isn't. But we are a peaceful, democratic people and we try to go "the middle way," a way to greater security, better conditions of life, greater freedom to the people. We have a strong trade union movement with 1,100,000 members. Irving Brown said the

Swedish industrial workers are organized from 90 to 95 per cent. We have a Labor Party and a Labor Government which has governed Sweden for many years. Our social legislation covers the whole population. We think that we have established a new social Sweden in the last 25 years.

But we have still poor people. And in spite of what we have done in the past, we think we are just in the beginning of our job. After the first World War we won the political democracy. It isn't enough. Now we shall try to win also the economic democracy. To achieve this goal we need peace, peace in the labor market, peace in the world. In the difficult political and economic world situation today the Swedish people are looking to the United States and to Great Britain, with hope and confidence. I am sure we will not be disappointed.

With good wishes to the American Federation of Labor, with the hope that there will always be good relations between our organizations, I give your convention the kindest greetings from the Swedish Trade Union Federation.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I want to thank Brother Moller for his visit and for the address he delivered this morning.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Resolutions Committee, Brother John P. Frey.

### REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (cont'd)

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

#### PROTECTION FOR UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT PERSONNEL

**Resolution No. 139—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, J. M. Leary, George W. Thorpe,** American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has decreed that the United States Employment Services shall be returned to the several States and has by the language of the rider amendment to the Department of Labor Appropriation Act provided that the personnel in such services shall be placed in the State services of the several States in positions similar to those occupied in the Federal service or in reasonably comparable positions and that those employees who have not had opportunity to qualify for their positions either under the State or Federal merit law shall be given opportunities to do so, and

WHEREAS, The Act further provides that it shall be the obligation of the Secretary of Labor to deny certification of funds for a State system of public employment offices unless he finds that the State to which the funds are to be allocated has met the requirements of the transfer Act and has or does in accordance with the provisions thereof extend

opportunity to all employees to qualify for their several positions under the merit standards prevailing in the State and consistent with the methods required pursuant to the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of the personnel to be so transferred from the Federal Government to the several States are members of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently in national convention assembled affirmed and reaffirmed its belief in and its demands for the extension and maintenance of merit in government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of Labor and the Social Security Board be requested to do everything within the power to be exercised by their departments to see that the terms of the transfer Law are completely complied with and that all employees of the United States Employment Services who are transferred to the States and who have not had opportunity because of war conditions to meet required merit standards be given such opportunity without the exercise from any level of government of political prejudice or political preferment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the opportunity to so qualify take the form of non-competitive examinations rather than open competitive ones whenever and wherever such methods are possible under the constitution and the laws of the several States in order thereby to permit such persons who have served faithfully during the strenuous war period to meet the new and special requirements now so heavily placed upon them.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

**DELEGATE ZANDER,** American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees: I want to just comment on this briefly. You are aware of the fact that the Employment Service is being returned to the States as of November 15th. At the present time we are fighting some serious problems in connection with the transfer.

This Service, as you know, has its outlets in all of the towns of the country, and you are acquainted with the work that has been done there. We have problems in connection with the transfer because States in some cases are looking to the return of the Employment Service as a chance to grab political jobs. We are facing a serious situation. Not only that but in some places they are taking these people who were transferred originally from the States to the Federal service by order of the President and now on their return they are trying to have them come back to their former positions, their former titles and their former pay. We have been able to get regulations in Washington governing the return of these people but in some cases we are having trouble to have those regulations enforced.

There are two elements here I want to particularly mention to the convention. In

the first place we would, of course, appreciate continued assistance from the state federations and central bodies in connection with this transfer or return. But in the second case we have the opportunity to organize this Employment Service staff throughout the country because of the unrest which exists there now on this transfer and because these people are in a position close to the organized labor movement, which makes them interested in organization. We have them now, as I said, in a great many places but in a great many others we do not have them organized and as you contact these people in your normal work, as the employment office people are seen in connection with their operations, you may have opportunity to talk organization with them. If so, we would be happy to have word from you about any contacts you may have with them and we will do what we can to extend the organization of the employment office staff and the Unemployment Compensation personnel throughout the country. Any help we get will be sincerely appreciated. Thank you very much.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

**Resolution No. 142**—By Delegate Emanuel D. Williams, Richmond Central Labor Union, Richmond, Va.

WHEREAS, Due to uprisings, lynchings, wanton murder, and repressive restrictions occurring daily, civil rights are being increasingly violated throughout our southern states, therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as urging the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions be instructed to press for the introduction of such a measure in Congress at the earliest possible moment, and that an energetic campaign in support of such legislation be conducted among all international unions, their affiliated local unions, and through the affiliated central, trades and labor councils, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be submitted to President Harry S. Truman.

As the convention has already acted upon this subject, no further action is required on this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

**Resolution No. 143**—By Delegate Emanuel D. Williams, Richmond Central Labor Union, Richmond, Va.

WHEREAS, The ending of the war years sees a reversal of many gains made by American workers to secure economic security through a fair opportunity for employment,

regardless of race, national origin, color or creed, and

WHEREAS, The 79th Congress refused to establish by law a national policy to promote fair employment practices, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its support of legislation to bring about the enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor carry on an active program in support of such legislation.

As the convention has already acted upon this subject, no further action is required on this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### STUDY OF NEGRO WORKERS

**Resolution No. 144**—By Delegate Emanuel D. Williams, Richmond Central Labor Union, Richmond, Va.

WHEREAS, The following discriminatory practices are known to exist within the American Federation of Labor: (1) Restrictions excluding Negroes from membership, (2) Limiting the right of Negroes to skilled trades, (3) Preventing the fair upgrading of Negroes according to their seniority rights, (4) Refusal of certain city central bodies to admit to membership locals composed of Negro members, (5) Maintenance of separate seniority lists for members of different races, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor initiate immediately a study of the discriminatory practices of various unions for the purpose of abolishing such practices toward the ultimate end of breaking the pattern of separate unions for white and Negro members, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That recommendations resulting from this study be presented to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for action.

As the convention has already acted upon this subject, no further action is required on this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### LIBRARY BOARDS

**Resolution No. 146**—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Public Library in a city, town or village is a public institution, supported by taxes, and

WHEREAS, Members of Library Boards are either appointed or elected, and

WHEREAS, Members of organized labor are not, as a rule, selected as members of such Boards, and

WHEREAS, Many or most of the books, magazines or pamphlets in public libraries do not bear the union label of the Allied Printing Trades, and

WHEREAS, If one or more members of such Boards were members of organized labor, such conditions would not prevail, and

WHEREAS, If union men were represented

on such Boards, doubtless through their counsel, a just proportion of newly purchased books would be products of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Through this procedure and practice, more members of the A. F. of L. printing industry would be employed, and

WHEREAS, Also through the counsel of union labor representatives on such Boards, books on labor economics would be specified, and

WHEREAS, Labor leaders and ambitious Union men and women, if they wish to cope with difficult labor problems which constantly arise, must be as well informed on all national problems as well as on local conditions, as employers, executives, manufacturers and lawmakers, particularly if such groups are hostile to organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That organized labor use every means to have union men appointed as members of Library Boards, and be it further

RESOLVED, That organized labor notify officials and acquaint the public with the fact that such representation is expected, and be it further

RESOLVED, That where such members are elective, members of organized labor avail themselves of the privilege of the ballot.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### VETERANS' SENIORITY

**Resolution No. 148**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Pete Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that a veteran is not entitled to a super-seniority and only to a seniority that he would have, had he remained at his job and not entered the armed forces, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department has, apparently with the consent of the United States Civil Service Commission, overlooked or ignored the ruling of the court in granting veterans preference in the reduction of force procedure, and

WHEREAS, Many loyal and competent Americans with permanent civil service status (employees with up to 28 and 30 years service) are being discharged and replaced with veterans with few years of service, and by others who were given a veterans preference because of peacetime service in some branch of the armed forces, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention does instruct the Executive Council to investigate and use every means within its power to have this unjust, unreasonable and un-American procedure stopped.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### POLL TAX

**Resolution No. 153**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has time and again taken action against the insidious poll tax existing in many southern states, and

WHEREAS, Many of our Congressmen have made abolishment of the poll tax a political football, and

WHEREAS, There have been extended hearings in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate on Anti-Poll Tax Bills, and

WHEREAS, A bill, H. R. 7, to abolish the poll tax is still in the hands of the Judiciary Committee, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates, assembled in convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record favoring speedy action by the Legislature to pass the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, H. R. 7, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on Senator Pat McCarran, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and all his committee members, to report favorably on this bill, without further hearings, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request our Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to use its pressure on behalf of the Anti-Poll Tax legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we review the activities of our legislators in the halls of Congress which on other occasions can act very swiftly, but on the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, H. R. 7, have reacted very timidly and slowly.

As the convention has already acted upon this subject, no further action is required on this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### PALESTINE

**Resolution No. 161**—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, Margaret Mahr, Herman Finkelstein, Martin Lawlor, Alex Rose, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The plight of the more than one million Jewish survivors in Europe is steadily worsening, especially in those countries where Nazi-fostered anti-Semitism is making life for Jews at the present time intolerable and the future of these harassed people one of complete hopelessness, and

WHEREAS, The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, a joint commission appointed by Great Britain and the United States in 1945, unanimously recommended that 100,000 displaced European Jews be given immediate entry into the Holy Land, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has continuously requested of the British Government, which holds the mandate in Palestine, that the doors of Palestine be opened to 100,000 European Jews, victims of Fascist persecution—a position which has received the overwhelming support of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United

States of America, through the passage of resolutions in both Houses of Congress and through the planks in the platforms of both major political parties, is pledged to the establishment in Palestine of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly called for "the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth" and has continually urged the Government of the United States "to take speedy and definite action on the Palestine question—action which will be in conformity with the historic, but as yet unfulfilled, pledges made to the Jewish people, and with the present needs of the persecuted Jews of Europe," and

WHEREAS, American labor is therefore shocked by the British Labor Government's refusal to admit 100,000 Jews into Palestine—a stand which violates the very precepts of the British Labor Party and which is in utter conflict with its party plank on Palestine which only three months prior to the Labor Party's assumption of power stated: "Let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority," and

WHEREAS, Palestine today is virtually an occupied country. The placing of a cordon blockade around the Mediterranean, the seizure and mass deportation of immigrant Jews from Palestine to the Island of Cyprus, and the presence of 150,000 British Colonial troops garrisoned in Palestine, constitute a threat to the future peace of the Middle East, and

WHEREAS, Jewish initiative has converted the Holy Land into a model and progressive democratic community, and

WHEREAS, Palestine stands today as the one place where homeless Jews are certain of a gracious home-coming and where the right to work and live in dignity and honor is not dependent upon the whim of another people, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always had a deep respect for and a feeling of kinship with the Histadruth, the General Federation of Labor in Palestine, which has done such admirable pioneering work in the building of a truly democratic and progressive community in Palestine, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled herewith reiterates and re-emphasizes its stand that the world's historic and solemn obligations to the Jewish people be fulfilled to the end that Palestine be reconstituted as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in our time, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do respectfully call upon the President of the United States to demand that the British Government immediately carry out the unanimous recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry that 100,000 Jews be expeditiously admitted to Palestine—the land of their choice—as the first step in the solution of this most pressing humanitarian problem, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the American Government to adopt a firm program for the fulfillment of its pledges to the Jewish people as enunciated in Concurrent Resolution No.

44, adopted by the 79th Congress of the United States in 1945, and as expressed in the 1944 platform of the Democratic Party—the political party now in power—which states: "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

## PALESTINE

Resolution No. 155—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madden, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, All over Palestine British military installations are increasing in number, and

WHEREAS, The latest speech of Ernest Bevin, speaking for the British Labor Government, has been followed through by a wave of terror in the Jewish communities of Palestine, and

WHEREAS, The Government of Great Britain has made it unlawful for the suffering European Jews to emigrate into Palestine, and

WHEREAS, Such action is in violation of the principles for which a great anti-Fascist war was fought, a war in which six million Jewish people were annihilated, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates assembled in convention go on record to urge President Truman, on behalf of the American people, to (1) Demand of the British Government immediate cessation of the terror in Palestine and the release of the arrested Jewish leaders; (2) Demand that British rule in Palestine be ended and a Big 3 trusteeship under the United Nations be established in Palestine to encourage Arab and Jewish unity for the establishment of a free and democratic Palestine.

Resolutions Nos. 155 and 161 deal with the same subject. Your committee reports on both resolutions. Resolution No. 161 covers the subject more extensively than Resolution No. 155. Your committee in approving of both resolutions recommends that Resolution No. 161 be adopted as the convention's statement on the subject of Palestine.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE FEDERMAN, Fur Workers: I rise at this moment to support the Resolutions Committee and I want to point out a few points.

President Green, and fellow delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention:

Seventeen months since the war has ended, every country occupied by the Nazis has been liberated by the armies of the United Nations. In the darkest hour of Nazi enslavement, all the underground existent groups, which have been carrying on the struggle for freedom inside Hitler-Europe, have been sustained by the hope that liberty and peace-loving

people the world over, will some day marshal their forces and remove Nazism and Fascism from the face of the earth. They now see their hope fulfilled. People who were under the yoke of Hitlerism are regaining their freedom everywhere, but what of the Jews? Concentration camps, Ghettos, have for twelve long years been the home of the European Jews; blood and tears their daily bread; there was no act of bestiality that was not perpetrated upon them, their dead dishonored, their living enslaved, and still, all this was not enough for Hitler and his henchmen. They turned Europe into a valley of mass graves, in which over six million Jews are buried.

Fellow delegates, I would like to quote a few lines from an address delivered by President William Green on the eve of the opening of the American Federation of Labor convention in Toronto, in 1942. I quote:

"Persecution of the Jews was good training from Hitler's point of view, for those whom he relied upon to fight for his future war against democracy. It taught Hitler followers complete disregard for human life, complete cruelty toward human suffering."

Mr. President and fellow delegates, do not think for a moment that the Jews did not fight back the German during this war. History knows of a few instances of bravery and self-sacrifice that can be compared to the heroic uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto. The last few thousand Jews of a Jewish population of about one and a half million, met the Nazi war machine in open battle, in the streets of the Warsaw Ghetto. They matched their bare fists against the machine guns and tanks of the Hitlerites. They had no illusions as to the results, they died fighting, selling their lives dearly to the last; they held fast to the belief that they were dying in the undying cause of freedom and human brotherhood.

During the six years of this war, they have slaughtered over six million Jews; dead factories established in Poland for that; gas chambers and crematoriums. All appeals that we have made did not help anything to help those Jews in Europe. When we organized ourselves to take some out from Europe and to take them to Palestine, and there was no other country which permitted these displaced persons to come in, on top of it all, the British Labor Government has found this an opportune moment to enforce the notorious White Paper, close the gates of the Jewish national homeland to Jews, in the hour of their supreme tragedy Palestine is the only place under British rule where legal discrimination against Jews is practiced.

I ask you to support the program of International Aid to Jews, in the task of rebuilding their lives in their native land.

An expression of solidarity and sympathy on the part of this American Federation of

Labor convention will bring new hope and courage to the surviving Jews, who, even today, are battling against Fascism, and even today are still in Concentration Camps in Europe.

Fellow delegates, on behalf of those six million Jews who were slaughtered in Majdanek, Treblinka, Dachau, Buchenwald, and Belsen Bergen, and hundreds of thousands of Jews who are still alive in Europe, and on behalf of the entire Jewish nation, which demands today justice just the same as any other nation in the world, I urge this convention to demand from the British Labor Government to release all the hundreds and thousands, who have been put in concentration camps in Palestine, and for free immigration to Palestine for all the Cyprus Jewish refugees.

Support the recommendation of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee, that 100,000 refugees should be admitted to Palestine immediately.

Fellow delegates, I urge this convention of the American Federation of Labor to support this resolution, recommended by the Resolutions Committee. Let us unite with other labor movements and demand from the British Labor Government, which has many times pledged itself at the previous convention of the British Labor Party, to restore to the Jewish people their national home in Palestine.

With victory for the United Nations must come liberation for all oppressed peoples.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## SPAIN

**Resolution No. 154—By Delegates** L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Dictator Franco has been put into power only through the military aid of Mussolini, and Hitler Fascist armies, and

WHEREAS, Rotting in Franco prisons are representatives of the labor movement and all democratic forces that carried on the struggle against Fascism, and

WHEREAS, At the present moment Spain has become a haven of all fascist groups from Germany who have a great hold on its economy and research facilities working for a third world war, and

WHEREAS, The United Nations went on record not to recognize governments which were put in power through outside aid, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. as far back as 1937, went on record, at Miami, Fla., to sever diplomatic connections with Franco Spain, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we delegates go on record to do all in our power to urge President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, to break relations with Franco Spain and recognize the Republican government-in-exile, and be it further



**RESOLVED**, that a copy of this resolution be sent to all our legislators in Congress requesting them in the name of peace and democracy to lift their voices in Congress to break all relations with Fascist Spain.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### PRICE CONTROL

**Resolution No. 156**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. N. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

**WHEREAS** Monopoly capital, properly called by F. D. Roosevelt, "Economic Royalists," has started a campaign to weaken labor by abolishing price control and introducing anti-labor legislation in Congress, and **WHEREAS**, Their lobbyists have made many gains with our Congressmen who have done the bidding of the National Association of Manufacturers, and

**WHEREAS**, The N. A. M. is trying to bring about an economy or restriction of production and unlimited profits through inflation, driving our country into economic ruin, unemployment and social chaos, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we delegates assembled in convention, go on record to remember, in November, the record of every Congressman and Senator who voted against O. P. A. and for the Hobbs, Case and other anti-labor bills, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we call on the A. F. of L. to use the tremendous organizational power of the A. F. of L. unions to encourage demonstrations against runaway prices, for a strong price control bill, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we request the A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Committee to adhere to our long-time position of "Rewarding our Friends and punishing our Enemies," not to endorse any candidate who voted against continuation of O. P. A. and for the anti-labor bills.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

**Resolution No. 157**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

**WHEREAS**, The Fair Employment Practice Committee has done more to extend our democracy than any piece of legislation in our country, and

**WHEREAS**, There are powerful forces in and out of Congress and State legislative halls who seek to undermine the Fair Employment Practice Committee, and

**WHEREAS**, Such a measure as the F. E. P. C. is not just a war measure, but must continue in peace time, and

**WHEREAS**, The F. E. P. C. has been greatly weakened through legislative action thus encouraging a growth of discrimination, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we delegates assembled in convention go on record in favor of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee and call on our legislatures throughout the country to work for legislation which would make the Fair Employment Practice Committee a permanent structure in extending and protecting democracy for all people, regardless of race, color or creed.

As the convention has already acted upon this subject, no further action is required on this resolution.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: Are there any objections to the adoption of the committee's report just read? Hearing none, it is so ordered and the committee's report is adopted.

### EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

**Resolution No. 160**—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, Margaret Mahr, Herman Finkelstein, Martin Lawlor, Alex Rose, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

**WHEREAS**, The so called "Equal Rights" Amendment defeated in the Senate near the close of the 79th Congress would, if adopted, destroy the labor laws and other protective legislation for women enacted in our several States after years of struggle, and

**WHEREAS**, Sponsors of this legislation will continue to press for passage of this amendment and are trying to win the support of some of our labor organizations, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor at its sixty-fifth convention meeting in Chicago reaffirm its opposition to this Equal Rights Amendment, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor advise its affiliated local unions of the dangers of this proposed amendment and urge them to oppose it and do all they can to bring about its defeat.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY**: Your committee now brings in a report on the question of Communism.

### SPECIAL REPORT ON COMMUNISM BY THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Your committee believes that this convention should adopt a statement, relative to its attitude toward Communism, which will inform American trade unionists, the public, and all public officials, of the position of the American Federation of Labor.

In presenting the subject your committee will submit no examination of the various forms of collectivism or communism which

have been applied for a number of centuries by groups with strong religious convictions. Neither will it dwell upon the basic theories of modern Communism, or the adherence to the substance of Communism by Lenin and Stalin, and the interpretations and the modifications which they have made and applied.

It is our purpose to present a definition of Communism in the sense in which we use that term in this report, so that when trade unionists use it there will be no mistake, no misunderstanding of what is being referred to, for no term is being more loosely applied in conversations, in the press, and in public life.

Assuredly Communism is an extreme of radicalism or reactionism, but the great majority of those in our country who have advanced liberal or radical views are not Communists; generally they are vigorous anti-Communists in the proper use of that term. In the definition of Communism submitted, your committee believes it is fully justified in definitely applying it to the Communist dictatorship which has been established in Russia and the activities of that dictatorship as it is applied in international relations.

It is not the Communist theory, or deviation from it, by those now controlling the Russian people which concern us. Whatever may be the effect of the Communist dictatorship upon the people of Russia and their opportunities to expand free institutions, and advance their own standards of living, is their problem and not ours.

What does concern us, and concern us vitally, is the efforts of Moscow to actively and systematically interfere in the internal affairs of Americans; their form of government, and their institutions of human freedom, and internationally to use the Communist dictator's influence to prevent the development and expansion of free institutions in other countries whose people desire to be free and self-governing under a constitution approved by them, and under a government of laws enacted by those freely elected by the people to represent them.

Our fully justified opposition to Russian Communism is its active and persistent determination to make use of American institutions, freedom of speech and of the press, to spread within our borders the poisonous and subversive doctrine that our institutions and our freedom are a delusion and a snare. That under them we are helpless to solve our internal social and economic problems. That the only way by which Americans can save themselves is to accept the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, which in Russia is supine submission to the edicts of a Communist dictator, implemented by nation-wide blood and other purges, and the suppression of all free institutions.

It is not the theories of collectivism or totalitarianism upon which we are reporting, but Russian Communism in action.

Realizing that the progress of Russian Communism in other nations would depend upon winning labor's support, the Kremlin policy from the beginning was to have its agents and their followers infiltrate into the trade union movement of every country, and secure a controlling position in the formulation of trade union policy, and trade union education.

From the day the Communist Party in the United States was established, much of its energies were devoted to organizing so-called "cells" in local trade unions, other groups, and in manufacturing plants. Their methods were to spread dissatisfaction and suspicion in the workers' minds toward the structure of their organization, and the loyalty and integrity of their officers, and to create the belief that every employer, for that very reason, was an enemy of the workers. Furthermore their purpose was to foster the reasonable belief that government by law under free institutions enslaved instead of freed the workers.

Their effort to infiltrate into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor was largely futile. They gained no sound foothold. Their opportunity came when the C. I. O. was organized in 1935. The Communist Party in the United States immediately gave its public and official endorsement to the C. I. O. It gave that organization so much assistance from the first, that it secured a patronage which, by 1938, had led to the employment of over 280 active Communists as salaried C. I. O. organizers, and a number of others as part time workers. Many of these members of the Communist Party became officers in National Unions affiliated with the C. I. O. At present this condition is causing bitter division in the ranks of that dual organization, and already has greatly weakened its effectiveness. Unquestionably the majority of the membership of the C. I. O. is composed of loyal patriotic Americans who are now dismayed as they understand the use which Moscow is making of their organization.

The Communist Party in this country, early in its activities, established so-called schools, in which the zealous and plant members were taught the tactics of rioting, destruction of property and seizure of plants in connection with strikes, and in addition taught how to stir up workers so that they would strike. Some of the results of this were indicated during that period when to assist the treaty of friendship existing between the Nazi dictatorship and Russia, widespread strikes were engineered in American plants manufacturing munitions for national defense. It was not until Hitler attacked Russia that the Communists changed their party line on this subversive activity.

For reasons which it is difficult to understand, the Communist Party in the United States was able to place dependable members of the Party in many of the Federal Departments, including the Department of State. The entire story of this infiltration has not yet been told, but it is known that members of the Communist Party employed in government departments, purloined secret state and other papers, many of which were vital to national defense, which were photostated before being returned to their files, and the photostats forwarded to Moscow. Some of the documents were reproduced in Communist publications in this country. The daily press has kept the American public informed of some of the steps being taken by the authorities to eliminate known Communists from positions in the Government, and to provide that in the future no one could be on the

Federal payroll who was engaged in subversive activities.

As American trade unionists we are carrying aloft the torch of human liberty which the Communists now seem determined to extinguish, so that conceptions of human liberty, conceived by our European ancestors in rebellion against tyrannical government, and upon which we have built our nation, with its free institutions, can be eliminated from the world, and a godless, arbitrary dictatorship established in its place.

The issue presented by Russian Communism, which the Kremlin is endeavoring to force upon the world, is the most vital one which our people have faced since they won the revolution, and shook off the control over them which had been imposed by Great Britain's King and Parliament, in which our Colonial ancestors had neither voice nor vote.

Russian Communism, by every means at its command, is endeavoring to establish in our country, the same conditions which now exist in Russia under the domination of a dictator, where any opposition to him or the form of government which he controls, becomes treason to the state to be punished as such.

The American Federation of Labor, without exception, has vigorously opposed any economic or political theory which subordinated the rights of the individual to the domination of the state. From our Colonial period Americans have defended the proposition that the state exists solely for the people who live in it, in contradiction to the former European conception that monarchs and rulers were vested with a divine right to exploit the people and keep them under arbitrary control. In the United States Americans have been the rulers and the state made responsive to the will of the majority.

Throughout the history of the American Federation of Labor it has opposed every effort by the state to encroach upon labor's constitutional rights; its right to voluntary association; its right to formulate those policies for its welfare which were of its own choosing. If we are to have free enterprise there must be free labor, and there cannot be either unless as Americans we maintain our free institutions. Whenever the state has interfered with labor's basic rights, labor has aroused its membership, won public support, and through this secured, not only necessary remedial legislation, but legislation which more clearly defined labor's right, including the declaration that labor could not be looked upon by the state or by employers as a commodity or an article of commerce.

There can be no loyalty by any citizen to our nation's form of government and its institutions of freedom, if they give their first allegiance to the Communist dictatorship and the policies emanating from the Kremlin.

Americans, through the application of free institutions under a written constitution and government by law through the people's chosen representatives, have advanced socially, educationally and materially to a greater extent than any modern nation. Wage earners through their trade unions have won the right to discuss every problem with their employers, and work out mutually acceptable understandings.

While there remains much to be done in

the interest of American wage earners, while they have not achieved the full standard of living to which they are entitled, the fact remains that in no country in the world at the present time is labor better situated than in the United States, and nowhere else does labor enjoy the same degree of industrial democracy.

Communism at present is the most dynamic, reactionary force in our country. If Communism should control, then every social, economic and political right which Americans have won since the Revolutionary War would be destroyed.

American workers will not surrender the advantages they have gained, or the opportunities in the future, for a government under which the workers must listen first for their master's voice before they dare to speak.

Your committee recommends that this convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its vigorous and unyielding opposition to the establishment in our country of any form of dictatorship, either of the right or the left, and that it further carry on a constant and wide-spread education, so that the machinations, the methods, and the purposes of Communists in carrying on subversive activities will be exposed and defeated.

Committee Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded by Committee Chairman Woll.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the reading of the report and the motion is to adopt. Are there any remarks? If there are no remarks, all who favor the adoption of the committee's report, please say "aye." Those opposed say "no."

The report is unanimously adopted by this great convention.

DELEGATE MacGOWAN, Boilermakers: Mr. President, I rise at this time for the purpose of offering a motion in connection with that section of the Resolutions Committee report just adopted, and with your indulgence I would like to preface it with a very few remarks.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Yes, sir.

DELEGATE MacGOWAN: The Committee on Resolutions in this report, in my opinion, has done a job that has long been needed, a job of attempting to thoroughly and factually analyze the subversive activities of the Communist Party and the fellow travelers in the United States. The term "Communist" has been rather loosely applied, as the committee's report indicates. Newspaper commentators, radio commentators, have attempted to stigmatize every progressive or liberal idea by branding it "Communism."

The report of the committee attempts to clear the atmosphere by definitely analyzing the whole question of Communism. I think that the field forces of the national and international unions composing this convention and this Federation of Labor should have this document in their supplies, so that they might quote from it and use it extensively. For that reason I offer a motion

that the officers or the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have this report printed in pamphlet form for general distribution.

The motion was seconded by Delegate George, Post Office Clerks, and carried by unanimous vote.

### CONTROL OF ATOMIC RESEARCH AND POWER

(Page 64, Executive Council Report)

We recommend approval of the proposal submitted by our American representative on the Atomic Commission. That proposal is the only suggestion that would assure the world against use of atomic power for war purposes. It puts under an international authority effective control of all fissionable materials, plants, stock piles, research. The right of inspection with provisions for punishment for infraction of agreements, makes control effective when the plan is approved. As scientists generally agree, it is impossible to make nuclear fuels incapable of reconversion for war uses, the authority must have exclusive control over the atomic field.

The agreement which authorizes control by an international authority must simultaneously provide all necessary conditions. It is essential that use of veto power should be prohibited with respect to the administration of the International Authority.

We urge our Government not to compromise on the principles incorporated in the American Plan.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### PEACE TREATIES

(Page 73, Executive Council Report)

The Peace Conference in Paris has had to contend with conflicts between two basic systems of government in which democracy, freedom and administration have different and conflicting definitions. The Communist-controlled countries believe in highly centralized domination of the people governed with enforcement in the hands of the secret police with absolute power to arrest and sentence. Democratic countries believe in representative government providing majority rule with individual freedom assured by civil liberties and rule of law. The Slavic countries have operated as a bloc against democratic countries and have sought expansion and power.

The peace treaties for the five enemy nations are necessarily compromises. Decisions have not been reached upon Trieste nor upon freedom of traffic on the Danube. Decision on the trusteeship of the Italian colonies was also deferred for a year. The Soviet insistence upon sharing this trusteeship has no basis in war contributions but is part of their

policy to secure "friendly" relations with Mohammed nations. These nations could be used for an anti-European revolt, which could give the U. S. S. R. control over North Africa, most strategic in air operations. The U. S. S. R. is seeking to reopen the Dardanelles agreement, and force unilateral terms upon Turkey without consulting other interested countries.

Treaties determining the future of Germany and Austria yet to be made are even more fateful for the future of world peace and progress. As the future of Germany determines the economic life of Continental Europe and western democracies, we urge that the policies set forth in Secretary Byrnes' Stuttgart speech be the guide.

With democracy and employment, Germany and Austria will no longer be at the mercy of totalitarian armed force and there will be greater security for the Western Hemisphere. A further measure of security for Europe and freedom is recognition of Mohammed interests in North Africa.

Peace terms have yet to be determined for Japan. Civil war between the Communists and Nationals still harries China.

We are anxious to hasten the determination of peace so that armies of occupation can be withdrawn where possible. We hope countries in the throes of desperation and poverty will not turn from freedom and orderly progress.

Our own country has a heavy responsibility for helping those who would regain freedom while our labor movement and other voluntary organizations must assist workers and employers of other countries to regain free organization.

But we must guard against letting our desire for peace lead us to forego the force and insistence that are necessary for securing the kind of peace with justice that will be lasting. We are all weary of war, impatient with regimentation and controls, and long to return to the ways of peace, but only the determined and strong can have peace with security. Appeasement of obstructions will get us nowhere for the U. S. S. R. seek domination of other people's lives and countries, not freedom. We must beware also of the agents of the Communist Party within our own country, some of whom occupy strategic positions in our Government or control them through party followers. These persons have pledged allegiance to Moscow, not our democracy, and promote policies that bring foreign disfavor to our Government.

We urge upon our Government continued vigor and firmness in insisting upon policies to promote peace through justice to all and through opportunities for democratic self-government for all.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## AUXILIARY UNIONS

**Resolution No. 162**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Auxiliary unions based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry are contrary to and destructive of sound trade union principles, practice and philosophy, un-American and undemocratic, and are a species of racism and fascism that constituted the basic causes of the second World War which destroyed millions of human lives and billions in property, and

WHEREAS, Certain international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor still maintain auxiliary unions based upon color and race that deny their members voice and vote in the determination of policies affecting their wages and working conditions, resulting from the negotiation of agreements, or in the selection and election of officers that direct the affairs of the national or international organization, or delegates to the international or national conventions, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, October, 1946, go on record as condemning auxiliary unions as a form of taxation without representation, and call upon the national and international unions to abolish said auxiliary unions in the interest of justice and democracy to all of the members of unions, regardless of race, color, creed, country or ancestry.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the action of the Boston convention, 1943, and the New Orleans convention, 1944, on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## LABOR RACIAL RELATIONS WORKER

**Resolution No. 163**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, There are some million or more Negro workers who are loyal members of the American Federation of Labor who have racial-labor relations problems that require adjustment from time to time by the federal, national and international unions, not only for the welfare of the Negro workers but also to advance the organization and increase the power of the federal, national, international unions, city central bodies and state federations, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Chicago, October, 1946, go on record as favoring the appointment of a paid Labor-Racial Relations worker, with trade union understanding and sympathy with the program and philosophy of the A. F. of L. as a part of the staff of the President of the A. F. of L., with adequate facilities and means and cooperation, to conduct a long-range, sound and constructive educational program among the members of the A. F.

of L., with a view to eliminating the dangerous doctrines of the master race that threaten and endanger the American labor movement, the citadel of our American democracy.

Your committee is in sympathy with the objective of the resolution, and recommends it be referred to the Executive Council, A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## AMNESTY FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

**Resolution No. 164**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, More than a year after the end of hostilities, 1,500 conscientious objectors to war and conscription and other political offenders are still confined in Federal prisons, while 4,500 others, having completed their sentences, suffer continued punishment through the loss of civil rights, and

WHEREAS, Among these young men are many Negro objectors to jimcrow in the armed forces who, together with other conscientious objectors of all races and creeds, have been further penalized by the Department of Justice for fighting racial segregation and discrimination in the Federal prisons, and

WHEREAS, The reason of wartime necessity given for the imprisonment of most of these offenders no longer exists, and

WHEREAS, Only an executive amnesty can both free the imprisoned objectors and restore full civil rights to them and to the others already released, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we reaffirm the high tradition of the American Federation of Labor after World War I, urging the President of the United States to declare an immediate amnesty for all conscientious objectors and other political prisoners sentenced under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon the United States Attorney General to cease prosecution of such men.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, A. F. of L.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

**DELEGATE RANDOLPH:** Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention, the question of amnesty for political prisoners is one of the most important questions of our times in this country. It is a test of the genuineness of our democracy, as well as of the democratic processes.

Hostilities ended a year ago, but 1,500 of the 6,000 conscientious objectors and other political offenders sentenced under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 are still confined in Federal prisons. Many have sentences which will not expire until 1951. In addition, when they were sentenced, these

men lost valuable civil rights without which, in many states, they cannot vote, hold office, or obtain professional licenses, and are otherwise handicapped politically and economically.

Only an amnesty declared by the President of the United States can both free the 1,500 objectors still in prison and restore full civil rights to them and to the 4,500 others already released on parole or expiration of sentence.

The 6,000 political offenders for whom an amnesty is sought include conscientious objectors to war and conscription who based their stand on political, humanitarian, and religious grounds; Negro objectors to Jim Crow in the armed forces; advocates of Puerto Rican independence; Asiatic anti-imperialists; and Hopi Indians. They have committed no acts of moral turpitude and are not criminals. According to the last annual report of the United States Bureau of Prisons, however, the average sentence meted out to a religious objector in 1945 was 40.1 months, as compared to the 30.7 months given the typical violator of the white slave traffic act in 1945, or the 24.1 months imposed upon an offender under the narcotic drug laws.

It is significant that the American Veterans' Committee has lately declared its support of the release of all conscientious objectors from Federal custody.

The 1920 convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously adopted Resolution No. 24, urging the President, Attorney General, the Secretary of War "to make all efforts possible to secure the granting of amnesty to all prisoners whose political beliefs formed the basis of their prosecution, trial and imprisonment." This resolution was implemented by conferences between Attorney General Palmer and President Harding, on the one hand, and delegations composed of President Samuel Gompers and the heads of many international unions, on the other.

Whatever disagreement may be felt with the beliefs which led the political offenders of World War II to take their stand, punish them by continued imprisonment or deprivation of valuable civil rights amounts to political persecution of the type so strongly denounced in the amnesty resolution of the 1920 A. F. of L. convention. The reason of military necessity given when most of them were imprisoned no longer holds, of course, and it is fitting that a government which claims to be democratic remove wartime restrictions upon its citizens at the earliest possible moment.

Prison has also been the fate of conscientious objectors who struck against the payless labor in mental hospitals to which they were assigned by the Army officers in the Selective Service System. These conscientious objectors received no dependency allotments and were not protected by government insurance or other benefits. Mindful of the fact

that their employment under such conditions was further depressing low labor standards, a number went on strikes and were given prison sentences as a result. On several occasions the objectors urged termination of their employment in the hospitals because they did not wish to compete with free labor.

For these reasons a large group of Negro objectors sentenced under the Selective Service Act chose to go to prison rather than submit to induction into the armed services. Outstanding are the cases of Lewis P. Jones and Thomas Parks, both of New York City, who took their stand as objectors to military Jim Crow and not as pacifists. Parks was sentenced to two years imprisonment in 1942 and resented to a four-year term in 1945. After 106 days of a hunger strike at Danbury, Conn., Federal prison, he was finally released on August 12.

Parks and scores of other objectors, Negro and white, have been penalized severely by the Department of Justice, through its Bureau of Prisons, because of their determined fight against the prevailing system of Jim Crow in Federal prisons. They have been thrown into solitary confinement and declared ineligible for parole or "good time" release. Twenty-three striking conscientious objectors at the Danbury prison, for example, were held in solitary for four and a half months in 1943 before the prison authorities yielded to their demand for abolition of racial segregation in the institution's dining hall.

In August, 1945, Thomas Parks helped to organize a mass hunger strike of Negro prisoners at the Lewisburg, Pa., Federal penitentiary for a fairer distribution of preferred job assignments to Negroes. For more than a year an anti-Jim Crow strike by conscientious objectors has been in progress at the Ashland, Ky., prison, and similar actions have taken place at the Milan, Mich., Springfield, Mo., Tucson, Ariz., and McNeil Island, Wash., Federal prisons. One conscientious objector at the Milan correctional institution was even deprived of a year of "good time" for writing a letter protesting against the practice of a visiting Red Cross blood bank in segregating the blood of Negroes from that of whites. Amnesty for these men clearly merits the support of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Nine Presidents of the United States have declared amnesties, and since the end of hostilities, many amnesties have been proclaimed abroad. In 1795 President Washington granted an amnesty to all who participated in the Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, and subsequently Presidents John Adams, Madison, Lincoln, Johnson, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt availed themselves of their authority under the Constitution to pardon groups of persons charged with violating certain laws. Last Christmas Eve, President Truman himself gave a full par-



don to several thousand persons who had been convicted of violating Federal statutes but later served meritoriously in the armed forces.

In recent months amnesties have been granted to certain classes of political offenders in Brazil, Bulgaria, Greece, India, Italy, the U. S. S. R., Yugoslavia, and other countries. On August 15, the Canadian Minister of National Defense announced that all efforts to punish men who refused to comply with the conscription program in Canada during the war had ceased. This amounted to a general amnesty for some 14,000 men.

Moreover, the American military governments abroad have freed political prisoners in former enemy territory. Last fall, for example, General MacArthur effected the release of almost a million political prisoners in Japan, and this month Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay, deputy military governor in the American zone of Germany, proclaimed an amnesty for an equal number of young German political offenders under the age of twenty-seven.

Yet here in the birthplace of the Four Freedoms, the Government continues to punish 6,000 men who acted according to deep political, humanitarian, and religious principles. Justice Frank Murphy, in a Supreme Court decision several months ago reversing conviction of two religious conscientious objectors, expressed a widely held view when he said: "All of the mobilization and all of the war effort will have been in vain if, when all is finished, we discover that in the process we have destroyed the very freedoms for which we fought."

Mr. Chairman, I want to also read the resolution adopted in the American Federation of Labor convention in 1920 on this question. It is known as Resolution No. 24.

**RESOLUTION NO. 24. POLITICAL PRISONERS, ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION, JUNE 7-19, 1920**

WHEREAS, The signing of the Peace Treaty finds in American civil and military prisons, or under bail pending trial or appeal, numbers of men and women whose offense is of a purely political nature; and

WHEREAS, The sole justification for such prosecution and imprisonment, that of war-time necessity, no longer exists; and

WHEREAS, In all democratic countries of Europe which have been associated with us in the prosecution of the war, full amnesty has been granted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor, in fortieth convention assembled, that the further prosecution and imprisonment in the United States of political offenders is contrary to the democratic idealism and the traditions of freedom to which our country is committed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we accordingly urge

upon the President of the United States, upon the Attorney General of the United States, and the Secretary of War, to make all efforts possible to secure the granting of amnesty to all prisoners whose political beliefs formed the basis of their prosecution, trial and imprisonment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we accordingly urge upon the United States Senators and Representatives to support France's Joint Resolution, S. J. 171, for amnesty and S. 1233, to repeal the Espionage Law.

Now, the signers of that resolution were C. L. Shamp and Joseph W. Morton, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers; Edward I. Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters; William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists; Joe N. Weber, of the American Federation of Musicians; Benjamin Scheslinger, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; W. E. Bryan, of the United Leather Workers' International Union; J. A. Franklin, of the Boilermakers' International Union.

Brother Chairman and fellow delegates, you can readily see that the tradition of the American Federation of Labor is in harmony with the resolution as submitted on this question by the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It is the wish of the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters that this convention go on record expressing its collective will for the complete and absolute freedom of prisoners now languishing because of their political or religious beliefs and also because of their attitude on racial questions.

There is no finer expression of human idealism, as I see it, than the courage and the fortitude manifested by these men in prison today, because they said, "we are opposed to murder, even when committed by our nation; we are opposed to Government Jim-crow, even when it is conducted during a war."

This is an example of the nobility of the human spirit. It is a manifestation of the dignity of the human spirit, and I believe this convention ought to go on record as conforming to the traditions and policy expressed by our great institution in 1920. To that end I want to move to amend the report to provide that the convention go on record as supporting the resolution and taking the position that these political prisoners should be free.

No longer do we hear the hissing and hum of the Luftwaffe, of the deadly forces in the air that disturb and distract peaceful communities in the western democratic countries. No longer do you have the legions of Hitler ravaging the very countryside in Western and Eastern Europe. No longer do you hear the various thunderbolts of drendnoughts seeking to clear the sea lanes of deadly sub-



marines for the purpose of destroying human life.

At least the shooting war is over, and since the shooting war is over, our America should not have the slightest, the simplest form, of revenge in its heart, especially against its own nationals.

Think of it, Hjalmar Schacht, the genius that formulated the financial system to maintain the Hitler regime, is exonerated. Fritzsche, who was the collaborator with Goebbels who poisoned the well springs of world opinion, is free. Think of it, Von Papen, who was the agent that encompassed the destruction of Austria, is free.

Why do we keep in prison today a group of men merely because they disagreed with the question of war, merely because they disagreed on the question of jimcrow and merely because they had deep and profound religious convictions?

For that reason, I believe that this convention will be exhibiting a high degree of idealism if it goes on record supporting the resolution for the freedom of all political prisoners.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Delegate Randolph moves concurrence in the resolution.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL:** I rise to a point of order.

**DELEGATE RANDOLPH:** I move to amend the resolution.

**CHAIRMAN WOLL:** The motion is to refer.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The report of the committee is to refer the resolution to the Executive Council.

**DELEGATE RANDOLPH:** My motion was to amend the report to adopt the resolution.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I did not understand that you proposed to amend, but what you did move was concurrence in the resolution.

**DELEGATE RANDOLPH:** That's right, concurrence in the resolution.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** That's right.

**DELEGATE RANDOLPH:** Which would amount to amending the report.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The committee has not reported either non-concurrence or concurrence in the resolution. It has submitted a recommendation that it be referred to the Executive Council.

In accordance with parliamentary procedure, the motion to refer must be defeated before we can offer a motion to adopt or refuse to adopt the resolution.

**VICE PRESIDENT WOLL:** It is not my purpose to enter into a discussion upon the emotional appeal that has been presented to the convention. As a matter of fact, the committee is fully in sympathy with all that has been stated by the previous speaker. If that were all that was involved there would be no question about this committee recommending concurrence in the resolution.

First of all, may I say that there is no racial question involved in this resolution, because the question of amnesty for conscientious objectors applies to the white man, the black man and the yellow man as well, so there is no racial question involved.

The resolution reads:

"Resolved, that we reaffirm the high tradition of the American Federation of Labor after World War I, urging the President of the United States to declare an immediate amnesty for all conscientious objectors and other political prisoners sentenced under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940."

Why did your committee recommend reference of this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor? The committee was prompted by this consideration. The Selective Service Act is still in operation, whether we like it or not. It is true that the other day newspaper reports indicated that those in charge of the enforcement of that law will not draft any of our young men for the balance of this year. However, the implication is that at the end of the year, or at the beginning of the next year they shall again draft young men into the military service.

So long as this law is in effect, if we adopt this resolution and ask for amnesty for all political prisoners or all conscientious objectors, we are indirectly obviating and destroying the Selective Service Act, and if that is the purpose then we ought to act on that directly and not by indirection, for under it, if this resolution were adopted, we would place ourselves in this position, that when the Government again draws young men into the military service under the 1940 Selective Service Act, which is still in effect, everyone may really object to entering into that service, and under our declaration, if carried, they would not be required to give military service.

Is this convention prepared to place itself in that position? That is why we recommend that this matter be referred to the Executive Council so that they might act intelligently upon this question and fully in accord with the high spirit and motives enunciated by the previous speaker, but in a logical and a fair way and in a constructive manner, rather than in the manner proposed. That is why the committee recommended reference to the Executive Council, even though sympathetic to its purpose and objective, but by practical consideration moved to make that recommendation.

**DELEGATE GRAHAM,** Montana State Federation of Labor: Yesterday I made the statement that the Selective Service Act, considering it was a military act, was as liberal as possible in every provision to take care of conscientious objectors. I made that statement yesterday and I stand by it. I also made the statement that the Act, considering

it is a military act, is about as good as we can get, and that the fault is not with the Act, but with the administration of the Act, and that the blame for conscientious objectors being put in jail lays with local draft boards.

After the registrant received his serial number he has a questionnaire to fill out. That questionnaire provides that the man can state whether he is a conscientious objector or not, if he is opposed to war and why. The law provides that if a man is a conscientious objector he has to do useful work or be put in a civilian camp, but not in Class 1-A. If the draft board or the State Appeal Board is doubtful of the man, if they think he is hedging that he is not a conscientious objector, they can refer the case to the United States District Attorney to appoint a lawyer to make an investigation and report back to the Board.

I have known of a case where a bartender claimed to be a conscientious objector. He was put in that class, and in the meantime he beat up a man in the saloon. They had a regular fight. He was arrested and fined by the Justice of the Peace for fighting. He paid the fine, and the draft board took him up. He appealed to the State Board, and the State Board found that he said in his questionnaire that he was opposed to fighting. They further said that if he could fight in the saloon he could fight on the battlefield, and he was not a conscientious objector, and they put him in jail and he was sent to the Army.

When your Executive Council considers this thing, it is my opinion that a further study of the cases will show that the great majority of these boys that were sent to prison were sent there through a miscarriage of justice. They were put in 1-A, they were ordered for induction. They refused to go, they were brought before the Judge and the Judge sentenced them for violating the law, when actually the ones who violated the law were the members of the draft board when they put them in Class 1-A. No draft board has a right to put a conscientious objector in Class 1-A, under the law.

Now it is not alone Jehovah Witnesses who are taken up as conscientious objectors. I know of Catholics as well as Protestants of all denominations who have registered as conscientious objectors, and we have a lot of the children of Israel, the Jews, who are opposed to fighting. There was no necessity for calling on the conscientious objectors to fight. We had enough men in the armed forces without putting these men in. When the war with Japan and Germany was over we still had a reserve force of more than six million who had never seen active service, and yet they were in the armed forces.

Our problem in this country was not to get men for the armed forces, it was a problem of production.

I know lots of these boys, I have seen their questionnaires and their request for deferment. They come of God-fearing families. They learned their prayers at their mother's knee, they knew the law of the land, and they were opposed to fighting. We respect religion and tolerance in this country. I believe in tolerance and I believe in democracy, and I am talking for democracy. Our country is one where democracy has flourished. It took seventeen centuries from the time democracy returned to the planet until we adopted it in this country, and democracy must have tolerance. If we are not careful this wave of intolerance that is going on in this country is going to destroy our country.

The religious people who are opposed to war and opposed to fighting should not be squelched. If they are squelched, then we will have no religious freedom in this country, and I hope that when the Executive Council takes charge of this resolution they will do everything possible to see that justice is done these boys who are imprisoned for conscientious and religious reasons.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

### PIPE FITTING TRADES

**Resolution No. 166**—By Delegates Frank J. Thill, Saint Paul, Minnesota Trades and Labor Assembly.

WHEREAS, The President of the Miami Central Labor Union, Mr. Roy Singer, has sent a letter to the secretary of all central labor unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, requesting that central labor unions petition the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to set up an organization and charter local branches of men engaged in the refrigeration and air conditioning industries, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has awarded all branches of the pipe fitting industry, including refrigeration and air conditioning, to the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, and that pipe fitters members of the United Association have always installed refrigeration and air conditioning, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to disregard the petition, if and when one is submitted to set up a new organization, as there are enough international unions now within the American Federation of Labor to properly handle all work in connection with the manufacture and installation of refrigeration and air conditioning equipment.

Your Committee having carefully considered the subject matter in Resolution No. 166 introduced by delegate from the St. Paul, Minnesota Trades and Labor Assembly concurs in the aforesaid resolution.

Furthermore, we desire to point out to the

delegates to this convention that the action taken by the Miami Central Labor Union in attempting to create another craft is directly contrary to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor as written in Article XI, Section 4, page 31 which is as follows:

"The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means TO ORGANIZE AND CONNECT AS LOCAL UNIONS TO NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL UNIONS THE ORGANIZATIONS IN THEIR VICINITY; to aid the formation of National or International Unions WHERE NONE EXIST, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization."

It is, therefore, the unanimous recommendation of your committee that not only should the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor disregard any petition which may be presented to create a new craft but that the delegates to this convention should specifically condemn the unconstitutional procedures being followed by the Miami Central Labor Union in its attempts to bring into existence another craft whose members would be performing work already done by long established affiliates of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

**DELEGATE DURKIN:** United Association: I rise to support the recommendation of the committee and I wish to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that this is not a jurisdictional dispute of any kind. It is a protest against the action taken by the Miami Central Labor Union in violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor governing central labor unions. The Miami Central Labor Union took action for the purpose of setting up a separate craft for those engaged in the installation and repair of refrigeration.

I am sure all the delegates to this convention know that there are established international unions having jurisdiction over refrigeration, and that refrigeration is not a new thing. Refrigeration has been installed in this country prior to 1900, in artificial ice making plants, cold storage plants, commercial establishments, such as butcher shops, delicatessen stores, ice cream parlors and others too numerous to mention.

Now the Miami Central Labor Union had instructed their delegates to this convention to appear before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of asking a separate craft to be established for these men engaged in the installation and repair of refrigeration.

They were not satisfied with that action alone, but on September 11, 1946 they sent to all other central labor unions a communication requesting them to instruct their delegates to this convention to appear with them before the Executive Council in order that a separate craft be established which

would carry on further jurisdictional disputes within the American Federation of Labor.

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor prescribes that central labor unions shall assist national and international unions having jurisdiction over work, to see that the men in their community belong to organizations affiliated with the United Association. So the action to be taken by this convention on the recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions is to see that the Central Labor Union of Miami and others comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL:** The Committee on Resolutions will yield now to the Committee on Law, not that we have finished by any means, but before yielding I would like to have the minutes of yesterday's proceedings corrected.

### Correction in Proceedings— Resolution 125

**VICE PRESIDENT WOLL:** In dealing with Resolution No. 125, the change of title of the Hod Carriers, page 542 of the seventh day's proceedings. The recommendation of the committee was that the subject matter be referred to the Building and Construction Trades Department, and by it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for action.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The correction will be made.

The Chair now recognizes Vice President Dubinsky, Chairman of the Committee on Law.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Vice President Dubinsky, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

To the officers and delegates of the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your Committee on Laws have had submitted to us for consideration that part of the Executive Council's Report dealing with A. F. of L. Revenue, as set forth in Article X, Section 1, of the Constitution, which the Executive Council proposes be amended.

Your committee, having given full and careful consideration to the proposal desires to report and recommend, as follows:

#### A. F. OF L. REVENUE

(Pages 87-88, Executive Council Report)

The Executive Council has made a thorough study of our financial experiences for the past five (5) years. This study shows that the General Fund income of the Federation increased progressively during 1941, 1942, 1943

and 1944 and then dropped substantially in 1945. The expenditures from the General Fund for this same period of time also followed this same general trend. In round numbers, the figures are as follows:

<i>Income</i>	<i>General Fund Expenses</i>
1940.....\$1,609,000.00	1940.....\$1,596,000.00
1941.....1,967,000.00	1941.....1,898,000.00
1942.....1,993,000.00	1942.....1,933,000.00
1943.....2,264,000.00	1943.....2,107,000.00
1944.....2,378,000.00	1944.....2,441,000.00
1945.....2,009,000.00	1945.....2,139,000.00

It will be seen from these figures that the peak income to the General Fund came in 1944 in the amount of \$2,378,000.00—then it dropped to \$2,009,000.00 in 1945 representing a drop of \$369,000. Likewise the peak expense to the General Fund was in 1944 which was a figure of \$2,441,000. In 1945, this figure was \$2,139,000.00—a drop of \$302,000. While both expenses and income to the General Fund showed a reduction in 1945 as against 1944, it is significant that the drop in income was \$67,000.00 greater than the drop in expenses. It is also worthy of note that the drop in expenses in 1945 as against 1944 came solely as the result of a substantial decrease in the number of paid Organizers working for the American Federation of Labor.

In our study of the finances of the past five years, we gave particular attention to the organizing figures because organizing expenses constitute the major portion of our over-all outgo. In this connection, we find that it cost the American Federation of Labor an average of \$142.00 a month in 1940 to maintain a paid organizer in the field. In 1945, this average cost per organizer per month had risen to \$624. Under these circumstances, it seems reasonable for the Council to conclude that even if the General Fund income were to be maintained at the 1945 level for the next few years, we could not keep our finances in balance unless we reduced our expenditures for organizing purposes. In the final analysis, in the opinion of the Council the present per capita tax rates established by the Seattle convention in 1941 and which have been adequate to carry us through the past five years will not be sufficient in the future because of the increased cost of all our operations during this period of time. Salaries paid to organizers are higher; expenses for organizers are higher; salaries paid to office workers are higher; and our printing and miscellaneous expenses are also higher than they were in 1941.

The trend in the past two years is best indicated by the fact that despite a good income rate to the General Fund in the twenty-four (24) months since the start of our September 1, 1944, fiscal year, the General Fund expenditures have exceeded income in the amount of \$338,000. It is evident, therefore, that if the American Federation of Labor is to meet the demands made upon it for organizing purposes and for adequate service to our affiliates, that there must be some increase in income to the Federation. The Executive Council therefore recommends to the convention of the American Federation

of Labor that the income of the Federation be increased by the following changes in our constitution:

Section 1 of Article X which now reads as follows:

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies as follows. From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one and one-half (1½) cents per member per month up to 300,000 members and one (1) cent per member per month for members in excess of 300,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five and one-half (35½) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State Bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

shall be amended to read.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two (2) cents per member per month up to 200,000 members, and one and one-half (1½) cents per member per month for members in excess of 200,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-six (36) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local unions from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State Bodies \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany appeared before the committee and explained in detail the extent to which necessary expenditures of the American Federation of Labor had been increased since 1941. Your committee is in agreement and concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council concerning the need for increasing the per capita tax paid to the Federation by affiliated national and international unions, so as to permit the American Federation of Labor to maintain and expand its organizing work throughout the country and to meet the increased costs of its day to day activities, as well as maintain its prestige as the predominant labor organization in this nation.

Your committee, therefore, recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's report and that Section 1 of Article X be amended to read as follows:

**SECTION 1.** The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two (2) cents per member per month up to 200,000 members, and one and one-half (1½) cents per member per month for members in excess of 200,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-six (36) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local unions from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State Bodies \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

Committee Chairman Dubinsky moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY:** I want to add that this committee's report has been adopted by fifteen of the seventeen members present, and with two dissenting votes. I understand that Brother Killen was one of the two minority members of the committee and wants to submit a minority report.

#### MINORITY REPORT—INCREASE IN PER CAPITA TAX

Delegate Killen, a member of the Law Committee, submitted the following minority report:

To the officers and delegates of the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The minority of your Committee on Laws joins with the majority in recommending the increase of one-half of one cent per member per month in the per capita tax paid to the Federation by all affiliated national and international unions.

However, your minority opposes that portion of the Executive Council's recommendation which is supported by a majority of the Committee on Laws, which would reduce from 300,000 members to 200,000 the level at which the lower per capita tax would take effect.

We believe such action reduces the potential revenue to the Federation at a time such revenue is most needed and enlarges the area of discrimination practiced against the smaller organizations in terms of cost per member per month of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Your minority, therefore, recommends, Mr. President, that the report of the majority be amended by striking the term "200,000 members" in the proposed constitutional pro-

vision, and substituting, therefore, the term "300,000 members" as in the present constitution.

I move the adoption of the minority amendment.

JAMES S. KILLEN  
JOHN FORSTER

Delegate Killen moved the adoption of the minority report.

The motion was seconded.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** You have heard the reading of the minority report, and the motion is to substitute the minority report for the majority.

**DELEGATE KILLEN,** Pulp and Sulphite Workers: Mr. President and delegates to this convention, you may think it strange that such a small minority of the Law Committee have exercised their privilege of bringing in a minority report on this issue. The signers of the minority report feel that they owe to this convention a very brief statement as to why they have done this, as to why they feel it is both desirable and important. We feel the subject matter of the committee's report is of basic and fundamental importance to the continued welfare of the American Federation of Labor. We feel that every opportunity should be given not only the members of the committee but all members of the convention to discuss this question fully, completely and thoroughly.

We are in complete agreement with the remarks that we have repeatedly heard voiced by our worthy President, that the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are an open forum for the discussion of such matters as may properly be brought before it. We are taking advantage of that position in bringing in this minority report this morning.

Now it would seem desirable to have a statement clearly of what the issue is. As we have stated in our report, we are in complete and wholehearted agreement with the majority of the committee in recommending approval of the proposed increase in per capita tax to this American Federation of Labor by all national and international affiliated unions. The sole point of difference, however, deals with that proposal which would reduce from 300,000 members to 200,000 the point at which the reduced per capita tax would take effect. The remark has been made more than once, if 300,000 is O.K., how can 200,000 be so radically unsound? Let me say for the minority that basically we believe there should be no line of demarcation whatsoever, and we hope the day is not far distant when a convention of the American Federation of Labor will see its way clear to completely remove and erase such a line as now exists at the conclusion of this convention.

Some of our remarks, perhaps, will bear on the causes for complete removal of this difference, but in view of the fact that that issue

was not before the convention nor before the committee, no specific recommendation is before the convention dealing with it.

Now, how did this thing come about? Shortly before the war it became apparent to the American Federation of Labor that the present method of raising revenue and the amount of tax was not sufficient to permit the Federation of Labor to transact its business in a satisfactory and competent manner. There was also considerable dissatisfaction with an assessment which was at that time being levied against the affiliated national and international unions.

In 1939 the Pulp and Sulphite Workers' International Union brought before the convention a resolution which would have discontinued the assessment and raised the per capita tax by an amount sufficient to give the Federation of Labor sufficient funds. That resolution was defeated.

However, the Executive Council, recognizing the need for such action at a subsequent convention, brought in a nearly identical recommendation to the convention. That was in 1941 and it was before the Law Committee. The Law Committee, as I recall, unanimously expressed itself in favor of the Executive Council's recommendation. However, during the time the Law Committee was in session a supplemental report of the Executive Council was reported to the committee. The supplemental report initiated this idea of a line drawn at the 300,000 membership point, which would give some financial advantage to those organizations which had membership in excess of 300,000.

Very persuasive arguments were used by the proponents of that proposal to the committee, and finally the committee voted to go along with the supplemental report of the Executive Council. As a result, it has been on the statute books of this Federation of Labor since that time.

In other words, we had a situation where the Federation needed more money. The convention voted an increase in per capita tax, but at the same time told the big unions they could have an advantage, they would receive special consideration, they would be permitted to pay less per capita tax on a portion of their membership than the smaller unions.

That has prevailed, as I say, until the present time. Again the American Federation that the big unions receive a better of raising the per capita tax, and again the Executive Council brings in a recommendation that the big Unions receive a better advantage than they have been receiving heretofore. Now, I submit, Mr. President, where do we go from here? Perhaps we shall have to raise the per capita tax again some day. I don't know the answer, but I think a lot of people would like to know the answer.

Now, several have asked the question why is this discriminatory? We have used the term "discriminatory." It is alleged that it is not discriminatory. Well, perhaps I do not know the meaning of the word "discrimination." This American Federation of Labor is a federation of unions, and let us say it is a union of unions, and as individual members of our respective unions we pay our dues and our initiation fees and our assessments—whatever they may be as they come due. I think the majority of the international unions affiliated with this Federation of Labor charge the same dues to all of their members, unless they draw a line at a matter of income level, and the higher your income the higher your dues. It would seem in the American Federation of Labor the higher your income the lower your dues.

Now, I submit here, Mr. President, that this policy is discriminatory on two counts. For the big unions they have a lower average cost of affiliation per member to the Federation and they pay less money into the Federation of Labor in relation to the votes they can command on the floor of the convention than do the smaller unions. Now, it is true, as has been said, that we don't very often have a vote on the floor of the convention. It is taken by roll call, and the strength of the voting power of the various unions doesn't have too much significance.

The first is true; the second is not. On basic issues fifty delegates, I believe it is, according to the report of the Committee on Rules, can ask for a roll call and the basic way of making decisions in conventions is by roll call and it seems to me that an organization of 400,000 or 500,000 or 600,000 members or, yes, 200,000 or 250,000 should be required to pay the same per capita tax for their votes as an organization with 10,000 or 25,000 members.

Now, if this is not discrimination, I would ask someone to give me a definition of discrimination as it might conceivably be practiced in this convention.

Now, there is another angle that I think bears consideration. We have heard on the floor of this convention that the Federation of Labor needs additional funds for many purposes. We heard a very learned and clear discussion of that point the other day when we were talking about the Workers' Educational Bureau, the need for education on the part of our membership, on the part of some of us ourselves, perhaps, but it was pointed out that that all costs money. Now, here we are proposing that we raise the per capita tax with our right hand and take it back with our left, and reduce it with our left.

To me it seems rather inconsistent. Maybe some of these organizations find it necessary to plead poverty. Maybe per capita tax should



be based on ability to pay. I think it would provide an interesting subject of discussion before the convention.

Now, I don't want to wax too enthusiastic on this question. It strikes some of us as being rather important, rather basic, rather fundamental. It seems that the one and only argument in favor of this program is that it will increase the membership of the American Federation of Labor. That is a most worthwhile and worthy objective, but we have laws and a constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which were quoted by the worthy chairman of the Law Committee for certain per capita tax as being paid on the paid-up membership of the affiliated international unions. Are we to understand that there are unions in the American Federation of Labor that do not pay per capita tax in accordance with the constitution and by-laws of the Federation? I trust not. Each of us in our respective state federations of labor have fought at times for the enactment of so-called kick-back legislation to prevent the employer from demanding back from his employees a portion of their pay in order to hold their jobs. Certainly the American Federation of Labor is not proposing to make rebates to international unions in order to solicit their membership. I do not think that is the policy which the American Federation of Labor desires to practice, nor do I believe that the American Federation of Labor desires to have within its midst groups which could be referred to as special interests for whom special legislation is enacted in order to command their support of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, I think these are the thoughts that have been expressed around the hotel rooms, around the lobbies, out here in the hallway, dealing with this problem. Let us drag them out in the open and see if there is anything to them. Let us have a completely full and factual discussion on the merits of this proposal and if the proponents of the proposal can prove that it is necessary, that it is just, that it is fair, that it furthers the practices of equity among all the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, I shall withdraw my comments.

I want to make it quite clear while the thought comes to my mind, that neither I nor the one other signer of the minority report—God bless him—propose to toss any accusations or charges in the direction of any individual, any group, any union or anything else in dealing with this subject. I want that very clearly understood. This recommendation has come in from the Executive Council, and I know it is their studied judgment, and we are not accusing the Executive Council of anything except an error in judgment.

There is one point which I want to make

before I sit down, and I have already taken up too much of your time now, and that is this—and I think this is interesting, for what it is worth—the Law Committee met last Friday. We discussed this one issue which was before us. Due to the unavoidable absence of our very able secretary I was asked to serve as secretary. We asked Secretary-Treasurer Meany to come before the committee and discuss with us the whole question of per capita tax. Secretary Meany did a very competent job and he told us in great detail why the Federation of Labor needed this additional revenue. He outlined the increases and the fixed costs of the Federation, the increases in salaries of the organizers, and pointed out very clearly and to everyone's satisfaction that the revenue of the Federation of Labor must be increased.

So, the committee discussed the question at length for a period of two and a half hours, and I believe that every member of the committee had an opportunity to be heard. We considered the pros and cons of the whole thing and finally by a vote of 11 to 7, the committee voted to go along with the Executive Council's Report, except that the 200,000 be re-established at 300,000. In other words, the majority of the committee, by a vote of 11 to 7, supported the position which your minority is now taking.

The week-end elapsed and another meeting was called, and by a vote of 17 to 2 the present report which you have before you as the majority report was adopted.

I only recite the facts; I can't explain the phenomena.

Now, Mr. President, in all sincerity, I urge this convention to give most serious consideration to the report of your minority in its desire to spike the restriction for the time being of the existing level at which the reduced per capita tax is effective. Your minority feels that a grave injustice would be done if this was further reduced to 200,000. It has been said that this is a step in the right direction, that we might eventually get rid of it. I cannot follow the logic of such reasoning. It seems to me that if we were taking steps in the right direction to get rid of it and taking them bit by bit we would raise it to 400,000 rather than reduce it to 200,000.

I hope I have, at least, in part, expressed the sentiment of those of us who felt that this matter should be brought before this convention, urging the convention to give its favorable consideration and look forward to the day when we can have a complete erasure, a complete removal of this—permit me to say again—discriminatory practice in the collecting of the per capita tax from affiliated unions.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.



SECRETARY MEANY: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention: If my friend, Jim Killen, had followed the general procedure of those who seek information, asking the Secretary of the Federation about that strange phenomena by which the committee reconsidered its vote, I would have explained just what happened.

I don't think the question of the Federation needing increased revenue, needs to be discussed at length. I just want to give a short resumé of the circumstances that have brought us to the point where we now have our present revenue section in the constitution providing for this so-called discriminatory practice of having two rates of dues, one for all the membership in each international union below the 300,000 level, and another lower rate for all above the 300,000 level.

In 1937 the Federation saw fit to place an assessment on the general membership of 1 cent per member per month. That was done in an emergency convention in May of '37 in the City of Cincinnati. It was endorsed by succeeding regular conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and when we came into the 1940 convention at New Orleans our constitution still had the 1 cent per capita tax rate and the addition of a 1 cent per member per month assessment.

At the 1940 convention the Law Committee recommended the abolition of the assessment and the substitution of a 2 cents per member per month per capita tax for a period of one year, pending a study of the Federation's finances, and recommended also that the Executive Council undertake such a study.

That study was made, and in August of '41 the Executive Council adopted a report of its sub-committee and recommended to the convention  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per member per month for all members of national and international unions,  $35\frac{1}{2}$  cents per member per month for all members of federal unions, a deduction from  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ to  $8\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ per member per month in the amount allocated from the dues of federal labor union members to the Defense Fund. That recommendation was made after a great deal of study on the part of a sub-committee composed of Vice-Presidents Bugnietz, Harrison and myself.

During the Seattle convention the Executive Council made this supplemental report, in which they recommended that this 300,000 dividing line be established, under which the dues would be one and one-half cents per member below 300,000, and one cent above. That report went to the Law Committee and the Law Committee unanimously recommended to the convention the adoption of the Executive Council's original suggestion, as amended by the supplemental report. The convention, which in the final analysis is the all-powerful body of the American Federation of Labor, wrote that dividing line into the constitution

of the A. F. of L. So, if there is any discrimination in the constitution in regard to the payment of dues the responsibility for it rests on the convention of the American Federation of Labor. That section of the constitution has remained unchanged from 1941 to date.

There are ten members of the Law Committee who were members in 1941, including my good friend, Jim Killen, who are still members of the Law Committee. The Law Committee has power to initiate any changes and bring them to the attention of the convention, without having the subject matter submitted to them in the form of a resolution or as part of a section of the Executive Council's report. At no time since 1941 has there emanated from the Law Committee or from anyone else, for that matter, any recommendation to eliminate this so-called discrimination.

The plan laid down in 1941 to finance the Federation for the future—that is, as far in the future as it is possible to make a estimate or to foresee—has worked quite well. The records submitted to this convention show that we have kept ourselves in the black since 1941 and that the Federation has paid its bills and continued to expand its activities during all the years of the war, the most trying years, perhaps, in the history of the Federation.

Now, however, it becomes necessary to take a new look, to make new estimates, as to where we are going in the future. I stated at the 1941 convention, during the discussion and debate on this question, that it was my belief that the membership of this Federation would support the Federation, that I saw no need for the Federation building up a gigantic fund of any type, that our obligations did not require us to build up such a fund, that we were not a business institution—and I would like to state here today that we take great pride in pointing out that we are not a business institution. We hold bonds, United States Government Bonds, as per the constitution of the Federation. We buy them and we hold them. Every week we have bond salesmen, bond experts, trying to tell us how, by manipulating and selling certain bonds and buying certain others, we can gain a financial advantage. We adhere strictly to our position that we are not interested in that, that we seek no financial advantage in a business way, that we are not a business institution, that we are an institution formed for one purpose and one purpose alone, and that is to raise the standards of life and of work of the working people of this nation.

So, when you figure the finances of the Federation you can not make comparisons with business institutions.

Yes, a certain amount of judgment must be exercised in the spending of the Federation's money, but I think we should bear in mind the one particular function that we

have. Many times we spend money in defense of institutions connected with this Federation when we know in advance that we are going to lose. We are quite sure we are going to lose. For instance, when the C. I. O. raids sometimes we win and sometimes we lose, but at all times when they raid we fight, and when we fight it costs us money.

In August, 1941, we had \$207,000 in round figures in our General Fund. In August of 1942 we had \$217,000, so that we were \$10,000 in the black. In 1943 we had \$372,000. That meant we were \$165,000 in the black for that year. In 1944, on the credit side \$74,000. However, in 1945 we went \$222,000 in the red. In 1946, the fiscal year ending August 31, 1946, we went a total of \$183,000 in the red. It was necessary to transfer to the General Fund \$200,000 from the Defense Fund of the Federation.

I think the interesting figures, that indicate beyond question our need for more money, are our organizing figures. In 1941 we spent \$1,039,000 for organizing; in 1942, \$1,270,000; in 1943, \$1,270,000; in 1944, \$1,534,000; in 1945, \$1,547,000; and in 1946, \$1,453,000.

In the last three years we have averaged an expenditure of \$500,000 a year for organizing purposes more than we were spending for organizing purposes back in 1940. So the real question before the convention is not whether or not the Federation needs more money—that seems to be pretty well conceded—but as to whether or not there should be a change in the line of demarcation between the lower and higher dues.

The committee, studying this subject this year, recommended that the line be reduced to 200,000. Now, I don't know whether this is discrimination or not. If we are going to think in terms of financial discrimination I think there are two sides to it. I think we have got to think in terms of where we get our revenue, and for what purpose we spend that revenue. If we are going to collect money on the basis of absolute equity, then perhaps it would follow that we must spend the money on the basis of absolute equity. In other words, spend no more money for the benefit of an organization than that organization puts into the cash register. Well, we can't follow a policy like that. We are not that type of an institution. I am not going to embarrass any of the smaller organizations by reading to you records showing you what we have spent for them. All I can say for that is that we spend the money, and President Green carries the responsibility of deciding where the money shall be spent, with the advice, of course, and the consent of the Executive Council.

Let me tell you he has some difficult decisions to make. Please come in every day for help from federal labor unions, from national unions, from city and state organizations, and he has a tough job to decide where

we can spend the money that we have to spend. He can't be bound by any rules of absolute equity under which he would be precluded from spending any more money for the benefit of an organization than that organization had contributed. So, when you talk about discrimination on a financial level you have to consider it both ways.

I know of one organization in this Federation, a small organization below the 50,000 mark—and I suppose that is considered a small organization—that is paying dues to the Federation now at a rate that would take them 28 years to contribute what was spent in the years 1940, 1941 and 1942 by the Federation for the benefit of that organization.

I know another small organization, one small organization on which, in 1943, 1944 and 1945, we spent \$137,000, and we helped that organization to administer a substantial spanking to the C. I. O. Communists in their field. So let's not talk about equity on the question of Federation finances. This is an institution of human beings, not an institution of business or commodities that makes it necessary for us to think in terms of financial gain.

Now, I submit to you that it was the judgment of the committee and of the Executive Council that this level of 300,000 should be reduced. The controlling factor in that was this—and I am glad to hear my friend, Jim Killen, say that he hopes to see the day that the demarcation line will be wiped out. So do I. But under the present system—and let's think in terms of discrimination if that is the way you want it—75 per cent of the Federation has been discriminated against, because only 25 per cent now get the benefit of the lower dues. Under the plan submitted by the Executive Council 50 per cent of the Federation would get the benefit of the lower dues, so that there would only be 50 per cent discriminated against. So, if we are thinking in terms of discrimination the proposal of the Executive Council is less discriminatory than the present situation which exists in our Constitution and which is there. I submit, because the final power of this Federation put it there—a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE NOLL, Auto Workers: I have listened with a great deal of interest to this discussion, and I am very glad that Brother Meany spoke before you recognized me when I asked for the floor.

There have been some remarks made, Mr. Chairman, that we hope that some time there will come a day when this line of demarcation will be changed. Well, I hope for that time, too, and in my opinion that time is now. I think at this convention this pussy-footing and fiddling around and waiting for some future day ought to be done, and I think it is about time that we stop it now.

I don't believe that any member of any of

these organizations who are the so-called large unions would like to be placed into the category that they would be deprived of the right to carry their just burden in carrying on the work of the American Federation of Labor. I think it was unjust to mention the fact that we spend a great deal of money on some organizations because of a necessity to help them, and some of the stronger or larger local unions don't need their help. That doesn't follow, Mr. President, because in every international union, as well as in the Federation there are times when a great deal of money is spent on local unions which they couldn't pay back in a hundred years, but because when we help them we help ourselves and we help the labor movement. That is why we go out to organize new fields constantly.

I think that same position should be taken here by the Federation, and I will venture to say that every delegate in all these so-called large local unions would be more than happy to pay their just share.

Therefore, Mr. President, I believe that both majority and minority reports are wrong and I now make an amendment, that a flat two cents per member be charged to all international unions, large or small—and let's clean it up now.

DELEGATE WASHBURN, Auto Workers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second that motion.

PRESIDENT GREEN: What was the amendment?

DELEGATE NOLL: That no differential be made at all in the per capita tax and that the two cents, as the committee recommended, be adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Delegate Noll moves to amend the committee's report by providing that the per capita tax shall be two cents per member for all, a universal per capita tax of two cents per member from all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The amendment, the minority report and the majority report are before the convention.

DELEGATE DORIA, United Automobile Workers: On the amendment, Mr. Chairman, I believe that after sitting in this convention for as many days as we have already sat, listening to the deliberations of the delegates and the various actions taken by the convention on equality, assistance, and the type of activity that generally points to the assistance which we collectively try to give to each other, we are certainly stepping somewhat out of line when we attempt to continue in this Federation today and point to the fact that people, as members of this Federation, can be discriminated against. I am going with the minority report on discrimination by virtue of the fact that they have to pay more for the same voice in this convention than a larger international union has to pay for

that same equivalent voice, when it is reduced to the matter of votes.

I do not believe that any differential, where the matter of the power of the entire convention is determined upon the relationship of per capita tax to vote, can properly exist, and then say there has been either equity or equality with respect to such a problem in any group of people, whether it be this Federation or any other form of deliberative society. I believe that if the representation on the convention floor is based upon the amount of per capita tax paid, certainly the voting power of these unions should also be on this same basis.

Therefore, we can't accomplish that by creating a differential in the per capita tax paid to the American Federation of Labor.

Further, one of the most important works of the American Federation of Labor seems to me to be the assistance which can be given to the smaller international unions, the assistance which should come at a time most needed by those international unions. That assistance is not so necessary after they have attained a position of financial stability, where actually their contribution may be one of mere assistance to the Federation, but rather that assistance is of importance at a time when the international union finds itself in need of the assistance of the American Federation of Labor.

But what do we do with a proposition such as the one that comes before the convention today? We say to them, "When you are kind of weak we ride you kind of heavy, we act like squirrels that kill their young, and then when you attain financial stability you can have membership wholesale." What's the idea? It seems to me as though we are creating the same strata and level of people in American society today that labor is fighting.

A man in the plant goes to buy a refrigerator or he goes to the corner store and he pays the full price, and then we have the employer who goes to his friend and gets it wholesale, and yet he can well afford to pay the price.

We come into the convention, after criticizing such activities in our daily life, and we say you are a big powerful union, we appreciate the fact that you are contributing more, and we will give you membership wholesale.

Is it the objection of the larger international unions to making their contribution to the assistance of the weaker? I mean if we follow along that line of thought, then we are progressing to the ultimate dissolution of the American Federation of Labor, because if that theory is right, then we have got to assume that when all international unions become financially stable to the point where their contribution is merely charity, we are eliminating the American Federation of Labor

instead of making the strongest possible American Federation of Labor.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, in support of the amendment I certainly urge this convention that rather than wait and deliberate and think about something that ought to be done, that even Secretary Meany has agreed ought to be done, there is nothing to prevent us from taking that action here and now, supporting the amendment and once and for all wiping out this differential of dues wholesale in the American Federation of Labor.

**DELEGATE ERNST, Hotel and Restaurant Employees:** Mr. President and delegates, I have the honor to be a representative of one of the international unions that would benefit by the plan of Class A and Class B membership in the Federation, but I wholeheartedly support the amendment which was brought before you to increase the per capita tax to two cents per member per month and make it equal for all members.

I am guided in that determination by the report Secretary Meany made to the effect that some time back a smaller international union had to be supported to the extent that it had taken twenty-eight years to repay the investment in per capita tax.

Mr. President, I feel that that is the purpose of this Federation, to support the smaller organizations that haven't got the means or the membership to defend themselves against the onslaught by the C. I. O. or other inimical forces. These small organizations 99 times out of 100 are made the guinea pigs for these inimical organizations, to put the skids under labor, and unless we, the larger and more powerful and richer organizations come to their support wholeheartedly, we will never be able to eliminate the danger that threatens the larger organizations.

It goes without saying that the larger the international unions, the more powerful they are to fight their own battles without having to solicit aid and assistance other than moral from their fellow workers.

But if you take a smaller organization whose per capita tax hardly enables them to pay for the ordinary cost of running the union, unless you wholeheartedly put into the coffers of the organization sufficient money to protect them, you are just digging your own grave, because after they eliminate the smaller organizations we of the larger international unions are next on the carpet, and God knows what we are going to do unless we get the moral support of the weaker international unions.

I had the opportunity not so long ago to make a swing through a large part of the United States and, as is my custom, I came in contact with most of the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor and other international unions stationed in these particular areas. I want to tell you I was

ashamed to know and to understand that the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor are receiving the smallest compensation of any other Organizers. I want to see that thing corrected, I want to see the Federation Organizers receive not only a living wage but a saving wage, and on the money we are paying them now they cannot provide for their old age.

That is another very important reason why we should not neglect to put the money in the Federation that would give us the best talent available. If you pay a man only \$300.00 a month you will only get \$300.00 worth of service out of him, but if you are in position to pay him more for his services you are certainly going to be in a position to gather into the staff of the American Federation of Labor a better calibre of Organizers.

I believe it is self-evident that our organization is just like a bank: You have to put money in the bank before you can take any money out, and unless we put our per capita tax into that bank, which is the American Federation of Labor, we will never be able to get the things out of it that we are organized for.

I hope that this amendment to make the per capita tax two cents per member per month, applicable to all international unions, will prevail.

**DELEGATE GALLO, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers:** I rise in support of the minority report made some time ago. I happen to have the honor of representing one of the so-called small international unions, with a membership running about 30,000. While I heard the statement made by Secretary Meany about the support given to the small international unions, we happen to be one that takes a great deal of pride in the fact that we are a business institution, that we guard our money quite carefully, that we take care of our duties as best we can and that we have very seldom had to call upon President Green to give us assistance in the line of organizing work, because we have taken care of that ourselves.

A few years ago in one of these conventions the argument was presented to us that because the large international unions were confronted with a great deal of extra cost in the fighting of legislation and lawsuits and things of that kind, they ought to have some relief from the burden of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor. We went along with that ideology in the smaller organizations. Now we find, however, that in this convention they want to reduce that membership from 300,000 to 200,000, and probably next year it will be from 200,000 to 100,000, because we do hope they will eventually get down to that 30,000 group we happen to be members of.

I submit to you that if that was a logical argument back a couple of years ago in our convention, that argument still holds good today, and we ought to leave that discrimination figure stand where it is at the present time—300,000.

Mr. Chairman, I support the minority report.

DELEGATE LYNCH, Pattern Makers: Pursuant to the remarks of my good friend, George Meany, it is necessary for me to make my position clear in this convention. The Secretary has properly taken the position that those who do not speak in opposition to a proposal coming before the convention *ipso facto* are in favor of that proposition.

At this time I want to agree with the amendment to the minority report. I happen to believe that there are no degrees in the crime of murder. If it is wrong to put in 200,000 then it is wrong to put in 300,000 or 400,000.

So far as the Pattern Makers League of North America is concerned, it has always favored paying higher per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor. It still believes in paying a higher per capita tax, and because of the remarks that were made by some it is also required of me to say that never, to my knowledge, has the American Federation of Labor spent one cent to help organize any Pattern Makers any place in the United States or Canada.

So we are asking not for charity or assistance. My plea is being made for justice, and my plea is being made to operate this organization on the same basic principles that most of the smaller organizations operate on.

Our organization, and I am sure most of them will want to make the record pretty clear on this question, because if you don't you will have some of your larger local unions asking for preference in per capita tax in your own international union, and if you want to properly refute and dispute that request, you had better make your position clear here and now, or else the dear brothers will be reminding you of the things that Meany reminded you of in this convention.

I am opposed to preferential dues in the American Federation of Labor. I don't want to deal in the ethics of it too much, it might become too personal. I would have to go into the matter of the larger organizations if we are going to treat it on an ethical or ability-to-pay basis, and the manner in which these unions operate their own internal affairs. Some of them may have unlimited expense accounts for their officers which might be controlled and the per capita tax might be paid out of the difference. That might be—I have heard rumors of that. However, I want to make it clear that if we are going to indulge in sharp practice or smartness and discrimination, there isn't a thing in the world, if we want to be smart,

Mr. President, that would cause any one of us to pay any more per capita tax, and we might discover when we get back home a substantial reduction in the number in our international union. I don't like these smart things, and the Pattern Makers League of North America doesn't indulge in smart tactics. We want to pay, we happen to be a small organization. We can afford to pay and we are anxious to pay, and we have paid to all of the affiliates, including the Workers Education Bureau. We found money enough to do that, so I am not hoping that the margin comes down to include the Pattern Makers League. We don't want that, and if we ever get down to that you won't have any revenue.

I support the amendment to the minority report—not the minority report because that, too, is only a degree of discrimination. I am opposed to it all, and I hope the amendment to the amendment is carried by this convention.

DELEGATE DUFFY, Potters: President Green, did I understand Secretary Meany to say that a sub-committee had gone into this question and made a report to this convention? Is that correct or not?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Yes.

DELEGATE DUFFY: Then, Brother Meany, is it correct for me to assume that a sub-committee investigated this matter and made a report to this convention which made this change on the basis of paying an assessment, is that correct?

SECRETARY MEANY: A sub-committee ordered by the 1940 convention made a comprehensive study of the finances of the Federation and reported to the Executive Council. The Executive Council submitted that report to the 1941 convention. That report did not include any demarcation line or any two rates of dues.

At the Seattle convention, while the convention was in session the Executive Council itself, through the medium of a supplementary report to the convention, proposed the two rates of dues.

DELEGATE DUFFY: President Green and delegates to this convention, I rise to support the amendment to the minority report to strike out all discrimination. Brother Meany said a moment ago, I believe, or rather gave a warning to the representatives of small organizations in this convention. I believe he used the precise term that it would be embarrassing if he were to read for the record the contributions these small organizations are making towards this A. F. of L. movement. Insofar as I am concerned—

SECRETARY MEANY (Interposing): Mr. Chairman, I wish to correct Brother Duffy. I made no such statement. I said it would be embarrassing and I did not care to embarrass the smaller organizations by reading the con-

tributions the American Federation of Labor had made to certain organizations.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I would appreciate it very much if the reporter of this convention could read that portion of Brother Meany's remarks, because I want to be accurate and correct in what I have to say. Is it possible that those remarks be read?

PRESIDENT GREEN: What is it you are asking for, Delegate Duffy?

DELEGATE DUFFY: Mr. President, I am anxious to get on with this work and not take up any more time than is necessary, but I got the impression, or rather I understood that Brother Meany made the assertion or said it would be embarrassing if he would read the contributions made by smaller organizations to this movement.

PRESIDENT GREEN: No, you are wrong on that, Brother Duffy.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I accept the correction, Brother President. Now, do I understand you correctly, Brother Meany, that you said it would be embarrassing if you were to divulge the contributions made toward organizations of the American Federation of Labor in distress? Is that it, Brother Meany?

PRESIDENT GREEN: Brother Meany can state exactly what he said.

DELEGATE DUFFY: I would appreciate it if he would.

SECRETARY MEANY: I said it would be embarrassing for me to read the contributions made by the American Federation of Labor to certain small organizations.

DELEGATE DUFFY: That is right. Now, then, I am wondering why Secretary Meany saw fit to emphasize or make a distinction between contributions or benefits that have been made to small organizations when in trouble and in distress, when, as a matter of fact, the American Federation of Labor has not discriminated in its contribution toward any organization in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor when they were in distress. I do not want to embarrass any of the large organizations represented here, but going through my mind at this moment are the names of some organizations, some of the largest within the American Federation of Labor, and I seriously question if any small organization has received the same amount of aid and assistance as some of the larger organizations have been receiving from the American Federation of Labor.

It seemed to me rather significant that Brother Meany wanted to emphasize that these small organizations in the American Federation of Labor were objects of charity of this organization. I want to object to that, as a representative of a small group. I would welcome any time a sub-committee to investigate, in the fashion that Senatorial committees sometimes investigate the misuse of funds; to determine as accurately as possible all of

the organizations in the American Federation of Labor who are not playing fair with this organization and paying per capita tax upon all their membership, and stop this holding out on the movement.

Brother Meany has stressed the fact that this present method or basis for paying per capita tax has enabled the American Federation of Labor to get in the black and remain there. I am wondering if we are to assume, delegates to this convention, that that accomplishment has been made solely and only because of the fact that smaller organizations have been discriminated against, in that they must pay a higher per capita tax than those who are well able to pay more than the smaller organizations? I think that it is a logical, sound construction to place upon his remarks.

In conclusion, I remember some years ago when that very able, yes, that immortal character, Al Smith, while campaigning for office, made answer to representatives of the fabulously wealthy people, families of the nation who were complaining because they had to pay taxes on the same basis as the common man. They stressed that their contribution per capita was so much greater, and they urged relief in that respect because they said it was unfair and discriminatory and un-American. I well remember the reply of that very, very able, and may I say again, immortal statesman, Al Smith. He said that he had given a great deal of time and study to that and he had found through his study that the sum total of the tax paid by all of the fabulously wealthy families of the nation was but a drop in the bucket in comparison with the sum total that the average man paid, and that was the thing that made this American governmental system and this American way of life click. I think the same observation might be made here with reference to the contentions of the representatives of the larger organizations who insist upon this discriminatory basis for per capita tax.

Now, as Brother George Lynch has so well brought out, and in keeping with the spirit of the words of Brother Meany when he said he would tell us what happened in between the sessions of the Rules Committee, when they so overwhelmingly changed their decision from rejection to adoption, he said he would lobby for that change. Brother Meany had a perfect right to do that. It is well within his rights and privileges, but I wonder if Brother Meany and the representatives of these other large groups are going to benefit so substantially in the future as in the past because of this discriminatory practice, if they are going into their own organizations and lobby for a change in their constitution, whereby dues and assessments will be levied accordingly upon their membership.



I very much doubt if they will carry on to that extent.

As to the hardship of these larger organizations in paying so much more, rather the sum total of the fund to the American Federation of Labor, it seems to me they enjoy an overwhelming benefit as to privileges and advantages in the American Federation of Labor, and if I were a representative of any of these larger organizations it seems to me I would want to feel that I was in this convention and in this movement on the same per capita basis as any other delegate.

This is the first time to my knowledge that membership in any organization, be it labor, fraternal, or religious or otherwise, is offered on a job lot basis. I never heard of that before.

I think Brother Killen has done a very able job. Unusually well has he brought this question before this body, and I am 100 per cent for all that Brother Killen has said. I say again in conclusion—and I am not

kidding this time—that I support the amendment to the amendment and I ask the delegates to this convention, consistent with democratic practices and the good old Yankee way of carrying on, to support the amendment to the amendment and eliminate all discrimination as to the basis for paying per capita tax.

**DELEGATE DURKIN, United Association:** I wish to call to the attention of the delegates that George Meany is a delegate representing the United Association, and I also want to let you know that the United Association will not benefit under either plan that you now have up for discussion.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We are long past the hour of adjournment and it seems that we cannot settle this question without having lunch. There are other speakers who wish to speak, so, in accordance with the rules of the convention, the Chair will declare the convention recessed until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

At 1 o'clock, P. M., the convention was recessed to 2 o'clock, P. M.

## EIGHTH DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:10 o'clock by President Green.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** As you will recall, we were to take up the discussion before the Committee on Law which was being considered by the delegates when the convention recessed for noon. Are there any further remarks?

The Chair recognizes Chairman Dubinsky of the Committee on Law.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY:** Mr. Chairman and delegates of this convention, let me say right at the outset, if in the course of my remarks you find that I am not too calm, you should attribute it to the fact that I didn't have my lunch.

In the course of the discussion state secrets were given out about a so-called conspiracy that existed in the committee meeting. The conspiracy consisted of the fact that at the first meeting there were 11 to 7 for the amendment and at the second meeting there were 17 to 2 for the recommendation of the Executive Council. Secretary Meany assumed the role of the conspirator. I don't join him as a partner, but I think it should be known by the delegates that, immediately upon adjournment of the first meeting, two members of the committee came to me advising me that they realized that their decision might not be sound and that they wanted me, as the chairman, to call another meeting. As you probably know, I am pinch-hitting as the chairman. The permanent Chairman of the committee was Dan Tobin. Dan Tobin was not in a position to act as chairman of

the committee. Two days before the meeting of this committee I was designated as its chairman.

I advised those two members that I, too, believed that they had made a mistake, but that I was not going to call another meeting unless I knew that additional members wanted one and wanted to reconsider the question. Later another one came to me and advised me that he wanted to change his mind. I then called the meeting and two who were not present at the second session told me that they subscribed to the vote. That would make it 19 instead of 17.

Something was said here about seeking power and control for the larger unions as against the smaller ones. I don't know whether I belong to a large union or a small union, but I was interested and I investigated the issue. Maybe we are being sold something. I admit I am innocent, so I analyzed the Executive Council's report.

The Executive Council, as Brother Meany told you, appointed a special committee to study the situation. The committee consisted of Daniel Tobin, Secretary Meany and myself. I subscribed to the decision of the committee.

At the Executive Council meeting that recommendation was unanimously adopted. Then I examined the record to see who are these members of the Executive Council that unanimously adopted the decision. Are they the representatives only of the large unions or of the small internationals as well? I found that of the 15 members of the Executive Council there are four in the category of



300,000 or above. There are 11 who belong below this category. If the new recommendation of the Executive Council will be adopted, then there will be three more who would come within the bracket of the 200,000. This would mean that there would be seven of the fifteen who would enjoy that benefit; eight of them would not. I was wondering why Bates, who is not included in those unions, why Mahon, who is not included in those unions, why Felix Knight, why Doherty and why Weber and one or two others should subscribe to such a decision. Don't they mind domination by the large unions? Aren't they jealous of their own union's right in this convention of the A. F. of L.? Are they ready to sell out the welfare and the interest of the unions they represent and yet be chosen as the spokesmen for these unions on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor?

I came to a different conclusion. I came to the conclusion that though it may be formal or surface inequality, they realized that from the point of view of the welfare and the interests of the American Federation of Labor as a whole, they favored that method because it brought the best results. I became more convinced at the committee meeting when I heard the representatives of the Miners, Brother Tetlow, speaking on behalf of the report of the Executive Council. I know and you know, whatever you may say about the Miners, they never look for bargains financially. They were always generous with their funds and they weren't looking to get the savings of \$20,000 or \$15,000 a year for themselves. They favored the recommendation because when they joined the American Federation of Labor, they wanted to make their contribution toward the prestige, strength, dignity and power of the American Federation of Labor. All of us were impressed with his argument.

One of the strongest arguments of Tetlow at that committee meeting was: "Of course, we don't want two classes of membership. Of course, we don't want the borderline that has been established. But once it has been established and 25% of the membership enjoy the privilege, then, it is not discrimination but a great advantage when you increase the number enjoying that privilege to 50%. If it were actually discrimination, I would have been against it. But you are gradually eliminating that." This is what Tetlow said on behalf of the Miners' Union.

I was interested and I imagine that you are interested to know that this method was adopted in 1941, at the Seattle convention. It is true, I wasn't present at that convention. But the members of the committee who came in with the minority report were present. They favored it. The officer of the minority report favored it. I was against it,

but I am trade unionist. I began studying the record. I wanted to know what happened to the American Federation of Labor as a result of this decision. Did the American Federation of Labor make a mistake in that decision? How did it show up in practical results? May I call to your attention that, before 1941, the per capita tax was one cent and the assessment was one cent. This meant that actually the revenue for the American Federation of Labor was two cents per member without any division.

What does the record show? The income for the American Federation of Labor, as shown on page 55 of the Council's report, was \$1,600,000 in 1940. In 1941, still on the basis of two cents revenue, the income was \$1,967,000. Then it was changed to one and a half cents. What happened when the change came? Instead of \$1,967,000 it increased in 1942 to \$1,993,000—in spite of the fact that the per capita was reduced one-half cent. And what else did it show? In 1943 it again rose to \$2,264,000. In 1944 it again increased to \$2,378,000. In 1945 it dropped to \$2,009,000—higher than 1940, higher than 1941. But this was lower in comparison with 1943 and 1942—in part because the Machinists did not pay their per capita tax during that year.

Let's be frank about it. There are two contributing factors. One is the prosperity of the war period with its resulting growth of membership; and the other factor, an important factor, is that the international unions paid on their full membership, thereby increasing the revenue of the American Federation of Labor for meeting its obligations. This did not hurt anybody. With their revenue greater, their opportunity to serve was extended and the benefits for all were extended.

I am a member of the Council and I know what happened during this year. The Secretary of Labor sent a letter to President William Green and to Phil Murray, of the C. I. O., advising them that he had decided that the representation in the I. L. O. shall be alternated—this year through the C. I. O. and next year through the American Federation of Labor. You have heard the reports of the delegates from Latin American countries. They told us that they had been shaky about the American Federation of Labor, because the American Federation of Labor was losing its prestige, its standing in the United States as far as the Government is concerned, and they were, therefore, hesitating about following the policies of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green threw out, on behalf of the Executive Council, a challenge to the President of the United States, through the Secretary of Labor. President Green stated that the charter of the I. L. O. provides that the predominant trade union in the country

shall be entitled to the representation in the I. L. O. He said he was ready to have it ascertained from the records of membership of both organizations as to which one is predominant. On the basis of the findings we would submit. If the C. I. O. was found to be the predominant organization, then we did not want to alternate and they should get the representation. But if the American Federation of Labor is the predominant organization then the American Federation of Labor and no other organization shall have the representation in the I. L. O.

You know the results. The Secretary of Labor changed his position. The President of the United States recognized the American Federation of Labor—recognized it because the C. I. O. would not submit its books. The C. I. O. lives and exists not on a recorded membership but on a claimed membership. You recall that when the American Federation of Labor had 3,000,000 members the C. I. O. claimed three million and a half; when the A. F. of L. record showed four millions the C. I. O. claimed four million and a half; when the A. F. of L. showed five million, the C. I. O. claimed five million and a half—always a half a million ahead of us! According to the C. I. O., you don't have to prove your claims, you don't have to show the receipt of per capita tax—all you have to do is to claim it, and the Government officials will recognize it; they will not inspect your books.

Yes, today they claim only 6,000,000 members. We are still a little bit ahead of them because, I assume, we have had our convention ahead of them. I suppose if we should have ten million members by the time of the next convention, then you can rest assured that the C. I. O. will come out with a claim of ten and a half million.

Perhaps if the American Federation of Labor were to abolish recording the per capita tax, we could claim nine million members. It doesn't cost much to claim—as long as you don't have to pay for it. But the American Federation of Labor has a tradition of recording the per capita income. If the income is not there, then the membership is not there. The membership may be within the international unions, but the record shows only 7,100,000. What would have happened if the record of the American Federation of Labor had not shown 7,100,000 members? I am not taking it lightly. If the American Federation of Labor had lost their representation in the I. L. O. it would not merely mean that Bob Watt would not have gotten a trip. He could have gotten a trip elsewhere. It would have meant that the prestige of this Federation, as far as the Government is concerned, it would have meant that the prestige in Latin America and all over the world would have suffered. But today

the American Federation of Labor is the recognized predominant organization of labor in this country.

The actual recorded large membership of the American Federation of Labor is the strongest weapon that we possess against the C. I. O. insofar as recognition from the public, from the Government, and from every other source is concerned. I say that this is more valuable from the standpoint of prestige and power than any amount of money. Our delegates should recognize this.

What is involved here? Let me speak first regarding the original recommendation of the Executive Council about the report of the majority and the report of the minority. According to the report of the minority, there are at present for international unions which enjoy the benefits of the old Constitution. According to the report of the Executive Council, in the majority, there would be nine unions instead of four (with five on the border line) with a total membership at present of 4,000,000 and a possible membership of 5,000,000. I asked my good friends on the committee, when they argued for the 300,000 against the 200,000 and tried to make it a matter of principle: where is the principle in their position? I am interested in principles. I asked them, as a Jew: tell me why 300,000 is a kosher number and 200,000 not. They could not answer me, because there is no principle at stake when one maintains that 300,000 are all right and 200,000 are not. I say it is a more principled position to give the benefits to a larger group.

That is why I am heartily in favor of this proposition. We analyzed it from the standpoint of finances. We are interested in additional revenue. The purpose and the aim of this proposition is additional revenue. It has been figured out, without any distinction. Leaving it to the old, as the Russians used to say, leaving it to the old-fashioned way, the increase would be \$350,000. With this change, dropping it to 200,000, it was figured out by the members of the committee and Secretary Menny that it would mean approximately \$30,000 a year less. But look at the additional advantage when we judge it from the point of view of prestige and influence of the American Federation of Labor.

Now an amendment to the amendment has also been proposed. I believe a lot of sense has been indicated in this argument. However, I must, on one point at least, differ with my good friend Lynch, although I agree with him as far as the principle is concerned. I disagree with him as far as the argument is concerned. One of the arguments made was that by adopting this method we are encouraging, within our own international unions, large local unions to come forward with a similar demand. If you don't go into it a little bit deeper, then it

appears to be sound. First of all, the record shows that this method was adopted in 1941. It has been in existence five years. Yet, it did not affect any international union. Then, my dear brother, you also have to consider the difference between an international union and the American Federation of Labor as a whole. Let's be frank about it. I have in my organization a local union with 35,000 members, a powerful local union. But I am not worried. And do you know why? The constitution of our international provides that the funds of the local unions are the property of the international union. That applies not only to our union, but to practically every other international union. You do not have the same situation with regard to the American Federation of Labor. The funds of the international unions are not the property of the American Federation of Labor.

I have in my union, and I imagine Delegate Lynch has in his union, or at least most of you have it, the right to send in auditors to check and see whether they are paying the right per capita tax, and if they are not paying we say to them: "Cough up \$7,000, or cough up \$15,000." And they have got to cough up. Can the American Federation of Labor do that? The American Federation of Labor has to rely entirely on what the international unions decide to pay in per capita tax, because it is a voluntary matter.

Oh yes, I know that there was once proposed to an American Federation of Labor convention, I believe by Dan Tobin, on behalf of the Teamsters, a proposition for the right to check and see whether international unions are paying their full per capita tax. But the American Federation of Labor in that convention decided to deny this right to the Executive Council, and it must, therefore rely solely on the voluntary efforts of the international unions. That, my dear brothers, is an entirely different situation than prevails in any international union.

I, too, am against discrimination. I may not be able to make as good a speech as some of the others. But I am at least as sincere as the others. My record against discrimination, as well as the record of my union, is a record of a lifetime. I don't want to see it marred. I would favor the amendment to the amendment, providing for the elimination of all differentiation, provided it was accompanied by a decision empowering the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council, with the right to check and inspect books. Then I would know that the American Federation of Labor would have its full membership and would not be at a disadvantage in relation to the CIO, Government officials, and public opinion.

I imagine that you are equally as jealous as I am regarding the power and prestige of the American Federation of Labor. We

are what we are today because of that prestige. Let's not undermine it. Let's not jeopardize it. I am conscious of the import of this recommendation. I know its implications, I know its meaning, I know what it means for the future of the labor movement, for the political standing of the American Federation of Labor. I know what it means for our prestige and what it means for the individual unions.

From the point of view of practical results, from the viewpoint of advantage and benefit to the cause of labor, I favor it. I ask you delegates to support the majority report of the committee.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair recognizes Vice-President Tobin.

**DELEGATE TOBIN,** Teamsters: **Mr. Chairman** and delegates, this is the first time I have had the opportunity of saying a word to the convention. If I had not been sick I would have in the same position Dave Dubinsky is in, defending the report of the Majority Committee.

I favor and shall cast my vote—and I hope there is a roll call vote, because this is an amendment to the constitution—I favor the report of the majority of the committee, which approves the unanimous recommendation of the Executive Council.

We went into the question of finances very carefully. A committee of three was appointed by the Council some months ago to go into the question of finances for the Federation. That committee made a set of recommendations which were adopted by the Council at its August Meeting in the Drake Hotel here in Chicago.

We knew the conditions of the national and international unions. We knew just how much they could stand. We knew just exactly their responsibilities, their commitments, their overhead expenses. But you can't tax international unions out of business, no matter what your feelings may be. You must not forget your duty to your union, and you have a great responsibility. You must not forget your duty to your International unions.

I am a Federationist and always have been, and I shall always continue to be a member of this Federation.

As Treasurer of this Federation for many years I know something about its finances. When I first came into this Federation in the Norfolk convention in 1907 the per capita tax was one quarter of one cent. We raised that to a half cent in a succeeding convention. Everybody was happy and thought that we would never need any more money.

Before Sam Gompers died he made one request of the Committee on Law, of which I was then a member. He said: "I will die happy if we can get that tax up to one cent per member." And we did it. Now we are up to two cents, or very close to it.

We may go higher as time goes on, but you can't do too much at one time.

By adopting the recommendation of the Committee on Law, supporting the majority report which embodies the recommendation of the Executive Council, you are giving to this Federation about \$400,000 additional for the coming year. That is increased revenue. Well, we want to know what is going to happen to that during the coming year. We believe it will be spent judiciously and carefully. That is enough for one year and the Federation can get along on it.

What does it mean to some of our organizations? The Brotherhood of Teamsters, which paid per capita tax on over 600,000 members last year, paid \$92,000 to this Federation. Next year, with this increase in per capita tax, our tax to the Federation will be \$125,000. That applies to the Carpenters and to the Miners. That is just about as much as we can spend just now—a jump of about \$30,000 extra over one year.

Our revenues are set; our per capita tax in the Brotherhood of Teamsters has not been changed since 1920—twenty-six years ago. We get only a cent a day tax from our members. We are carrying on an organizing campaign throughout the nation. We have strikes on in many cities. Some of us think that we can do our own organizing in the international union equally as well as the organizing done by the Federation. We had to increase our staff of organizers, we had to spend more money in publicity, and that goes for all of us. Those who are not organizing—and I don't know any that are not—are going to die of dry rot.

We do not want to be entirely or partially dependent upon the American Federation of Labor, but you must consider the conditions of the international unions. Suppose you raise this tax beyond the power to pay for organizations that have established standard expenses? Well, you know there is nothing to prevent any organization from reducing its tax under the present system in the Federation. For instance, instead of our organization paying on 600,000 or 700,000, I can reduce my tax to 500,000. There is no law against it.

I tried in the Toronto convention to get power for the Executive Council, whenever they deemed it advisable, to look into whether or not international unions were paying their per capita tax on their full membership. That recommendation of the Teamsters was voted down, so that really under the present system you can pay anything you want. I know there are many organizations that are not paying on their actual membership now. I think we have more members than we are paying on, and I don't want to raise the ante too high and then have to flop back, as we may if the depression comes.

Now, I think that we are making a very reasonable contribution in tax besides all of the other calls that are made on us by the Federation, by the Building Trades, by the Label Trades, and all the other Departments when we contribute \$131,000 a year in addition to carrying on our own fight against all the organizations that are trying to destroy us as a Federation.

I hope and trust that the report of the committee, which is to sustain the recommendation of the Executive Council, will be adopted.

I am not promising you anything. I am not pledging anything, but if we find, as time goes on, that we need more money, well, we can amend the Constitution again next year, but by giving the officials of the Federation, the Executive Officers and the Council, a little over \$400,000 additional. I think it will be enough for the time being. If we find that that is not enough we can remedy the situation next year.

I hope and trust that the delegates, sensible men and women, all of you, will understand that International Unions, after all, have responsibilities that they cannot evade or avoid.

Thank you.

DELEGATE KLENERT, United Textile Workers of America: Mr. Chairman, this morning all of us heard a skillful address by the Secretary of the Law Committee in support of his amendment to the Committee on Laws report, and we have heard many passionate talks in support of an amendment to that amendment. The protagonists of the so-called absolute equity in the payment of per capita tax have set themselves up as champions against inequity and discrimination, and this brings to my mind an experience that I had some fifteen years ago. I was down in famous Union Square in New York City where I come from, and there was a Socialist talker there. After talking to him and listening to him I said to him: "Do you mean, if you have two cars I can have one?" And he said, "That's right." And I said, "If you have two houses will you give me one?" He said, "That's right." I said, "If you have two shirts will you give me one?" He said, "Hell, no, I haven't got two shirts."

Well, perhaps my analogy in this particular case is somewhat unfair, but I really don't think so. I have heard remarks this morning from representatives of so-called small unions directed against some of the so-called big unions. I want the delegates here to know that I represent a small organization. Our average payments are about 60,000 members per month to the American Federation of Labor. As a consequence, my organization has no selfish interests in the present proposal. Any way the voting goes

we will pay the same to the American Federation of Labor.

Then, for what purpose do I rise? I rise solely for the purpose of making my humble effort to clear the atmosphere and to clarify this issue. This is not a fight and should not become a fight between the big unions and the small unions. The issue here, the real issue, should not be buried by oratory or verbal allegiance to the idea of abstract equity. We should not make whipping boys out of those who support the original motion by the Law Committee or those who may head some of the big international unions within the American Federation of Labor.

The slogan "Two cents for everybody" is fallacious upon examination, and we can have one very simple illustration. I believe the Teamsters Union has a per capita tax of about 30 cents. Two cents of that represents almost seven per cent of their gross income.

Another international union has a per capita tax of \$1.00. Two cents of that represents two per cent, so you can readily see two cents for everybody does not necessarily mean true equity in the sense of burden or obligation.

Now, I understand this proposition is simply a medium of increasing the prestige in increasing the finances of our organization. It is easy, perhaps, with some, in their own minds, to be fully objective and magnanimous when the shoe is on the other foot. It is easy to support two cents for everybody when you have 30,000 members paying \$1.00 a month per capita tax. That means \$600.00 a month out of 30,000. I wonder how easy it would be for some of us to pay \$10,000 a month out of an income of a little over \$100,000 a month? But even this is not the fundamental question. Practically all proponents of the amendment to the amendment would object to the American Federation of Labor having the authority to examine the books of its affiliates solely for the purpose of assuring full payment of per capita tax because this idea, while harmless in itself, would open the door to possible encroachment on the autonomy and sovereignty of all of the affiliates of the A. F. of L., a sovereignty and autonomy that is quite understandably guarded in a very jealous fashion.

Still the leaders of the A. F. of L., who incidentally are not all leaders of big unions, recommended the proposition brought to you by the Committee on Law. I asked myself why, and I think I have found the answer, and I imagine and trust that the majority here will find the same answer. They have had experience, and experience has taught them that this will increase our membership and our finances. These are the two real objectives. I beg of all of you delegates here not to lose sight of this fact. Your Committee on Law has not violated any

principle and is not advocating undemocratic action. It is not advocating undemocratic representation. It is simply taking a practical picture, a practical view of the problem, and proposing a law which will augment our organization numerically and financially. It merely asks for this adoption that will surely bring unto our books an additional 1,000,000 members and accordingly improve the financial condition. Any other course, no matter how well intended or no matter how idealistic, may result in just the reverse.

I want this convention to know, speaking in behalf of a small organization—we only have 500 votes—that those 500 votes will go to support the Committee on Laws report. Thank you.

VICE PRESIDENT HUTCHESON: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention: Being a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, I want to address a few remarks to you in support of the majority report of the committee on the Executive Council's recommendation. In doing so, I want to give you just a word picture, a very brief one, I assure you, of the manner in which the Executive Council considered this subject.

Reference has been made in recent remarks as to the organization's representatives on the Executive Council in comparative size. I don't think that was taken into consideration by the Executive Council members, but they did consider equities. I wasn't in the convention this morning, but I understand there has been quite some emphasis placed on what is referred to as being discriminatory. While discriminatory is a word that none of us like, I think in this case we should apply it both ways both as it was intended from what I understand the remarks were in reference to the income of the American Federation of Labor but also, if it is going to be used in that manner, it should be used in reference to the expenditures or outgo of the income of the American Federation of Labor. While that wasn't gone into in detail in the discussions of the Executive Council members when we reached the conclusions to make the recommendation that we did in this report, it was, however, brought out that in spending the funds of the American Federation of Labor to increase the membership of the Federation that naturally means that you have got to increase the membership of the various affiliates of the Federation of Labor.

Now, there are ninety-four international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The eight largest international organizations represent a membership of 2,867,600 out of a total of 7,000,000. Now, those eight organizations out of the ninety-four would pay better than one-third of the income of the Federation.

On the basis of discrimination those eight

organizations would naturally get less assistance from the Federation through the work of the organizers representing the American Federation of Labor, for the simple reason that the larger organizations have a larger percentage of representatives on the road working for them than do the smaller ones.

As an illustration the United Brotherhood of Carpenters of America have over 100 paid representatives on the road looking after the affairs of the Brotherhood. Now, it is quite natural that those men, in working for the organizations that they represent are naturally helping, at least, to some extent the entire labor movement. Now, we are taking our 100 organizers as against 175 paid by the American Federation of Labor. I don't want you to understand me that I am talking from a pecuniary point of view, because I am not. If the Executive Council had decided that it was necessary to have a three cents per capita tax to run the affairs of the American Federation of Labor, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America would have backed them up in that proposal. It is not a case of pecuniary advantage. It is a case of following through on the recommendation of the men you have selected to represent you as being members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

I trust that those of you who are here will see the practicality of that and adopt the recommendation of the majority of the Law Committee which is the recommendation of your Executive Council members, and if a year hence we find we still need more money to carry on adequately the work that we think should be carried on, speaking for our organization, we will support whatever is necessary to have that fund created. I hope you will all feel the same way and vote to support the majority report of your Law Committee.

**DELEGATE CLARK, Typographical Union:** I rise to support the minority report of our committee because I too believe in equity. The proposition, as I understand it, has been proposed to raise much needed funds to carry on the activities of the American Federation of Labor. With that I whole-heartedly agree, but in supporting any proposal that is to raise funds, that is to tax our members, to tax our various unions, I think that it should be absolutely fair.

As I see it, the proposal of the majority of the Law Committee does not do that for this reason: They have proposed to reduce the 300,000 to 200,000—that line of demarcation. Now, Vice President Dubinsky said that he asked members of the committee why 200,000 was not kosher but 300,000 was. "Now, I may have a slight bit of evidence that might lead to the reason

why 300,000 would be kosher while 200,000 would not be and that is this, that we are proposing to increase our per capita tax one-half cent.

I have just a little figuring here, I have been taking a few notes as I have heard the various discussions carried on. Under the majority report of the committee, I find that with 200,000 members that the proposed increase to those organizations would be \$1,000 per month. I find also that for organizations with 300,000 members that their increase in per capita tax would be \$1,000 a month, identical with those of the 200,000. So that only can lead to one thing and that is that the membership of any international union between the 200,000 and the 300,000, under the proposal of the majority report of the committee, will go absolutely scot-free. There is absolutely no increase for that portion of the membership under the proposal of the majority of the committee.

That is the reason that I think that the minority have really come across something that is equitable. The reason I say that is because they would propose absolutely clear across the board, no matter what the membership is, one-half of one cent increase for everyone. The two cents proposal does not do that for the reason that above the 300,000 membership, you find a full one cent increase according to the minority report.

As I have sat here and listened to these arguments there is an old Chinese adage that has been running through my mind—"Big fish eat little fish; little fish eat mud."

I certainly hope we don't get down to that. Let's treat them all alike.

Vice-President Tobin told us that the proposition would raise \$400,000. I presume that his information is authentic. Certainly I am not opposed to that. I know that it is needed. We need that money, but I do say this, that if we are proposing an increase in our per capita tax it should affect each and every member alike and the only way, gentlemen, that you can do that is to vote to support the Minority Report of the committee.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Are there any further remarks? If not, may the Chair make just one or two observations?

I have listened with deep interest to the discussions upon the proposal now being considered by the convention, and I want to commend all the speakers upon the grasp of the situation which they have shown and upon the splendid addresses which have been delivered.

Surely, this is an open forum of debate and this session has demonstrated democracy in action.

There is one outstanding feature of this debate, and that is that there is unanimous agreement upon the proposal that the income



of the American Federation of Labor shall be increased. The need of the American Federation of Labor is appreciated, and all understand that in passing through this, a period of inflation, that the American Federation of Labor has been affected like every other organization and all individuals.

Then our competition in the field of organization has increased. We are carrying on campaigns in different sections of the country and particularly in the South. That is costing us money, but the expenditure of money in that field is in accordance with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor to organize the unorganized throughout the nation.

Now, in deciding a question such as is now presented we must follow the rule of reason. We must draw the line of distinction between feeling and judgment and exercise good judgment. Experience is a wonderful teacher, and the report of the Executive Council is based upon experience through which we have passed and a study of the experience of our predecessors.

I would rather classify the proposal made and the recommendation made by the Committee on Law as a graduated tax rather than a discriminatory tax. All organizations will pay the same tax upon 200,000 members. There is no discrimination there. That is a basis of equality. All organizations, large or small, will pay the same tax on that minimum membership. The graduation begins over that, and every organization will enjoy the same right if the membership is increased beyond the 200,000. It doesn't say that certain organizations, because they are merely organizations, will be exempt from the payment of any tax. Or on the basis of equality. First your 200,000 members pay so much. Then as you grow and expand beyond that this graduated tax then applies to you on the basis of equality.

We talked about large and small organizations this morning in a most intelligent and convincing way. Well, the facts are that all organizations were small, all began at the lowest level. The five national unions which you have chartered recently were like newborn children, just beginning. The relationship of the big ones to the little ones is about the same as the mighty oak is to the acorn. The beginning of growth somewhere—the beginning of growth—then the expansion, expanding as circumstances will permit.

Now, it has ever been the fixed principle and policy of this movement to help the infants. Why, this is what the Federation of Labor is formed for, so to unite our forces for the purpose of helping and assisting each other. We do all we can to help the infant grow into a healthy childhood and manhood just like the oak grows from the acorn.

That will ever be our policy—help those

who need help, large or small, but the circumstances require that the smaller organizations shall be helped until they get on their feet and are self-sustaining.

Now, I say again—I repeat what I said—it is my carefully considered judgment that we must apply the rule of reason. And out of my experience I am driven to this conclusion that our best interests will be served, our mighty movement kept united, our strength mobilized and our growth assured if we will follow that rule of reason. It will, in my judgment, definitely develop and grow and expand, as I have said, if we apply this graduated principle that has been recommended by the Committee on Law to this convention.

It occurred to me that I could not remain quiet without giving the delegates in attendance at this convention the benefit of my judgment and then let you decide for yourselves.

VICE PRESIDENT HUTCHESON: What is the question before the house?

PRESIDENT GREEN: There are three propositions. First, the report of the Committee on Law; second, the Minority Report of the Committee on Law; and third, the amendment to the Minority Report, which provides for a universal two cents tax to be paid the American Federation of Labor.

VICE PRESIDENT HUTCHESON: Now, Mr. Chairman, if I understand, the question recurs upon the amendment to the amendment.

DELEGATE RYBKA, Flower Seed and Cereal Workers' Union: Mr. Chairman,—

VICE PRESIDENT HUTCHESON: I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE RYBKA: Mr. Chairman, I asked for the floor prior to the previous speaker.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Very well, I will recognize you and then I will recognize the motion offered by Delegate Hutcheson for the previous question.

DELEGATE RYBKA: Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I only represent a small organization. It is not an international union, but a small federal labor union located in Buffalo of about 2,200 people. We are members of a grain processor's council and we are about the largest unit of that council. We pay our full per capita tax to that Council to keep functioning. I feel that we do that for one reason. We want to build up the labor movement in the great United States. I do not object to paying our full per capita tax in proportion to what other small organizations in that Grain Processor's Council is paying. We gladly and willingly pay that because we know that the ultimate benefits will be achieved as a result of our investment in this Grain Processor's Council.



I have heard many talks here today about the amount of money that will be spent by the large international organizations if the line of demarcation is not decreased. I do not favor the line of demarcation at all, although I will go along with the minority report here this afternoon and maybe perhaps at some future convention we may be able to erase this so-called line of demarcation and provide equal taxation for all members of the American Federation of Labor.

I wonder if these same international unions would also be willing to decrease the number of their votes that they now have the pleasure of voting at this convention? Accordingly, I don't think they would like that very much. I think personally it is not in thinking with the good of the movement of the American Federation of Labor to take such action. We are all in favor of this increase in per capita tax. We know it is needed and is necessary to achieve the end that we all seek to accomplish. So, why not be consistent? If we are going to increase our per capita tax why not increase it as suggested by the minority report and I am sure that the American Federation of Labor will at this time and in the future gain from the increased proceeds, and not try to decrease the revenue which will result if we do not go along on the basis of the minority report.

I don't think our position is consistent at all, and I certainly feel that the big international unions should be made to pay their amount of the freight the same as the smaller organizations do. We are willing to do our small share in our small organization to aid our Grain Processors Council, and I think that the big international unions should do likewise to the rest of the smaller federal and international unions affiliated with this great American Federation of Labor.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** It has been moved and seconded that debate close and a vote be taken upon the proposals pending.

All in favor of that motion say "aye"; contrary-minded, "no."

The "ayes" have it and it is so ordered.

**VICE PRESIDENT HUTCHESON:** Mr. Chairman, I now move that we have a roll call vote.

**DELEGATE CLARK, Typographical Union:** Mr. Chairman, a point of information. I don't believe that any delegate taking part in this discussion, according to parliamentary procedure, has the right to move the previous question and close debate after he himself has had the right to participate in the discussion.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The delegates decided that question.

First of all, a vote will be taken upon the amendment to the minority report; secondly, upon the minority report; and then finally upon the majority report.

Now, the first vote can be taken on an "aye" or "nay" vote, or a show of hands, and then if you are not satisfied a roll call vote can be taken if ten per cent of the members call for a roll call vote.

Now, the question is on the amendment to the minority report of the Committee on Law, which provides for the universal payment of two cents tax on the membership.

All in favor of the amendment say "aye"; contrary-minded, "no."

The amendment seems to be lost.

**A DELEGATE:** (Name and affiliation not given) Mr. Chairman, a division.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** A division has been called for. All in favor of the amendment will hold up your right hands; those opposed, the same sign.

The Secretary will announce the result.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In favor, 104; 180 opposed.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The amendment is lost. The question now recurs upon the Minority Report of the Committee on Law. All in favor of the adoption of the Minority Report hold up your right hand.

**SECRETARY MEANY** (after counting the vote): 102 for the minority report.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Those opposed raise your right hands. It seems to me it is clearly evident that the amendment is defeated. Is there any doubt?

The Chair declares the Minority Report defeated.

**DELEGATE DUFFEY, Potters:** President Green, I would like to ask for a roll call on that amendment.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Rules of the Federation provide that a roll call vote may be called for, providing ten percent of the delegates present call for a roll call.

Now, do you ask that that inquiry be made, as to whether ten percent of the delegates desire a roll call vote?

**DELEGATE DUFFEY:** I do, President Green.

**DELEGATE TOBIN, Teamsters:** I think that legally any amendment to this constitution must be determined by a roll call. I think the way the votes are now it might be used against labor sometime during the year, the legality of the procedure may be questioned unless it is determined by roll call, so that each delegate may be registered.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Do ten percent of the delegates desire a roll call on the Minority Report? If so, will those who are asking for a roll call vote please rise? Only fourteen have risen, and under the laws more than sixty would be required to call for a roll call vote.

The question now recurs upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Law. All in favor of the adoption of the Committee on Law will please say aye. Those opposed will say no.

The ayes have it and it is so ordered.

**DELEGATE HUTCHESON, Carpenters:** Is the Chair satisfied that the Majority Report was carried by a two-thirds vote?

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Yes, it was quite evident to me, at least, that the report of the Committee on Law was adopted by a two-thirds vote, and if there is any doubt you can call for a division.

**DELEGATE DUBINSKY, Ladies' Garment Workers:** Mr. Chairman, I call for a division.

**DELEGATE LYNCH, Pattern Makers:** A point of order. You can't determine the voting power of this convention on Dubinsky's idea. I will call for a roll call vote, and then we will have it right.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair asked for those who wanted a roll call vote to rise, and only fourteen asked for a roll call.

**DELEGATE LYNCH:** I am not talking about that, I am rising to the point of order on the basis of the suggestion made by my good friend, Dubinsky. He agreed with me, but I don't agree with him. I say if you are going into a determination of this matter on figures you must have a roll call. For instance, I raised my hand with 110 votes, and Bill Hutcheson raised his hand with 6,000 votes. There is a little disparity there in the voting power.

**DELEGATE WEBER, Musicians:** A point of order. The matter has already been disposed of.

**DELEGATE HUTCHESON:** We pay our poll tax, and we are entitled to vote.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** I feel that the question has been disposed of by the Chairman's ruling that more than two-thirds voted in favor of the committee's report. If anyone desires a roll call to challenge that ruling I believe they are entitled to ask for a roll call, but they must get it under the rules.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** That is right. The laws of the Federation of Labor provide that amendments to the constitution must be adopted by a two-thirds vote. The Chair ruled that in his opinion the report of the Committee on Law had been adopted by a two-thirds vote. If anyone desires to challenge that and call for a roll call they may do so. Do I understand that is your attitude, Brother Lynch?

**DELEGATE LYNCH:** No, it definitely is not, but my idea is that I am not going to let David Dubinsky determine parliamentary procedure. I am looking to you to do that.

**DELEGATE DUBINSKY:** As long as the report is adopted I am satisfied.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** That settles the question, and the Chair rules that the report of the Committee on Law was adopted by two-thirds vote of the delegates in attendance at this convention. The Chair again recognizes Chairman Dubinsky, of the Committee on Law.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY:** This concludes the report of the Committee on Law and it is respectfully submitted by the following:

David Dubinsky, Chairman  
James S. Killen, Secretary  
R. J. Picard  
Joseph N. Weber  
Patrick E. Gorman  
J. J. Farnan  
Robert Golden  
William Tracy  
Jerome J. Keating  
Edward J. Volz  
John T. Driscoll  
A. E. McCormick  
Herbert Rivers  
Jasper N. Davis  
George C. Slater  
William McCarthy  
Martin Cahill  
Anthony Matz  
Sol Cilento  
Anthony Valente  
John P. Redmond  
Sam J. Byers  
Clement A. Clancy  
John Forster  
Percy Tetlow

#### COMMITTEE ON LAWS

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY:** This concludes the report of the committee, Mr. Chairman, and I now move that the report of the Committee on Law in its entirety be adopted by this convention, and that the constitution, as amended, be adopted by the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair rules again that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor was adopted by more than two-thirds vote.

We have now arrived at the hour for the special order of business set by the convention yesterday afternoon. The Chair calls upon Brother Martin Durkin, of the United Association of Plumbers, to come forward.

### SPECIAL ORDER— ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Delegate Martin J. Durkin, United Association, in the Chair.

**CHAIRMAN DURKIN:** Nominations are in order for a President of the American Federation of Labor. I recognize John O'Leary of the United Mine Workers of America.

**DELEGATE O'LEARY, United Mine Workers of America:** Mr. Chairman, officers and delegates to this convention. I rise at this time to place in nomination a man I have known for forty years, a man I worked with while I was on the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers when he was

Secretary-Treasurer. He is a member of our union and a delegate to this convention.

My friends, throughout all the years of my experience in our union I always found William Green going along 100 per cent. I therefore take pleasure in placing the name of William Green before you for President of the American Federation of Labor.

**CHAIRMAN DURKIN:** The name of William Green has been placed in nomination. Are there any further nominations?

Secretary Meany moved that nominations be closed.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

**DELEGATE KOVALESKI,** Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that the Secretary cast one ballot of this convention for William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

**CHAIRMAN DURKIN:** And in conformity with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare William Green elected President for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Once again I hear your call to service. It is the same voice that has sounded so sincerely over the years since I was first elected successor to the late Samuel Compers. Each year when I listen to that clarion call my emotions are deeply touched and I am aroused by a sense of consciousness of the responsibilities of this honorable and exalted position. As the days have come and gone and the years have passed, the membership of our great organization has grown. That means that our responsibilities have increased correspondingly.

One is surrounded with greater responsibility when he speaks for 7,100,000 members of a great family than when speaking, as in years gone by, for a membership of two or three million. Our responsibilities have grown in a corresponding way, as our increase in membership has taken place, but at no time have we failed to meet these responsibilities.

It matters not how difficult a problem may be or how strong the call may be for service, with a courageous heart and faithful vision we have moved forward, meeting them all one by one, until we occupy this great and influential position in the economic, political and social life of our nation—the greatest labor organization in all the world.

I feel that we are on the threshold of greater victories. As the picture unfolds and the opportunity presents itself, we shall go forward increasing our membership, building our union, expanding its influence and meet-

ing any enemy that may face us anywhere, with a determination to win.

I am proud of our record, as you are. We have made magnificent progress and we will continue to make magnificent progress. We will win in the Southland, we will win in the East, we will win on the Pacific Coast, we will win in the Central West and we will win in the great Northwest. There is no foe on earth that we fear. Our movement rests upon a sound, solid, indestructible basis. We are invincible. There is no power in America or throughout the world that can destroy the American Federation of Labor.

My appeal to you for the coming year is to face the future full of courage, ambition and hope. Let nothing deter you or restrain you from putting into our movement the best you have and all you have.

Is it too much to expect that at the next convention, or probably the next one, we will report an increase in membership that will bring our total up to at least 10,000,000 of the American Federation of Labor?

In addition, let us build our standard of living, let us build a better social order, increase the feeling of security in the hearts and minds and breasts of every worker in our great country. Having that for our goal, our objective, let us firmly resolve, as we pass out from this sixty-fifth convention, to carry on toward the realization of that objective.

I promise you that all I have physically, mentally or otherwise will be put into the work all during the remainder of my service to you. During the coming year I shall give you all I have, as I have in the past, and I ask you to stand together and with me, so that we can go forward, wiping out the enemy, wiping out the enemy facing us any place, and achieving the noble purposes to which I have referred a moment ago.

I thank you sincerely.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair calls for nominations for a First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and recognizes Secretary Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

**DELEGATE DUFFY,** Brotherhood of Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, on many occasions in the past number of years, I have nominated officers—and I used the word in the plural—officers of the American Federation of Labor. I am pleased to say that I must have selected the right ones for they were elected without opposition. Suffice it to say that they made good, and I am proud of their record. I was not backward in specifying their activities, their qualifications, their standing in the labor movement.

I have a candidate in mind now, and I think he is particularly well fitted to fill the office of First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. He has served you well

and faithfully and long, and I am proud of him, too. I made no mistake in the past when I nominated him for that position, and I feel I am making no mistake now in again nominating him for the same position.

I have worked with him week in and week out for over thirty-three years, so I should know whereof I speak. I can tell you he is capable, able and qualified. He is a first class trade unionist of the American Federation of Labor type.

It therefore gives me great pleasure and much satisfaction this time to nominate for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term, my side partner, my co-officer, my co-worker in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—the President of that organization, William L. Hutcheson.

**DELEGATE McCURDY**, United Garment Workers: I rise to second the nomination of William L. Hutcheson for the office of first vice president of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that the Secretary of the convention be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for William L. Hutcheson.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: Are there further nominations? If not, the Chair declares nominations closed, and will entertain the motion offered by Delegate McCurdy that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother William L. Hutcheson as First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

**SECRETARY MEANY**: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William L. Hutcheson for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: And, in conformity with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare William L. Hutcheson elected First Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Second Vice President.

**DELEGATE MILLIMAN**, Maintenance of Way Employees: I desire the nomination for Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor a young fellow who is so well known that no words or eulogy that I might enter into here would add anything to the knowledge which every delegate in this convention possesses. He has rendered distinguished service, second to none, in this Federation for a great many years. I am, therefore, greatly pleased to place in nomination Matthew Woll, the Vice President of the International Photo Engravers Union, for Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: Matthew Woll has been nominated for Second Vice President. Are there other nominations?

**DELEGATE MINTON**, Glass Bottle Blowers: For many years my predecessor had the distinct honor of placing the name of Matthew Woll in nomination. A lot of people in this convention know him, and I know he is here in spirit. I refer to the former president of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, James Maloney.

I would be derelict in my duty to my past president as well as derelict in my duty to to Mr. Woll if I did not rise to second his nomination and move that the convention unanimously elect him, and that the secretary be instructed to cast one ballot.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: If there are no further nominations the Chair will put the motion that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll for Second Vice President.

The motion was put to vote and carried.

**SECRETARY MEANY**: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll for Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: And in conformity with your decision and the announcement made by the Secretary-Treasurer, I officially declare Matthew Woll elected to serve as Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: The Chair now calls for nominations for Third Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and recognizes Delegate Bagley of the Musicians International Union.

**DELEGATE BAGLEY**, Musicians: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I find recurring pleasure in nominating for Third Vice President Joseph N. Weber of the American Federation of Musicians for Third Vice President.

**DELEGATE MEURER**, Musicians: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the election of Joseph N. Weber as Third Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

**SECRETARY MEANY**: In accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Joseph N. Weber as Third Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: In accordance with your instructions and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Joseph N. Weber elected Third Vice President for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: I now call for nominations for Fourth Vice President.

**DELEGATE PAULSEN**, Electrical Work-

ers: It has been my pleasure and privilege for a great many years to have had the opportunity of nominating our International Secretary as Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. I now do that with your consent.

There were no further nominations and on motion the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for G. M. Bugniazet as Fourth Vice President.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare G. M. Bugniazet elected Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifth Vice President.

**DELEGATE MacGOWAN, Boilermakers:** Mr. President, I feel highly honored to have the proud privilege of placing in nomination for the position of Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor one of the most profound thinkers and one of the most capable trade unionists in this convention. I therefore place in nomination the name of George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks.

No further nominations were made and, on motion, nominations were closed and the Secretary instructed to cast one ballot for George M. Harrison.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for George M. Harrison for Fifth Vice President for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare George M. Harrison elected Fifth Vice President for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair now calls for nominations for Sixth Vice President—Delegate Dave Beck.

**DELEGATE BECK, Teamsters:** Mr. President, I desire to place the nomination for the office of Sixth Vice President, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Daniel J. Tobin.

There were no further nominations and nominations were declared closed.

**DELEGATE ADAMSKI, Garment Workers:** I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Sixth Vice President. The motion was seconded and carried.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin

for Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In accordance with instructions and the announcement of the Secretary, the Chair declares Brother Daniel J. Tobin elected Sixth Vice President for the ensuing year.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Seventh Vice President.

**DELEGATE O'DONNELL, Bricklayers:** I wish to place in nomination the name of the able president of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, Harry C. Bates, for Seventh Vice President.

**DELEGATE GRAMLING, Engineers:** At this time I rise to second the nomination of Harry C. Bates for Seventh Vice President. I have known Mr. Bates for a long number of years and I know that he not only represents the large organizations, but the small organizations as well. I am happy, on behalf of the International Union of Operating Engineers, to second the nomination of Harry C. Bates for Seventh Vice President.

**DELEGATE RIVERS, Building Laborers:** Mr. Chairman, I move that the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates.

The motion was seconded and carried.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates for Seventh Vice President.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In accordance with the decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I hereby officially declare Brother Harry C. Bates elected Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nomination for Eighth Vice President.

**DELEGATE SPRADLING, Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Men:** Mr. Chairman, it is with a great deal of honor and pleasure that I rise at this time to place before the delegates of this convention, for the office of Eighth Vice President, a grand old labor leader, William D. Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

**DELEGATE TIPTON, Street Railway Men:** I rise at this time to second the nomination of William D. Mahon, that grand old patriarch who has not been able to attend this convention on account of his health. He, too, has heard the clarion call and has decided to carry on and to represent the toiling masses as long as his health will permit.

Therefore, if there are no further nominations, I move that the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William D. Mahon.

The motion was seconded and carried.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous

vote of this convention for W. D. Mahon as Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother W. D. Mahon elected as Eighth Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Ninth Vice President.

**DELEGATE VAILLANCOURT,** Railway Carmen: Mr. Chairman, it gives me great pleasure at this time to place in nomination Brother Felix H. Knight, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America to succeed himself as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

**DELEGATE McCORMICK,** Railway Carmen: I would like to second the nomination of Felix H. Knight and move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Brother Knight.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Felix H. Knight as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In accordance with instructions and the announcement of the Secretary, the Chair declares Brother Felix H. Knight Ninth Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

**DELEGATE STEVENSON,** Molders: For the past four conventions it has been quite an honor to me to nominate the man I am going to nominate. He was at the bottom just a few years ago, and now he has come up to Tenth Vice President, so it is again an honor for me to nominate William C. Birthright for tenth vice president.

**DELEGATE MERLINO,** Barbers: I rise to second the nomination of W. C. Birthright and to move that nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William C. Birthright for Tenth Vice President for the ensuing year.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** And, in accordance with your decision and the announcement just made by the Secretary, the Chair officially declares Brother William C. Birthright elected Tenth Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for eleventh vice president of the American Federation of Labor.

**DELEGATE BURNS,** Government Employees: I rise to place in nomination for

the position of Eleventh Vice President, the present incumbent, the capable President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Brother William C. Doherty.

**DELEGATE REILLY,** Railway Mail Association: I rise to second the nomination of our fellow postal worker, William C. Doherty, and I now move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary instructed to cast one ballot for William C. Doherty as Eleventh Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William C. Doherty as Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In accordance with your decision and the announcement just made by the Secretary, the Chair officially declares Brother William C. Doherty elected Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Twelfth Vice President.

**DELEGATE SHORE,** Ladies' Garment Workers: Mr. Chairman I regard it as a high privilege to place in nomination for Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor an outstanding figure in the American Labor movement. He built a great and powerful union. He is a labor leader of unimpeachable integrity. He is a fearless warrior, in the cause of labor and democracy—the President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, David Dubinsky.

**DELEGATE BIALIS,** Ladies' Garment Workers: I rise to second the nomination of David Dubinsky for Twelfth Vice President and move that the Secretary be instructed to cast an unanimous ballot for Brother Dubinsky.

The motion was seconded and carried.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for David Dubinsky for Twelfth Vice President for the ensuing year.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In accordance with your decision and the announcement just made by the Secretary, I hereby officially declare Brother David Dubinsky elected Twelfth Vice President for the ensuing year.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Thirteen Vice President.

**DELEGATE TETLOW,** United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, on this occasion the President of the United Mine Workers of America is absent, due to illness, and could not attend this convention. As a representative of the United Mine Workers of America, and a member of that union since its inception, I have had the pleasure of knowing all of the great leaders of that union. The man I am going to nominate is preeminent among the great

leaders of the United Mine Workers of America. We in that union love and honor this great American. This privilege I esteem one of the greatest honors in my life, to appear before a convention of the American Federation of Labor, with the United Mine Workers membership in this great family of unions. We are happy today that we are here again with you and a part of you.

I know that the man I am about to nominate stands for free collective bargaining, for the free institutions in this country and as a champion in the safeguarding of these fundamental rights.

As a miner and as a member of the United Mine Workers of America I want to present to this convention the great president of the United Mine Workers of America for the office of Thirteenth Vice President—John L. Lewis.

DELEGATE BRENNAN, United Mine Workers: I rise at this time to second the nomination of President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers. I am proud to be here to second that nomination. I am doing that because from boyhood I have always admired and followed John L. Lewis, because of my feeling that he was the greatest labor leader in the world.

If there are no other nominations I would move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot for the unanimous election of President Lewis as Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for John L. Lewis as Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And in conformity with your decision and the announcement just made by the Secretary, I officially declare Brother John L. Lewis elected as thirteenth vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term, and it is so ordered.

Now the Chair calls for nominations of Secretary-Treasurer and recognizes Delegate Martin Durkin.

DELEGATE DURKIN, United Association: I rise to nominate the present incumbent, a young man who had represented a local union of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters in his own town, the City of New York, and who has risen to great heights as one of the foremost leaders in the labor movement in that city. This was recognized by the labor people of the State of New York when they selected him as President of the New York State Federation of Labor. Later on the delegates to this convention selected him as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, in which position he has done credit to himself as well as

to every member of the American Federation of Labor. So, it gives me great pleasure to place in nomination for the position of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, George Meany.

DELEGATE MURRAY, New York State Federation of Labor: I sincerely appreciate the opportunity, in behalf of the organization I have the honor to represent here, the New York State Federation of Labor, an organization that never gets tired of the accomplishments of George Meany while serving in that capacity. It is getting to be an old story, but it is a story that should be told often, of the accomplishments of George Meany as President of the State Federation of Labor of New York. He has put on the statute books of that State labor legislation second to none in our United States.

We of New York love to tell the story of the labor legislation that he was successful in putting over in our State. I am convinced that there is not a delegate in this assembly here today who will not agree with me that since he became Secretary of our great Federation of Labor, he has performed the duties and the assignments of that office in a most satisfactory and efficient manner.

I, therefore, feel it a great honor to second the nomination of George Meany for Secretary-Treasurer of this great American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE D'ANDREA, Hod Carriers: If there are no further nominations I wish to move that the nominations be closed on the name of George Meany and that the President cast the unanimous vote of the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In conformity with your instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

And in conformity with your decision I officially declare Brother George Meany elected as Secretary-Treasurer for the ensuing term.

SECRETARY MEANY: I deeply appreciate the expression of confidence given by the delegates to this convention, but I am sure that you have heard enough speeches for one day and I am not going to impose upon you. However, I do want to just say a few words.

I was talking to a veteran newspaper man here—a real veteran—a couple of nights ago and he said to me: "You know, I often criticize the American Federation of Labor and often differ with some of its actions, but I want to say one thing about this organization, that year in and year out there is no more American organization in the United States."

And I want to say to you here today that, in keeping with that tradition of the American Federation of Labor, let us go forward, looking back upon the achievements of the



A. F. of L. only for what knowledge we can gain in order to turn our faces forward to even greater achievements, and in doing that let us keep in mind that this organization is thoroughly American, that it has accomplished a tremendous good for the workers of this nation because it is American, and that whatever good it has accomplished has been a direct contribution to the boasted wealth of America. Let's keep it that way.

Thank you.

### ELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The question now of fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is before the house.

**DELEGATE MacGOWAN, Boilermakers:** Mr. President, there perhaps never has been a time in the sixty-odd years that the American Federation of Labor has been exchanging fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress when the necessity of careful, cautious and intelligent understanding of each other's problems were so necessary. It is my understanding that if the duties of his office will permit, that the President of the American Federation of Labor would like to pay a fraternal visit to the British Isles. For those reasons, I would therefore move that the selection of fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress be referred to the Executive Council for their action.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

### CONVENTION CITY—1947

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair will now entertain nominations for the next convention city of the American Federation of Labor.

**DELEGATE COSTA, San Francisco, California Central Body:** The San Francisco Labor Council extends an invitation to the delegates assembled here to hold the next convention in 1947 in San Francisco, California.

**DELEGATE HAGGERTY, California State Body:** On behalf of the California State Federation of Labor, I want to extend a sincere and cordial welcome to this convention to spend its next convention in the city of San Francisco in the great State of California. We will do our best to care for you in the manner in which you should be cared for. You are coming to a city, if you do come, which is thoroughly capable of handling you and caring for you in comfort and convenience and properly. We trust that you will come to the city of San Francisco in 1947.

**DELEGATE ASH, Oakland, California Central Body:** Those who know the San Fran-

cisco Bay area will know that this is a little different than we usually operate, because of the rivalry between the east side of the Bay and the west side of the Bay.

I, too, wish to second the nomination of the city of San Francisco for the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Are there any further nominations? Is any other city nominated? If not, the Chair will declare nominations for a convention city next year closed.

**DELEGATE ASH:** Mr. Chairman, I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot for the city of San Francisco as the next convention city.

The motion was seconded and carried.

**SECRETARY MEANY:** In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for San Francisco as the city in which to hold the 1947 convention.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** In accordance with your decision I hereby officially declare San Francisco as the 1947 convention city.

### RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED FROM FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

**VICE PRESIDENT WOLL:** This is a report of the action taken by the Executive Council on resolutions received from federal labor unions, which resolutions are under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition.

Resolution received from Federal Labor Union 23833, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, proposing the establishment of an international union to consist of foremen only. This resolution has been disapproved.

A resolution from Federal Labor Union 22519, Mobile, Alabama, proposing that the holder of a union card who is employed by a suspended international or national union should not be allowed to hold office in any subordinate union of the American Federation of Labor. This resolution was disapproved because of the fact that the question presented therein is already covered by Section 5, of Article 4 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

**DELEGATE ZUMACH, Supervisory Employees 23833:** In introducing this resolution referring to an organization for foremen, I bring this to the attention of the convention because we have been operating as a federal organization since the 15th of May a year ago. We have had considerable difficulty in operating, and up to this day we have been unable to get a contract from the company we are a union of—that is, the A. O. Smith Corporation at Milwaukee. We have gone so far as even taking a strike vote and we had to take that out of existence again because of

a condition existing with the case before the Supreme Court.

While the National Labor Relations Board allows an organization of foremen to exist and allows a bargaining agency for such employees, nevertheless the two cases now appearing before the Supreme Court have been batted around and we have been unable to get a clear-cut decision as to whether foremen are now going to be allowed the right to organize.

In coming to the convention with this request for an international organization it may seem a little bit out of order, and I will agree that the resolution probably should have never come in at this time. But we are trying to make some kind of an inroad because we in our past experiences already have found that something else besides a federal type of organization is going to be necessary for such kind of people. It may be a little bit unethical in the years gone by to have foremen in an A. F. of L. organization, but as we go through the years we find that those people who are now going to be taken into positions of foremen and supervisors are men and women who at one time belonged to the labor movement, and they will have to take up those tasks again and continue on, and they are going to be buffeted around because the employer tries to say to them they are people of management. We have gone through this crisis already and we have battled with the employer, and all we get from them is the story, "Look, you can't have an organization because you are part of management."

We have been successful in getting an agreement from our company and we are operating on a grievance set-up. Everything we have now is taken care of under a grievance set-up. The top management of our concern has agreed that insofar as the conditions existing with the previous cases before the Supreme Court, and when they come up they will give us then a contract that we can operate under, but not until such time will they allow us to be called a union.

Now, I imagine the Executive Board when they took this under advisement didn't realize to the extent that we do that this kind of an organization probably should be called something else. Rightfully they are supervisors and foremen, and it is going to be sort of a craft, strictly a craft, you might say, for the purpose of finding some kind of a hole or house that you can put us into. We don't want to be operating under a federal type of organization because then we are stuck and we just can't get ourselves any further.

I would like to appeal to the Executive Council to study this problem and to be with us some time. We would only be too glad to sit down and talk to the people who are

going to handle this to see if they can't find some kind of a place for us. A federal type of organization, gentlemen, is never going to take care of our problems. You are going to put us in a little space and we are going to be stuck. Our organization today is very small. It only comprises 235 people, but that is only one industry, and in our experience in the last year and a half we find that these people through the various plants throughout the city of Milwaukee alone are willing to come in under a supervisory employees' union, but because of the fact that we have one organization under a federal union we don't know how far to go, we don't know whether we can give them any help. We have given them some advisory help and that is all. They are people who at one time were members of the various organizations, but now because of the war they have got themselves a job, a promotion to supervisors. There are some organizations operating under the American Federation of Labor who do take in supervisors and we have taken cognizance of that fact and we are leaving that up to those people who handle that kind of help, but those fellows and women who are now under the formanship and supervisors and have had to leave the various unions they belong to have no place to go. They still want to continue on with their work and membership as union people. That feeling is felt very much in the city of Milwaukee alone, and if it is in that city that that feeling exists there is no doubt in my mind that there is the same feeling throughout the various industries. I believe those people who are in the various plants can come back some time or other at the next convention, probably, and make a report of their findings and I think you will all agree with me that your people who are taken out of the various organizations and promoted to foremen and supervisors will be only too glad to come into this organization. There is room for them, and I think this convention is really going to realize that there are enough people and there is enough room for those people in the organized labor movement.

The employer continues to tell us that he is a part of management and because of the fact he is such an employee should not be able to belong to a labor organization. We discontinued that kind of a feeling and we have proven to our company, the A. O. Smith Corporation, that we are the only people now who can successfully help those people who are the members of organized labor to get the wages they are fighting for. We help to interpret the contract as it has been drafted by these people. We do not sit down and draft their contracts, but we try to help them work out those policies. It may seem a little bit strange to hear people in a supervisory

capacity to come here and ask for that kind of help, but, ladies and gentlemen, it is coming to that point where these people are going to have to be given some kind of a home. They have been in the labor movement for many years.

I attended the Tampa, Florida, convention and the Denver convention as a delegate of the A. O. Smith Federal Employees Union, which was one of the largest in existence for some time, and because of my advancement as a supervisor I didn't want to stay out of the labor movement, so I went out and organized the Supervisory Employees Union. We were successful in getting a charter as a federal union, but after operating for a year and a half we find that it is not the right kind of a place for us. It is a craft in itself, and I think it would be nice if you fellows could help us in some manner to give us some kind of a home where we could actually operate and not keep a fence around us by giving us just that federal union.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair now recognizes Brother William McSorley, Chairman of the Committee on Building and Construction Trades.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MCSORLEY:** Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: Your Committee on Building Trades had referred to it four resolutions and two excerpts from the report of the Executive Council. The committee has dealt with these subject matters and is now ready to make its report. Secretary Durkin of the committee will present the report.

Committee Secretary Durkin submitted the following report:

#### HOUSING LEGISLATION

(Pages 153-158 and 216 of the Executive Council's Report)

The American Federation of Labor commends highly the work of its Housing Committee and of its Legislative Committee for the most effective and valuable service they have rendered in advancing the interests of wage-earners and the public generally in the cause of more and better homes for the American family. Despite the reverses due to the pressure of strongly organized and well-financed special interests, which prevented the enactment of the A. F. of L.'s major postwar housing program, we have succeeded in focusing nation-wide attention on the housing goals and on methods of achieving those goals essential to our long-range program of large-scale housing construction. It is urgent that this work is intensified in the coming year, mobilizing the widest possible active support of all

affiliates of the A. F. of L. in every trade and industry and in every community. On the final success in the enactment of our housing program, full and steady employment in the coming years will largely depend. The establishment of minimum standards of safety, durability and livability of the American home will serve every family, every community and every worker in the years to come. The adoption of the prevailing wage requirement in the construction of all housing will be a foremost gain to mechanics and laborers in the building and construction trades. The American Federation of Labor is dedicated to the intensified and unrelenting fight for the attainment of these objectives.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

(Pages 229-230, Executive Council Report)

The American Federation of Labor heartily commends the Building and Construction Trades Department upon its impressive record of achievement in the transition from war to peace in the past two years. The Department and its affiliates have risen to the challenge of the immediate postwar emergency by special concessions to returning veterans in apprenticeship systems and numerous aids to veterans' housing. Since the report was rendered, the Department elected Brother Richard J. Gray of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union as its President for the ensuing term. We congratulate the Department on its wise choice.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### VETERANS HOUSING

**Resolution No. 100—**By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Veterans of the armed forces have returned from World War II and, having fought for home and country, now have no home in which to live, and

WHEREAS, A housing program has been inaugurated to build one-family homes for these veterans, and

WHEREAS, A program of one-family homes of this magnitude will exclude a large number of our building trades workers an opportunity for employment, thus weakening the building trades unions and eventually the whole union movement, and

WHEREAS, These one-family homes will cost more than the average war veteran can pay for in his remaining years of life, thus causing foreclosure and the loss of his home, and

WHEREAS, That as the majority of veterans do not want to be tied to the responsibility of paying off a long term mortgage and do not wish to be forced to buy one of

these homes in order to house himself and family, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Illinois, also sponsor action that apartment type housing in central locations be constructed, thus employing all branches of the building industry, creating a living setup that will be within the veterans' spending means causing him more contentment, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That as this is both a state issue as well as a national issue the American Federation of Labor convention in Chicago is urged to go on record insisting that National Housing Expediter, Mr. Wilson W. Wyatt, enter a program of this type in the Veterans Emergency Housing Program.

In the midst of a critical shortage of all types of housing, shortage of rental housing has been especially severe. The rental housing provisions of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft General Housing Bill, which are designed to encourage large-scale rental housing within the means of families of moderate incomes and low incomes, deserve special consideration in the fight for the early enactment of that Bill. In order to serve best the extreme need for rental housing on the part of our veterans and to alleviate the widespread lack of good homes at moderate rents, all sound programs for rental housing, conforming to the standards and policies of the American Federation of Labor, deserve our urgent support, whether such programs be Federal, State or Local. With these recommendations, your committee urges concurrence with the objectives and purposes of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### WAGNER-ELLENDER-TAFT BILL

**Resolution No. 120**—By Delegates Wm. J. Bowen, H. C. Bates, R. J. Gray, Elmer Spahr, A. J. Cleland, T. H. O'Donnell, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

**WHEREAS**, The Congress of the United States, through the failure of the House of Representatives to pass the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, S. 1592, which had been passed in the Senate by a large majority without party division, and

**WHEREAS**, In the United States more than one-third of the nation is ill-housed, and

**WHEREAS**, There exists in our cities large slum and blighted areas that are the source from which crime, juvenile delinquency and dependency spring, and which areas are revenue deficit areas impairing the financial structures of our cities and thus placing upon the owners of standard residential, commercial and industrial property excessive and economically wasteful tax burdens, which can only be cleared and redeveloped by the pooling of Federal, State and Local powers and resources as contemplated by the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, and

**WHEREAS**, The Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill S. 1592 was approved and supported by the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does

hereby endorse the provisions of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill S. 1592 and that the membership of the A. F. of L. be urged to contact their Congressional Representatives to secure that passage of this important legislation, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor request the President of the United States to call a special session of the 79th Congress to enact into law this vital legislation and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to all members of the Banking and Currency Committee and the Chairman of the Rules Committee and the majority and minority leaders of both Houses.

### WAGNER-ELLENDER-TAFT HOUSING BILL

**Resolution No. 152**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Rattery, Christian M. Madsen, Frank Owens, Pete Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, R. J. Watt, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

**WHEREAS**, The Executive Council has gone on record time and again for the passage of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill S. 1592, which is now bottled up in Committee, and

**WHEREAS**, Nothing has been done to insure the passage of this vital bill, and

**WHEREAS**, The passage of S. 1592 would go a long way to stabilize our economy and provide jobs and security for millions, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That in the best interests of our nation, that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers go on record to request that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. initiate and promote activities in all communities and cities of our nation in support of the immediate enactment of General Housing Bill, S. 1592.

Your committee recommends concurrence with these resolutions, calling for the earliest possible enactment of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft General Housing Bill. This Bill embodies the major objectives of the postwar housing program of the American Federation of Labor, unanimously adopted by its 1944 convention. The programs contained in the Bill do not impose burdensome controls upon private enterprise. On the contrary, the measure would make it possible to pool Federal, State and Local resources to provide positive aides to private enterprise in enabling it to render fuller service to the community. The Bill properly leaves to local initiative the responsibility for long-term planning of reconstruction of our cities and towns. It rests upon the principle that better new housing can be brought within the reach of more families by achieving a high and stable volume of home-construction at lower financial cost, while maintaining firm minimum standards of safety, durability and livability of homes, located in neighborhoods planned for growth and healthy living. The measure includes a program of publicly-aided low-rent housing for families of low income whom private enterprise cannot serve. It embodies the prevailing wage amendment, adopted by the Senate in April, 1946, requiring that not

less than prevailing wages be paid on all FHA-insured housing construction.

The comprehensive, large-scale housing program, initiated by the A. F. of L. and embodied in the non-partisan General Housing Bill is the only real solution and the only complete solution to the nation's housing crisis from which the American people, and especially veterans, have been so acutely suffering. Because of the grave urgency of this crisis, we strongly endorse the recommendation that the American Federation of Labor request the President of the United States to call a special session of the 79th Congress, to be convened promptly after the election, for the purpose of enacting the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill into law. If the 79th Congress fails to enact this law, its passage should be made the first order of business of the 80th Congress when it convenes in January and every resource of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates should be mobilized to secure prompt enactment of this measure vital to labor and to healthy growth of the whole nation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### AFL HOUSING DEPARTMENT

**Resolution No. 137.**—By Delegates John E. Rooney, M. J. McDonough, J. J. Hauck, John Donlin, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association.

WHEREAS, It is being conceded by all thinking people in the United States that public participation in housing and public control in slum clearance is one of the most outstanding economic and social problems that confronts the nation as a whole today, and

WHEREAS, There seems to be an erroneous impression existing in the minds of the officials of the Federation that this business of housing is a building trades problem when as a matter of fact it is a consumer problem and should be treated as such, and

WHEREAS, Some of the largest educational institutions in the United States, such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University, Yale University, and many of the universities in New York City have established courses in this field of housing, and this should be an indication to us of the importance placed upon this movement by the educators in our universities, and

WHEREAS, The broad economic and social phase of this problem and its influence upon the home life of the American people warrants the workers of America giving more serious thought and study to this great social movement, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor establish a Department of Housing in the American Federation of Labor comparable to that of other Departments now in existence.

Your Committee is in accord with the purposes outlined in this resolution. An urgent need exists for means whereby, under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, the entire trade union movement could be brought into active participation in our work of furthering better homes and

better housing standards in every community and wide public support gained for the A. F. of L. housing policy.

Your Committee believes, however, that the creation of a new Department of Housing of the A. F. of L. will not best serve the purpose this resolution seeks. The American Federation of Labor has pioneered in the field of public housing and in furthering sound housing programs. In order to intensify and strengthen the housing activities of the American Federation of Labor and to insure wider participation in them of its affiliates, your Committee recommends that (1) the membership of the standing Housing Committee of the A. F. of L. be enlarged from three to five members, the additional members to be appointed by the President of the A. F. of L.; (2) provision be made for a full-time staff Director of Housing Activities of the A. F. of L. who shall serve as the Secretary of the Housing Committee, with adequate technical staff made available to the Director; (3) full working co-operation be maintained between the A. F. of L. Housing Committee and its Building and Construction Trades Department and with other A. F. of L. Departments and affiliates concerned with better housing; (4) the Housing Committee and its staff initiate, further and encourage studies of housing need, housing standards and their effect on family welfare and community life; (5) the Housing Committee disseminate information on housing need, housing standards, public housing, slum clearance, co-operative housing, housing costs and housing market to further widest possible understanding of sound housing in the ranks of organized labor and by the public generally.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this report in lieu of the Resolution No. 137.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY DURKIN:** That completes the work of the committee which is signed by:

William J. McSorley, Chairman  
Martin P. Durkin, Secretary  
Richard J. Gray  
Joseph V. Moreschi  
F. B. Comfort  
Charles B. Gramling  
John H. Lyons  
Wm. J. Bowen  
C. W. Sickles  
Pete Yablonski  
Rex Fransway  
Homer J. Myers  
M. J. McDonough  
John J. Conway  
Ray Schoessling  
James L. McDewitt  
John L. McKinney  
George Osterkamp  
Laurence Foley  
James J. Ryan  
Paul A. Givens  
Robert Buxbaum.

**COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES**

COMMITTEE SECRETARY DURKIN: Mr. Chairman, I move that the report of the committee as a whole be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank the committee for its valuable service and for its support.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements.

#### ANNOUNCEMENTS

SECRETARY MEANY: The convention

picture and the pictures taken at the banquet are ready for inspection of the delegates and can be picked up by anyone who desires to purchase them just outside the door of the convention hall.

PRESIDENT GREEN: If there are no further announcements the convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

At 5:00 o'clock, P. M., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 17, 1946.

## NINTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

Chicago, Illinois

October 17, 1946

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:45 o'clock.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The invocation will be given this morning by the Reverend J. L. Donahue, Chaplain of the Chicago Building Trades Council.

## INVOCATION

(Rev. J. L. Donahue, C.S.V.)

O Powerful, Everlasting God of Peace, shower your Divine blessings upon us your children, gathered here for the advancement of those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows.

Grant us, O Giver of all good gifts, courage, strength and manhood to lay aside all hatreds, all envies and all dissensions, that we might unite in the bond of charity for the good of our fellow-men, for the preservation of our ideals, our homes and our country.

We pray Thee, O God of Wisdom and Justice, assist with Thy Holy Spirit of Counsel and Fortitude, the President of this American Federation of Labor and all other officers who are appointed to guard its welfare; that they may be enabled by Thy Powerful Protection to discharge the duties of their respective stations with honesty and ability, that their offices may be conducted in righteousness and tend to the increase of industry and the promotion of happiness.

Finally, we pray Thee, O God of Mercy, to remember the souls of those who when living were members of this organization. Put an end to their sufferings and grant to all those for whom we are particularly bound to pray eternal light, rest and happiness. Amen.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany for a communication.

Secretary Meany read the following message:

New York, N. Y.  
Oct. 8, 1946.

WILLIAM GREEN, President  
American Federation of Labor  
Hotel Morrison  
Chicago

General MacArthur, September 27 in Tokio asked me to convey to you his warmest personal greetings and report to you successful occupation efforts to establish free trade unions as integral part of New Democratic Japan. I hope either during convention or after to have opportunity to supply you with analysis of current situation there as seen in my six weeks' visit just ended, during which I talked individually to chief union leaders.

MARK STARR, Educational Director,  
International Ladies' Garment  
Workers Union

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey of the Committee on Resolutions.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Committee Secretary Frey continued the report of the Committee as follows:

## CIVIL RIGHTS

**Resolution No. 165**—By Delegates Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma Borchardt, John D. Connors, American Federation of Teachers; Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, H. Z. Collier, John M. Henry, George W. Thorpe, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The individual's right to personal, political and economic freedom is the most precious asset of a democratic society, and

WHEREAS, The due process of law constitutes a basic right under the American concept of democratic government, and

WHEREAS, The citizens of this nation have vested in their Government responsibility for protection against the abridgment or violation of these rights, and

WHEREAS, The recent lynchings, mob violence and terrorism, are a ruthless abrogation of the democratic rights of men, and

WHEREAS, Persons guilty of these deplorable crimes have often been allowed to escape prosecution because of the prejudice, apathy, and, at times, deliberate negligence of local law enforcement officials, and

WHEREAS, Without additional legislation the Federal Government's power to intervene or take action in cases of mob violence is extremely inadequate, with the result that the twin evils of fear and terror continue unchecked, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor vigorously and unequivocally condemn these crimes, and urges the Congress of the United States to enact, as speedily as possible, legislation which will permit the Federal Government to intervene in cases where individuals or groups have been deprived of their civil rights, guaranteed under the Federal constitution, or have been denied due process of law or adequate protection against violence.

As the convention has already acted on this subject no further action is required on this resolution.

The report of the Committee was adopted.



## STOVE MOUNTERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

**Resolution No. 167**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Stove Mounters International Union for several years has deliberately invaded the jurisdiction of a number of international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, and

WHEREAS, This condition has made it difficult and sometimes impossible for these international unions to negotiate with employers covering their industries, and

WHEREAS, Repeated conferences between officers of the Stove Mounters International Union and the presidents of the international unions have failed to establish any adjustment whatsoever, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor cancel the charter of the Stove Mounters International Union.

Your Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## ELIMINATE COMMUNISTS FROM GOVERNMENT SERVICE

**Resolution No. 169**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Insidious forces of communism have crept into certain elements of organized labor, seeking to dominate policies and practices of the free trade labor movement by infiltration into the ranks, and

WHEREAS, These same subversive forces would spread their doctrines of destruction into the Government of the United States,

thereby constituting a real danger and threat to the true democratic principles of our Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor renew its pledge of loyalty to the United States Government, and recommends the dismissal from the service of any known member of the Communist party, or anyone known to be in sympathy with any subversive movement detrimental to our democratic form of government, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES EXTEND THANKS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

**Resolution No. 170**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The organizations of the Government Employees Council affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor

in this sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution, introduced by the International unions with members employed by the Federal Government, expresses their appreciation for the assistance given to them by the American Federation of Labor, and requires no action on our part.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

**Resolution No. 171**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The administration of laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Serv-

ice Commission continue to be a bipartisan commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to request of the President that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission be selected from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### APPLICATION OF SENIORITY PRINCIPLES TO ALL FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

**Resolution No. 172**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of seniority principles among all Federal employees.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### INDISCRIMINATE GOVERNMENTAL FIRING

**Resolution No. 173**—By Delegates William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerity, National Association of Letter Carriers;

Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Men and women accept employment in peacetime in the bond of good faith and full intention to make the Federal Government civil service a career, and

WHEREAS, Much of the turnover in the Government service is superinduced through the uncertainties of limitations on appropriations, expiration of appropriations, cessation of projects and programs, whether emergency, defense, wartime or peacetime, and

WHEREAS, Instability in Government employment is so noticeably high as to discourage entrance of many qualified persons, and

WHEREAS, Wave after wave of dismissals continually beset the Government service without planning beyond determination to curtail numbers employed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor joins wholeheartedly in endorsing the position of its unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in their purpose of seeing established an orderly system to eliminate the official hysteria which leads to reduction in force and to prevent the damage to employee morale, lowered efficiency and resultant decline in return upon the citizen's tax-dollar investment.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL

Resolution No. 174—By Delegate William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, A. F. Baker, L. V. McGuigan, P. M. Payton, T. H. Gerity, National Association of Letter Carriers; Leo E. George, John T. Driscoll, Stewart Robinson, William V. Biggadike, George J. Wachowski, National Federation of Post

Office Clerks; Chester M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Omar M. House, Railway Mail Association; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; M. Nave, National Association of Postal Supervisors; Harold McAvoy, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John F. Griner, American Federation of Government Employees; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, George T. Slocum, International Association of Fire Fighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America; John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees International Union; Martin P. Durkin, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; H. Woods, International Union of Operating Engineers; Leslie L. Myers, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Recurrently national expenditures have become the center of much discussion, and

WHEREAS, Government programs and Government civilian personnel invariably are caught in the cross-fire of the pros and cons of such discussions, and

WHEREAS, Attacks upon Government personnel which more properly might be directed at Government programs prove extremely harmful to the efforts to perform their jobs effectively with morale suffering as a direct result, and

WHEREAS, Such attacks inevitably result in undermining the citizen's respect for and faith in his Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does herewith condemn all premeditated, gratuitous assaults upon Government employees as a class, and that the American Federation of Labor calls for the full exercise of fairplay in considering the merits of Government projects and programs, separate and apart from the persons assigned to carry out such projects, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extends its prestige and full support to the unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in their pledge to safeguard the good name of those who serve our Government in civilian capacities.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FOOD FOR FREEDOM

Resolution No. 184—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The members of the American Federation of Labor, in addition to supporting wide-scale Government measures for the relief of hungry millions in liberated countries,

have generously given practical aid through Labor's League of Human Rights to our trade union brothers in those countries, and

WHEREAS, With an estimated world deficit of eight million tons of bread grains for 1946-47, hunger and famine continue to threaten the firm establishment of freedom and genuine democracy and require continuing aid both by Government and private agencies, and

WHEREAS, In the coming months 20 million children in the liberated nations will need food relief to live and regain their health, and in addition millions of adults, mainly wage earners, will need such aid, and

WHEREAS, Since its establishment in 1943 Food For Freedom, a non-profit, non-partisan agency, acting in wholehearted co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, has stressed the crucial importance of food in the establishment of a democratic lasting peace and has helped mobilize American public opinion in support of adequate famine relief measures, and

WHEREAS, Food For Freedom's policy, in harmony with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, is that food relief should be furnished only to meet human needs and only where it will not be subverted to the furtherance of political domination, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in its 65th convention, endorses and pledges its cooperation to Food For Freedom and recommends to its affiliated international and national unions, to state and central labor bodies and to local unions that every possible aid and assistance be given to the policies, programs, and activities of this organization whose name—Food For Freedom—accurately describes its purpose.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MINORITIES

**Resolution No. 185—**By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Recent developments indicate the presence in this country of considerable racial tension, religious bigotry and anti-Semitism, setting Protestant against Catholic, Christian against Jew, white against colored, native Americans against foreign-born citizens, and

WHEREAS, Anti-Semitism as used by fascist and nazi-inspired elements to sow dissension and mistrust in their effort to destroy the national unity, democratic institutions and the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Racial and religious discord plays into the hands of the enemies of organized labor who are trying to bring about the repeal or emasculatation of the liberal social legislation on our statute books and to tear down the American standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, offering by its very existence living proof of the great good that comes of various

groups working together toward one common goal, has always contended that discrimination against minorities is directly contrary to the principles of democracy, which is the cornerstone of a free labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor issue a warning to the American people against the danger of allowing the wave of racialism to rise in this country, no matter who practices the discrimination and against what group it is directed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be put on guard in their readjustment to post-war conditions, lest they fall victim to the disruptive attempts of the union-wreckers whose interests bigotry serves, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention demand the immediate abolition of the poll tax and the establishment, by act of Congress, of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, authorized to eliminate discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin, in private industry as well as in Government work, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to wage an unrelenting struggle against the groups responsible for the spreading of the poison of anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism, anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism and other forms of racial prejudice, and that the Executive Council give all possible support to the international and local unions in the undertaking and carrying out of an educational program calculated to promote tolerance, understanding, and amity among the various groups comprising the family of American organized labor.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### PROHIBITION

**Resolution No. 186—**By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, There is a well organized and heavily financed movement in this country seeking through its efforts to prohibit the manufacture, distribution and sale of alcoholic beverages, thereby destroying the distilling and wine industries and causing hardship and unemployment to thousands of employees, members of Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and thousands of other members of unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, allied to the distilling and wine industries, and

WHEREAS, The products of the distilling and wine industries are the greatest single source of internal revenue to the United States Government, and are a significant source of revenue to State and local municipal bodies, and by reason of such revenue has resulted in substantial social improvements for the community as a whole; and the distilling and wine industries have caused the full

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employment of hundreds of thousands of workers in allied industries, and

WHEREAS, These prohibition forces with misguided zeal seek to plunge the country into a repetition of the lawlessness of the infamous prohibition era, the ill effects of which are still being experienced in this country, and

WHEREAS, The dry forces have utilized the technique of local option elections as a means of accomplishing their purpose piecemeal, being unable to accomplish this result on a national plane, and are engaged in waging such local option campaigns with untruth and prejudice in total disregard of reasoned findings of scientists and the Yale School of Alcoholism, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in conformity with its past efforts and utterances, hereby declares itself as unalterably opposed to the efforts of the dry forces and their organizations who seek to declare illegal the manufacture, distribution, or sale of alcoholic beverages; and further declares that the efforts of such forces are harmful to the best welfare of our country, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention, through its president, instruct its affiliated organizations, including its state federations of labor and city central bodies, to keep a vigilant watch for all local option elections and to strenuously oppose the prohibition forces in these local option elections, and that the state federations of labor be instructed to combat the efforts of all forces which seek to prohibit by any manner or means the manufacture, distribution and sale of alcoholic beverages.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PERMANENT F. E. P. C.

**Resolution No. 189**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee is the recognized and responsible agency free from all totalitarian influences from the right or left, which is waging a nation-wide educational campaign among the churches, trade unions, schools and colleges, civic groups, and homes with a view to informing public opinion of the nature and importance of Federal legislation for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, not only because of its significance to Negroes, Catholics, Jews, Mexicans, Filipinos, and Japanese-Americans, but also because of its basic value to our American democratic institutions and traditions, and

WHEREAS, Some sixty or more national organizations in the country including such agencies as The Interracial Catholic Commission, The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, The B'nai B'rith, The Y. M. C. A., and the Y. W. C. A., are supporting and cooperating with the Council, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of

the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, October, 1946, go on record as endorsing, supporting, and cooperating with the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee and its program, and call upon the various national, international, and federal unions, central bodies, and state federations to cooperate with this National Council for a Permanent F. E. P. C. in its efforts to secure sound and effective legislation for the application of the principles of fair employment practice.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

**DELEGATE RANDOLPH.** Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I rise to concur in the report of the Resolutions Committee and also to express the appreciation of the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for the action of the Resolutions Committee on the various resolutions presented by the Brotherhood delegates.

We have had a very pleasing and satisfied feeling about the position the Resolutions Committee has taken on the resolutions of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' delegates. We have been coming to this convention for a long time, and I don't know that we have ever gotten a resolution through this convention before.

This is certainly a tremendous step of progress, and my good friends, Matthew Woll and John P. Frey, gave me a delightful disappointment. We had come here with the feeling and belief that we had to wage another war on the Resolutions Committee, but Matthew Woll and John P. Frey tricked us, and so we are glad to state that the attitude of the Resolutions Committee will be an inspiration to the Negro workers all over this country. It is indeed very gratifying, constructive, and fundamental.

Thank you very much.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY:** Mr. Chairman, the statement just made by the delegate is appreciated by the Committee on Resolutions, for this reason. Those he mentioned on the Committee have been deeply interested in the question of Negroes' rights from the beginning, from before the time this delegate represented his international union in this convention. We have frequently talked with him, we have discussed his problems from our viewpoint, and I think the Committee's action this year is due to the fact that the delegate has learned to couch his resolutions in such a way as to have the Committee's support and that of the convention.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I interpret the statements made by Delegate Randolph and by our friend, Secretary Frey, as evidence of very constructive progress being made at these conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I appreciate very much the statement made by Delegate Randolph and the action of

the convention upon the resolution to which he referred. I know the action in this convention reflects the judgment, the feeling and the opinion of the great membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

### FREE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE

**Resolution No. 190**—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Free Trade Union Committee of the Labor League for Human Rights has, for the past two years, warned American trade unionists of the consequences of the destruction and demolition of free and democratic trade unions throughout the war-torn world and the need for help in rebuilding these trade unions, and

WHEREAS, Free and democratic trade unions form a true basis for future peace and security in all countries where the course of war has been deeply felt, and

WHEREAS, The Free Trade Union Committee through its representatives in Europe and Latin America has already assisted in rebuilding the free and democratic unions of various countries through the funds made available by generous contributions of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, More financial aid and material is required to help the free trade union leaders in Europe, South America and Asia to rebuild strong organizations, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in sixty-fifth convention assembled endorses the work already carried out so gloriously to help our brothers and sisters in the free and democratic trade unions of other lands and urges all A. F. of L. members to support morally and financially the noble aims and purposes of the Free Trade Union Committee of the Labor League for Human Rights.

Your Committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### LABOR LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

**Resolution No. 191**—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Labor League for Human Rights, created by the American Federation of Labor, has initiated and encouraged voluntary contributions during the war years of more than \$140,000,000 from American trade unionists to local Community Chests, National War Fund and the National American Red Cross, and

WHEREAS, The Labor League for Human Rights has sponsored and developed the plan through which almost 10,000 A. F. of L. trade union members have been given posi-

tions of responsibility and authority on important committees and boards of directors of health, welfare and relief organizations named above, and

WHEREAS, The Labor League for Human Rights has conducted an overseas Labor Relief Program in excess of \$10,000,000 to bring foodstuffs, medical supplies, rehabilitation centers and workers' rest homes to the war-devastated areas throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, The Labor League for Human Rights in this peace-time period will advance its full support to the final campaign of the USO and in developing to the maximum Community Chest programs in the field of voluntary health and welfare programs throughout the United States by cooperating with the Labor-Employee Participation Department of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., through officially designated staff representatives in said department, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in sixty-fifth convention assembled hereby endorses the past record and accomplishments of the Labor League for Human Rights, A. F. of L., commends its support of this final USO campaign as well as its future work with Community Chests and Councils, Inc., for the fullest support and assistance by every member of the American Federation of Labor and recommends that the Labor League consider calling upon local community chests in industrial communities to employ officially designated A. F. of L. staff representatives to further the program within the community and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor looks to the Labor League for Human Rights, A. F. of L., as its guide and advisor in bringing greater advantages in the field of voluntary health, welfare and recreation to every American community.

Your Committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### JOHN FITZPATRICK

**Resolution No. 192**—By Delegate Gus Moline, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, John Fitzpatrick, for close to a half century, served the Chicago Federation of Labor as its chief executive, and

WHEREAS, Those sterling qualities of heart and mind, which prompted his selection for that responsible office, were manifested in every subsequent thought, word and action of his official career, and

WHEREAS, His unswerving adherence to the creed of partiality to none, but justice to all, early won for him the sobriquet of "HONEST JOHN," and

WHEREAS, Both his physical and moral courage proved inspirational qualities of leadership, prompting action that clothed the Chicago Federation of Labor with the unique distinction of being heralded as the most militant of all city central bodies operating under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, and



WHEREAS, This peerless director of the Chicago Federation of Labor's destiny in his unselfish devotion to the advancement and protection of the welfare of the men and women toilers, gave so unstintingly of his strength and energy, that when illness visited him, his reserves were exhausted to the point that on September 27, 1946, death entered his home at 3421 Parnell Avenue, Chicago, and at the age of 76 years, stilled a heart that had made unending service for the benefit of others, a labor of love, to the pursuit of which, he had dedicated life itself, and

WHEREAS, For the reasons as recited, labor in general and organized labor in particular, owes to its champion and brother, John Fitzpatrick an unpaid debt of gratitude, that can only be expressed in reverential action that leaves no doubt in the public mind, that though gone in the flesh, in spirit, John Fitzpatrick will ever be with the Chicago Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, Illinois, October 1946, hereby goes on record as expressing its reverential respect for our departed leader, John Fitzpatrick, and that same be recorded in the minutes of this convention.

Your Committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### LEA BILL

Resolution No. 193—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting in Chicago August 12th, 1946, adopted the resolution hereinafter set forth whereby the Executive Council pledged its support and the support of the American Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Musicians and its President, James C. Petrillo, in the defense against the prosecution of James C. Petrillo for alleged violation of the so-called Lea Bill passed at the last session of Congress, and

WHEREAS, Said prosecution is still pending and in force and effect, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, opening in the City of Chicago, October 7th, 1946, affirms the action taken by the Executive Council on August 12th, 1946, and adopts the resolution as its own action in the matter:

#### "Prosecution Under the Lea Bill"

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has thoroughly discussed the question of the Lea Bill and the prosecution instituted by the Government against Mr. James C. Petrillo, President of the American Federation of Musicians, for alleged violation of that law.

It is the unanimous conviction of the Executive Council that this statute represents the lowest point in our history of national labor legislation. Never before has any Congress so arbitrarily and completely

struck down the basic right to strike for plainly lawful purposes. Never before has any Congress so openly indulged in such flagrant discrimination in favor of a powerful industry, the broadcasting industry, and in unfair opposition to the workers, the American musicians, who made possible the phenomenal success of that industry. Never before has any Congress manifested such wanton disregard for simple economic justice and for the cherished, elemental rights preserved by our Constitution.

While the Lea Bill, with gross unfairness, singles out for attack a single union in a single industry, it contains principles and imposes restrictions which, if upheld, would crush the freedom of all American workers and destroy the American trade union movement. In waging their valiant fight against this vicious law and those who sponsored it, the American Federation of Musicians and its President, Mr. James C. Petrillo, are fighting for the liberties of every worker in this country and for the very existence of every trade union in these United States. They richly deserve the unlimited support and co-operation of all who value freedom and trade unionism.

With firm determination that they shall succeed in this vital struggle, the American Federation of Labor will exert its entire strength and resources in the fullest support of the American Federation of Musicians and Mr. Petrillo to the end that this hideous law be completely wiped off the books.

Your Committee recommends approval of resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to take advantage of this opportunity to say something regarding this highly objectionable anti-labor bill. All of you have heard of this notorious Lea Bill. It was passed by the Congress of the United States at its recent session, and in spite of our appeal to the President of the United States to veto the measure, he decided to approve it and it became law.

The bill is interpreted as a blow at the President of the Musicians International Union, and in that respect it seems difficult to understand or to appreciate the fact that the Congress of the United States, representing the millions of people in our great country, could be persuaded to pass a bill designed to strike at one single individual in the United States. It establishes a new precedent, a precedent on the part of the law making body of our country, to pass legislation designed to strike at individuals. That, we resent with all our feeling and with all our judgment.

Secondly, it is not so much a blow at one individual, because it strikes at labor. It strikes at certain free democratic rights belonging to labor. For instance, if the workers represented by the unions are robbed of the right to oppose policies on the part of management relating to the employment of more workers than the workers think are



needed, or less workers than the workers think are needed, then you are robbing labor organizations of the right to deal with an economic problem.

Well, that is all incorporated in the Lea Bill. It runs parallel with the Hobbs Bill and with the Case Bill that was passed by the Congress of the United States, and which is equally objectionable to labor.

As a result of this the president of an international union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Musicians, a membership of 200,000 affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is hauled into court, charged with being a criminal and is to be prosecuted by the Government. Now, don't forget that it is not the fight alone of the president of this international union, don't draw the line of distinction or isolation, put yourself on one side and the president of the musicians on another. It is your fight just as much as it is his fight. He may be the victim but you will be the victims. If he loses, you lose; if he wins, you win. That is the situation regarding this notorious Lea Bill.

I want to say here now that the American Federation of Labor protests the passage of this Bill. We are against it. We shall do everything we can to have it declared unconstitutional, and in addition to that we are going to stand by and with the president of the Musicians International Union in this fight he is making and in the persecution to which he is subject by the Government of the United States. Any aid or assistance we can give him will be extended to him, and we want to say publicly that we interpret this attack that is made upon him as an attack made upon the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor and on the rights which they enjoy under the Constitution of the United States.

We protest to the Courts; we protest to the Government; we protest to the Congress of the United States, and if we can prevent the re-election to Congress of the author of this notorious Bill we are going to defeat him at the polls.

It appeared to me, so that there would be no misunderstanding, that it was quite appropriate and proper for me to make this statement on this occasion reflecting, as I believe it does, the judgment and the opinion of the feelings of the 7,100,000 members of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was unanimously carried.

#### UNITED ASSOCIATION OF PLUMBERS AND STEAM- FITTERS—CHANGE OF TITLE

**Resolution No. 195**—By Delegates Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George

Meany, Peter Schoemann, Charles Rau, Robert Lynch, R. J. Picard, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada.

**WHEREAS**, Trades lines of demarcation within the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters have been a fruitful source of internal jurisdictional strife, and

**WHEREAS**, The delegates to the 25th convention of the United Association in convention assembled at Atlantic City, New Jersey, during the week of September 9, 1946 did by an overwhelming majority vote and decide to eliminate these trade lines of demarcation within the United Association in order to eliminate the cause of internal jurisdictional disputes, and

**WHEREAS**, The delegates to the 25th convention of the United Association also decreed that the name of the organization should be changed to read, "The United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada," so as to reflect the elimination of trade lines of demarcation, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled be requested to acknowledge and to officially establish the new title of our organization, to wit, "The United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada."

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Building and Construction Trades Department for consideration and transmission by them to the Executive Council, A. F. of L.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

#### ROOFERS—CHANGE OF TITLE

**Resolution No. 196**—By Delegates Charles D. Aquadro, Homer J. Myers and Ben D. Vetter, United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association.

**WHEREAS**, The name United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association is too cumbersome and awkward for daily use, and

**WHEREAS**, At the tenth biennial convention of the United Slate Tile and Composition, Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, which convened on September 16, 1946, at Denver, Colorado a resolution was adopted recommending that the name of the organization be changed to International Union of Roofers and Waterproofers, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the name of the organization presently known as United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association be changed to International Union of Roofers and Waterproofers.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be first referred to the Building and Construction Trades Department for their consideration, and then for reference to the Executive Council, A. F. of L.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ENDORISING STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

**Resolution No. 197**—By Delegate Thomas J. Moore, Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Territory of Alaska has proved to be an asset to the United States over a period of many years, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands for free autonomy for a democratic people, and

WHEREAS, The people of Alaska have demonstrated their desire to permanently affiliate themselves with the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, At the recent referendum of voters they have expressed by a two to one majority their desire to become the 49th State of the Union, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in their 65th convention in Chicago, Illinois endorse the efforts of the people of Alaska to join the Union and promise these people the full support of this Federation towards that end.

Your Committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ENGINEERS—FIREMEN AND OILERS

(Page 77, Executive Council Report)

As a first step, your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

Your Committee has discussed the question at issue with the principals involved, as a result your Committee recommends that the Executive Council of both organizations be brought into joint conference within the next ninety days. Should the two Executive Councils fail to reach a mutually acceptable agreement, the President of the American Federation of Labor will request both Executive Councils to meet with him, and for him to use his good offices to assist in bringing about an acceptable agreement covering the merger of the two organizations as recommended by the Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### PRINCIPLES OF REPRESSIVE LABOR LEGISLATION

(Pages 127-130, Executive Council Report)

and

### LABOR AND THE COURTS

(Pages 136-140, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee deems it advisable that its report on the subjects of "Principles of Repressive Labor Legislation" and "Labor and the Courts" be combined for the purpose of this report since the subjects are related.

In 1943 there was considerable repressive labor legislation introduced in the various State legislatures. Such legislation was introduced in about twenty-two States, and twelve of them adopted antilabor laws in various forms. Since then a number of repressive bills were introduced in Congress, particularly in the last session, and there was considerable agitation with regard to them.

The State laws had for their purpose compulsory incorporation; registration or licensing of labor unions; regulation and control of the internal affairs of labor unions; necessity for a majority vote of all employees of an employer before a strike could be lawful, and the outlawing of the closed shop.

The American Federation of Labor, through its legal department, undertook to contest these various antilabor laws and it met with considerable success in the litigation.

The Colorado law was defeated, practically in its entirety. The major provisions of the Alabama law were invalidated by the Supreme Court of Alabama. The same is true of Texas with respect to its law. The Kansas law was stricken down in its major provisions. The laws of Idaho and South Dakota were held to be invalid. Such portions of the Florida general antilabor law (this does not include the anticlosed shop constitutional amendment) as have been tested have likewise been invalidated by the Supreme Court of the United States, particularly with respect to the licensing and registration provisions.

Although these State antilabor laws involved the American Federation of Labor in costly and prolonged legal fights and there is still pending litigation respecting these laws in some of the courts, yet the outcome up to the present time is most gratifying.

With respect to national legislation, most of the repressive bills, after hard and bitter struggles on the part of labor to defeat them, were defeated. However, the vicious Hobbs Bill, which makes robbery and extortion in interstate commerce felonies, was passed. This was a wholly unnecessary measure since all States have laws outlawing robbery and extortion. Its aim was, in a large measure, to restrict some of the normal and legitimate activities of trade unions. It is fortunate that an amendment was incorporated in the act at the time of its adoption preserving to labor its protective rights under the exemption clauses of the Antitrust Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the Railway Labor Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act. It is hoped that the worst features of the Act as originally proposed have been excluded by the foregoing amendment. However, the bill constitutes an insult to the workers of the nation, and the American Federation of Labor will seek its repeal. In the meantime, should any case arise which affords an opportunity for a proper test of the Act, such test will be undertaken and the validity of the law challenged.

Your Committee is most apprehensive of a recent tendency on the part of State courts to re-establish the evil of Government by injunction. The Norris-LaGuardia Act was passed to remove that evil and deprive the Federal courts of jurisdiction to issue injunctions in labor disputes. However, many States

have not enacted similar laws, although all courts had adopted the philosophy of the Norris-LaGuardia Act as the dominant public policy of the nation. But in the last year a number of courts in many of the States have issued old time injunctions prohibiting workers from striking, peacefully picketing, boycotting and from engaging in any other peaceful economic pressure in furtherance of labor disputes. Your Committee is alarmed and warns the delegates to this convention of the situation and requests that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be immediately notified of any such injunctions which may be issued so that such decrees may be properly litigated and thereby obviate the return of the evil institution—Government by injunction.

Your Committee desires further to warn the delegates to this convention against the introduction of similar repressive legislation in the State legislatures which will meet in 1947, and in the next session of Congress. Bills such as the Hatch-Ball-Burton Bill, fostered on the theory of compulsory arbitration, the Hobbs Bill, the Norton Bill which contained compulsory cooling off periods, the vicious Case Bill which restricted all legitimate trade union activities, the Lea Bill, which prohibits striking in the broadcasting industry, will rear their ugly heads again. In fact, antilabor legislators and Congressmen have given notice that they will introduce such measures in the forthcoming sessions of the legislatures and Congress. It behooves us all to acquaint ourselves with these measures and to exert all effort to bring about their defeat. The American Federation of Labor will vigorously oppose these antilabor laws and take all proper means to defeat them.

In closing, we desire to make brief mention of the excellent legal services rendered by the Federation's General Counsel, Judge Joseph A. Padway, and his associates. We attribute in no small measure the great success the Federation has had in the courts in contesting the laws referred to, to the splendid and able presentation of the Federation's contentions in the courts by Judge Padway and his associates.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### RAILROAD RETIREMENT AMENDMENTS

(Page 211, Executive Council Report)

The Committee notes with satisfaction and appreciation the splendid progress made by the Railroad Labor Organizations in improving their social security acts. Many important improvements were made. Among these are the payment for time lost account of sickness up to maximum of 130 days in any base year at a maximum of \$25.00 per week.

The unemployment insurance benefits were extended to 130 days per year and the maximum rate of benefit increased to \$25.00 per week.

Provisions were secured for the payment of disability annuities after ten years of service in the railroad industry in cases of total and permanent disability. Disability annuities are also payable to employees disabled for

their regular employment after twenty years of service in the industry.

Survivor benefits for widows, parents and minor children at rates approximately 25 per cent higher than rates prevailing under the Social Security Act were obtained.

These improvements secured by the railroad organizations emphasize the need for early and speedy improvements in the general Social Security Act.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### CHARTER FOR WORLD SECURITY ORGANIZATION

(Page 184, Executive Council Report)

After the Dumbarton Oaks Conference had prepared a preliminary draft charter for the United Nations, a more representative conference of nations interested was called for San Francisco. The conference was in session for months and many vital decisions were made in compromises. There was deep dissatisfaction over discrimination against smaller nations and the right of veto granted the major nations.

The A. F. of L. was denied representation in our national delegation. President Green submitted proposals endorsed by our Executive Council.

President Green also appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Senate ratified the Charter 89 to 2.

We recommend approval of this section of the report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### INTERNEED EMPLOYEES OF CONTRACTORS

(Page 221, Executive Council Report)

We note with deep satisfaction the success of A. F. of L. efforts to secure legislation providing compensation for interned employees of war contractors. Benefits for injury, death, disability, and detention equal to 100 per cent of earnings, retroactive to January 1, 1942, are provided.

We recommend approval of this report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY

(Page 99, Executive Council Report)

This section of the report of the Executive Council sets forth the purposes which Labor's Monthly Survey has served during the past year. During this period of reconstruction, new problems have developed rapidly so that it has been necessary to get facts and policies equally rapidly before trade union executives who must deal with such problems.

The Survey also reports on major legislative proposals affecting Labor, Government and research reports indicating labor progress, strikes and other national and international labor problems and policies.

By presenting the labor implications of national problems and by submitting the reasons for Labor's policies, this Survey has

been an effective agency for promoting constructive labor relations.

We are advised that the mailing list of the Survey has greatly increased during the past year, including executives of local unions, employers and organizers, etc.

The Survey has been used also by a number of organizing campaigns as well as by study classes.

We commend this service to still wider use.

We recommend approval of this section.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## SOCIAL INSURANCE

(Page 146, Executive Council Report)

The principles embodied in the legislation introduced in the 79th Congress pursuant to the declaration of the 64th convention of the American Federation of Labor (the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill—S. 1050—H.R. 3293) are reaffirmed. The goal and objective of the American Federation of Labor remain the development of a comprehensive national program of social security for all workers not otherwise covered by an existing program, built upon the solid foundation of contributory social insurance. Such a program must include:

1. A system of insurance providing benefits based on past earnings for the aged, the survivors of deceased workers, and the permanently disabled. These benefits must be sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living without reliance on public or private charity. The coverage of the present program needs to be extended to the remaining 40 per cent of workers not now protected and the age of retirement should be lowered by at least five years for men and ten years for women workers.

2. A national system of unemployment insurance providing benefits based on past earnings and with minimum benefits adequate to maintain for even low income workers a decent standard of living. All involuntarily unemployed workers, including those unemployed by reason of temporary disability, should be eligible. The administration of such program should be the responsibility of the U. S. Department of Labor.

3. The reestablishment within the U. S. Department of Labor of an adequate national employment service.

4. A national system of health insurance providing health services to all workers and members of their families. Such a system should be augmented by grants-in-aid to the States out of general revenues of the Federal Government for: (1) the construction of health facilities, (2) training of medical personnel, (3) medical research, (4) expansion of public health services, and (5) continuing and extending the present program of maternal and child health services.

5. A unified Public Assistance Program providing grants-in-aid to the States adjusted to the relative needs of the States in order to provide more equitable assistance to all needy persons.

Your Committee recommends that the Committee on Social Security work with the president of the American Federation of Labor in preparing and submitting to the

80th Congress legislation designed to meet the above stated needs and objectives. In the preparation of such legislation special care should be exercised to see that in the development of policies and in administration it provides for full participation of the representatives of the workers covered by the program.

The growing interest in and increasing public support for inclusive health insurance of the kind sponsored by the American Federation of Labor requires that special attention be given this phase of the program. The extensive hearings on the Federation's health insurance bill (S. 1696—H.R. 4730) resulted in a great increase in public understanding of the proposal. The need for some national action in this field is no longer denied by the opposition. The issue now is whether medical care should be extended as a charity and in accordance with public welfare concepts or whether it should be made universally available by an extension of the insurance principle. We reaffirm our unflinching support of the insurance principle.

Your Committee recommends that in addition to the safeguards written into the earlier health insurance proposals, such as those protecting the right of free choice of physician, the following provisions be included in any health insurance legislation: (1) a specific requirement that local agencies be given the maximum amount of control possible in the operation of the program, (2) provision for the continued operation of all such existing health programs that can provide suitable medical services such as those developed by labor organizations, by co-operatives, and by other voluntary groups, and (3) maximum participation in local administration of the program by both the medical profession and by those who represent the recipients of medical care.

The Hospital Survey and Construction Act passed by the 79th Congress requires the appointment of a Hospital Advisory Council in each State. Your Committee recommends that each State Federation of Labor be urged to take steps immediately to secure representation on these important State councils.

Pending the enactment of legislation establishing a comprehensive national social security program there is much that needs to be done within the States to improve the present unemployment compensation programs and the employment services. Your Committee recommends that the splendid efforts of the State Federations of Labor to amend their State laws in accordance with the four specific standards adopted by the 64th convention be continued. We recommend that in addition steps be taken in the States to provide the following: (1) to free the State employment services from policy control by the State unemployment compensation agencies, (2) benefits to workers whose unemployment is due to sickness or other disability. (This is especially pertinent to the ten States where funds can be made immediately available from employee contribution—only two of which now pay such benefits.)

The State Federations of Labor and members of our affiliated unions who serve on State unemployment compensation commis-

sions or advisory boards can render invaluable assistance to the national program by demanding that their respective State administrators cease the lobbying activities against the social security program of the American Federation of Labor which they have been carrying on in the national capital either as individuals or through the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies.

We recommend for the favorable consideration of all national and international unions, state federations of labor, and city central bodies, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that Social Security Committees be appointed in each of these affiliated organizations for the purpose of assisting in the promotion of the Social Security Program of the American Federation of Labor.

### Workmen's Compensation

While the ultimate goal of the American Federation of Labor is a comprehensive, unified system of social insurance it is recognized that workmen's compensation—the oldest of the social insurances in America—is embodied in separate State laws. These laws vary widely in the protection they afford wage earners and a review of their effectiveness is long overdue. The American Federation of Labor favors for all States:

1. Compulsory insurance under workmen's compensation laws, covering all workers without exception.

2. Coverage by exclusive State funds, eliminating the profit motive from a program designed to give protection to workers and their families.

3. Minimum weekly benefits sufficient in amount to support the worker and his family during incapacity due to injury without his having to rely on additional aid from public or private charity. (Present maximum benefits of \$15.00 to \$20.00 per week existing in many States fail to meet this standard.)

4. Full coverage for every type of industrial disease with no lesser payments in cases of disability from disease than from injury.

5. Effective enforcement of accident prevention laws and regulations by every available means.

6. The establishment of workmen's compensation committees in each State Federation of Labor which, with the aid of competent legal experts, will study their State laws and assist in carrying out the above principles by: (a) proposing and supporting legislation to improve their laws, (b) keeping in touch with workmen's compensation commissions to see that administration is on a high level and the rights of workers protected, (c) co-operating with the U. S. Department of Labor and with the American Federation of Labor in creating more uniformity in the workmen's compensation laws and eliminating special provisions which favor employers, such as reduced amounts for silicosis cases, unusual proof for hernia cases, waivers, etc., and (d) co-operating with Rehabilitation agencies.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### LABOR STANDARDS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

(Page 153, Executive Council Report)

The report of the Executive Council indicates that in the course of the wartime years, when the volume of Government contracts and Government purchases was at its peak, the prevailing wage requirements of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act were rendered ineffective because no new prevailing wage determinations were made throughout the war period. We heartily concur in the Executive Council's recommendation that prevailing minimum wage standards be newly determined in the light of changing conditions and that periodic redeterminations be required to bring the wage standards specified by the Act in conformity with the prevailing levels of minimum wages in every industry affected. We recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor take prompt steps to secure the effectuation of the Public Contracts Act in full force, terminating all relaxations of standards agreed to during the war. We also recommend renewed action to safeguard wage standards against impairment through the use of prison labor on work contracted by the Federal Government.

With these recommendations, your Committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

(Pages 151-153, Executive Council Report)

The Executive Council reports that there is widespread evidence of the inadequacy of the present minimum wage provisions of the Wage and Hour Law. The universal minimum standard of 40 cents an hour was reached as long ago as July 1944. This standard has long since become obsolete. Today it is equivalent in buying power to only 24 cents, compared with October 1938, when the law first became effective, thus being even lower than the initial 25 cents minimum wage. In order to meet the requirements of a higher postwar standard of living and adjust the provisions of the Act to its stated purposes, a substantial upward revision of the present low minimum standards is urgently needed. No less pressing is the need to strengthen the Act by eliminating a number of unwarranted exemptions it now contains and by extending the scope of the Act's coverage to extend its protection to all workers in industrial and trade employment whose wage standards affect commerce. Additional appropriation is also necessary to strengthen the enforcement of the law.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### HIGHWAYS

(Page 212, Executive Council Report)

This section reports enactment of two measures dealing with highways, one in 1945 and the other in 1946. The distinctive feature

of the second is that the design and construction of dams shall be such that they serve as foundations for bridges, highways, etc. This is wise economy.

We recommend approval of this section of the report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **McCARRAN AMENDMENT**

(Page 209, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **INTRODUCTION**

(Page 32, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee recommends approval of the expression of statements contained in the introduction.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **CANADIAN CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS**

(Page 84, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **A. F. OF L. EMPLOYEES' RETIREMENT PLAN**

(Page 89, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee notes in this portion of the Executive Council's report the progress being made in connection with an Employees' Retirement Plan. Your Committee notes the full details of the plan will be given to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, and therefore recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **MILITARY CONSCRIPTION**

(Page 197, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee notes with gratification this portion of the Executive Council's report on the infamous "Work or Jail Bill" H.R. 1752, passed by both Houses of Congress. The House adopted the Conference Report; however, despite the support given to this Bill by the President of the United States and every high Government executive officer, the American Federation of Labor was successful in preventing its approval by the Senate. Your Committee voices the same appreciation as the Executive Council for the outstanding support in defeating this infamous bill given by the affiliated international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **DRAFT OF NURSES**

(Page 197, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee gives approval to the action of the Executive Council in connection with this subject.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA; TEACHERS' PAY LAW; D. C. BANKS; FIRE BOAT**

(Pages 206-280, Executive Council Report)

We note the Executive Council's report on these four subjects, and your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **BONNEVILLE PROJECT AMENDMENTS**

(Page 211, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee recommends approval of the services given by the Executive Council in the passage of H.R. 2690.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **RIVERS AND HARBORS**

(Page 212, Executive Council Report)

This is a report on legislation supported by the Executive Council in connection with rivers and harbors. Your Committee recommends approval of the efforts made by the Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **AIRMAIL**

(Page 211, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee gives full approval to the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in having reduced the rates of airmail postage from 8 cents to 5 cents, in the law which became operative August 14, 1916.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **NAVAL AND MILITARY PERSONNEL**

(Page 221, Executive Council Report)

We note with gratification the success which met the efforts of the Executive Council to secure legislation affecting veterans and their dependents, and the fact that 196 laws affecting this group were enacted by the 79th Congress.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### AID TO STATES

(Page 223, Executive Council Report)

In this portion of the Executive Council's report it calls attention to the opposition by the American Federation of Labor to S. 619, the basis for the opposition being that the appropriation was not for vocational training as such, and did not provide for the equalization of educational opportunities for all children to eradicate illiteracy, etc. Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### SALE OF GOVERNMENT-OWNED MERCHANT VESSELS

(Page 226, Executive Council Report)

In this portion of the Executive Council's report attention is called to the support given by the American Federation of Labor, in supporting the changes advocated by the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers Union of North America in the hearing before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. This bill (H.R. 1425), which was opposed by the Executive Council was reintroduced and became the law (H.R. 3603) in March 1946. The present law provides for the disposal of some 4,500 surplus ships, and as enacted will save shipping companies approximately one billion dollars. Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### REEMPLOYMENT—MERCHANT MARINE

(Page 227, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FEDERAL JUDGES

(Page 227, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee recommends full approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### THE PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF WORKINGMEN

(Page 245, Executive Council Report)

Under this caption of the Executive Council's report upon the situation affecting Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen, and the subheads Cuban Delegation; Twelfth National Conference on Labor Legislation; Longshoremen Agreements; Agreements in the Rum Industries; Agreements in the Sugar Industry; Foundry Industries; The Bakeries; Agreement with the Water Resources Auth-

ority; Agreement in Telephone Industry; Hair Net Industry; Other Agreements; Workers Education Program; Legislative Committee; New Affiliations; Legal Activities; Industrial Commission, and Conclusion, your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### PAY INCREASE FOR CONGRESSMEN

(Page 184, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee believes this portion of the Executive Council's report should be approved, and therefore recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue their efforts.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### THE UNITED NATIONS

(Page 57, Executive Council Report)

We note with gratification the constructive efforts our Executive Council made while the Charter of the United Nations was in the process of formulation. Some of the recommendations of our Executive Council were incorporated in the final draft or, as in the case of our proposal, for an international bill of rights, a commission has been authorized to draft recommendations.

Although our recommendations of principles of representation for member nations in the General Assembly and on the Economic and Social Commission were not approved, we believe it basic for the effectiveness of these organs that functional citizen groups share representation with the Government of each member. Only such representation can make wise and authoritative decisions and secure for the United Nations the national support of its members. We recommend that the Executive Council watch for the opportune occasion to urge again the adoption of provisions for representations which will enable the citizens of member nations to participate directly in the responsibilities of the United Nations.

The United Nations Charter was a series of compromises necessary to meet the practical problems of 51 States with diverse progress toward democratic institutions and even with diverse definitions of democracy. Accordingly, it provides for limited cooperation and even allows veto right to privileged nations. While democratic countries might concede limitations on majority rule in initial stages of world organization, it is unthinkable that such limitation be continued indefinitely as the international organizations take on the functions and responsibilities of world government which should exist only through the will of the governed. We have seen the veto power used not to protect rights but as a sanction for obstructive tactics and as a smokescreen for acts of aggression and violence.

We wish to voice a solemn warning that we will not continue to support international organization blindly for we hold human liberty as a priceless heritage which should not be sacrificed for any international or-



operation that does not respect national self-government based on civil rights for individual citizens. Unless aggression and totalitarian government can be curbed, the United Nations cannot assure the peace and there is more security for human liberty in a federation of countries believing in democracy. But such federation would necessarily be on a defensive basis, because of the war risks entailed by progress in the techniques of atomic fission. There are, however, conditions which make peace more perilous than war.

We urge that no effort be spared to make the United Nations an effective agency for world peace and when necessary that constitutional changes be made, we urge with equal emphasis that we safeguard human liberty and civil rights as the basis of a life worthy of free human beings.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **TOWARD WORLD ORDER**

(Page 59, Executive Council Report)

### **ADVISERS TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL**

(Page 62, Executive Council Report)

In these sections, the Executive Council records progress in setting up the various organs of the United Nations and other international agencies which will be coordinated by these agencies. One of the most important of these is the Commission on Human Rights which, in addition to drafting an international bill of rights, will consider civil liberties, status of women, freedom of expression, rights of minorities and prevention of discrimination. The work of this Commission will deal with the basic concepts of liberty which constitute the democratic way of life.

These sections summarize steps which the officers of the American Federation of Labor should take to secure for the A. F. of L. the right to consultative relations with the Economic and Social Council under Article 71 of the Charter. The United States delegation approved our request, while Senator Connolly sponsored our cause in the Committee on Advisory Relations of the General Assembly.

Our acceptance was opposed by members of the World Federation of Trade Unions, but it was obvious that our free trade unions had a distinctive experience to contribute for which the other international labor organization was in no way competent.

We recommend approval of appointment of Vice-Presidents Woll and Dubinsky by President Green and urge that they have adequate service to facilitate their work.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **BASIC PRINCIPLES OF REPRESENTATION**

(Page 63, Executive Council Report)

Increasing need for the counsel of representatives of non-governmental functional interests makes timely the formulation of

basic principles for guidance in consultative relationships. Consultative relationships have developed around the administration of law and in decisions on policies. Consultative and advisory relationships have become important internationally as well as nationally.

We urge insistence upon conformity with these principles by all A. F. of L. representatives.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **CONSUMERS COOPERATIVES AND CREDIT UNIONS**

(Page 90, Executive Council Report)

We note the report of increasing union interest in consumers cooperatives and credit unions as well as the increasingly numerous and cordial relationships with the Cooperative League of the United States of America.

We recommend that the president of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee to encourage and counsel cooperative union undertakings and that an additional person be added to the Federation's research personnel to serve as liaison between union cooperatives and technical experts of the Cooperative League and other cooperative organizations.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD**

(Pages 110-115, Executive Council Report)

The National War Labor Board—as an agency of the Federal Government devoted to settling wartime labor disputes and stabilizing wartime wages—came to an end in December, 1945. The history of that Board is a record of the self-discipline which organized labor exercised during World War II.

Despite an unjust, inequitable policy of stabilizing wages without full regard for the other controls necessary to avoid inflation, the American Federation of Labor affiliates accepted the wage controls exercised by the Board. Despite directive orders in particular cases which were a flagrant violation of the principles of free collective bargaining, the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor did not challenge these decisions by striking during the war.

While the passing of the Board has restored a measure of free collective bargaining, the continuance of wage control by its successor—the National Wage Stabilization Board—is a strong curb upon free collective bargaining over wages. In short, the abolition of the National War Labor Board marks only one step in our progress toward economic freedom. While we are happy that the war which brought into being the War Labor Board has ended and that the Board itself has been terminated, we are still a measurable distance from our pre-war freedom. The National Wage Stabilization Board remains.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## BRETTON WOODS INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AGREEMENT

(Page 182, Executive Council Report)

### BRITISH LOAN

(Page 184, Executive Council Report)

Of the two agencies authorized to operate during the postwar period the International Bank is to insure loans for rehabilitation purposes and for increasing production facilities while the International Monetary Fund is to provide credit for trade and to stabilize the currency of member nations.

Because of Great Britain's economic dependence on foreign trade, and the great losses to her economy during the war, the Administration independently negotiated the conditions of a loan of \$3,750,000,000 to that country.

We note that the American Federation of Labor aided in the enactment of the legislation authorizing these United Nations agencies and the British loan and recommend approval of that course.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### HEALTH PROGRAM

(Page 204, Executive Council Report)

We recommend wholehearted approval of the establishment of employee health programs in Federal agencies.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### PUBLIC DEBT

(Page 185, Executive Council Report)

The size of the public debt is already causing anxiety, for the debt is a considerable factor in our inflation problem as well as cause of high tax rates. However, the war and the war situation still exist. It is unsafe to reduce military expenses too drastically and our nation must assume new responsibilities in international fields and for the United Nations.

Our own Federal agencies must have funds with which to perform needed social services. In the coming year expensive war agencies will doubtless be liquidated and economies in administration can be made.

Congress and the Treasury must find ways to reduce the national debt before taxation can be materially decreased. In the meanwhile there should be more equitable distribution of the tax burden.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### RECONVERSION STATISTICS

(Page 213, Executive Council Report)

We commend the Legislative Committee for their efforts to secure more adequate statistical data. Such materials are essential for sound collective bargaining and better progress.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS

(Page 185, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee notes the information contained in this portion of the Executive Council's report, which directs attention to the enormous increase in the national debt and the heavy toll on the tax payers to meet interest payments on Government securities.

Your Committee, in connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, with which it approves, urges every trade union and every trade union official, to give constant study to the economic influence upon our industry and commerce of this constantly increasing national indebtedness which is capable, if carried too far, of being more destructive to the nation's economy than any inflationary or deflationary spiral.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Committee on Resolutions has very kindly given way now for the Report of the Committee on Organization. We will interrupt, therefore, the Report of the Committee on Resolutions to receive the Report of the Committee on Organization. The Committee on Resolutions will continue its report later on.

Now, I have the pleasure of presenting to you the Chairman of the Committee on Organizations, Vice President William C. Doherty, who will submit the report of the Committee on Organizations.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DOHERTY:** Mr. President and delegates: Your Committee on Organization held several meetings and we beg leave to submit the following report:

### NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY

**Resolution No. 67—By Central Labor Union, Newport News, Va.**

**WHEREAS,** The main industry and source of employment for the peoples of Newport News, Virginia and vicinity is the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, and

**WHEREAS,** No real concerted effort has ever been made by the American Federation of Labor to organize the plant, despite the many letters, requests and personal contacts made to the A. F. of L., Metal Trades Department and other crafts involved by the Newport News Central Labor Union for many years, and

**WHEREAS,** Through this disinterest, lack of proper organizers or other reasons, failure to act at the proper time by the A. F. of L. has led to the growth of a strong independent union therein, and

**WHEREAS,** This independent union known as the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association has not been content to acquire bargaining rights in this large plant but has also branched out into other smaller industries that are located on the peninsula, thus preventing local A. F.

of L. unions from organizing and claiming their rightful jurisdictions, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Newport News Central Labor Union petition the A. F. of L. in its convention October 7, 1946, to exert every effort possible to the ends that this plant may be properly organized, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L. bring pressure to bear on the international unions of the Metal Trades Department in an effort to secure better co-operation in this matter, that the result may be a concerted large scale operation by all crafts concerned.

Your Committee is impressed with the seriousness of the problem presented in Newport News, Virginia, and throughout the peninsula, in combating an independent organization which completely disregards jurisdiction of A. F. of L. unions. Inasmuch as corrective measures can be accomplished through international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, the Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Metal Trades Department and the director of organization.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### SOUTHERN TEXTILE DRIVE

**Resolution No. 63**—By Delegate Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, B. L. Eberts, Benjamin Haskell, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America are carrying on a vigorous and extensive drive throughout the southern textile industry to organize the vast mass of unorganized textile workers in the south into the protective folds of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, its officers, regional representatives and organizers have given substantial aid to the UTW drive and has made possible its extensive organizing activities, and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America have expressed appreciation and thanks for the generous encouragement and help—both moral and financial—given by the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor heartily approves the drive to organize the textile workers of the south; commends the officers and organizers of the A. F. of L. for their generous aid to the United Textile Workers; and records its support of continued assistance—moral, physical and financial—to organize all the textile workers throughout the south into the American Federation of Labor. Your Committee gave careful consideration to this resolution and recommends concurrence in the proposal for continued support to the United Textile Workers insofar as possible.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ORGANIZATION DRIVE

**Resolution No. 69**—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Frank Albano, Louis Rooney, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The organization of unorganized workers is at all times the primary purpose of our existence, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has aggressively, forcefully and militantly engaged in a revival of organizing activities in all branches of the organized labor movement since the end of the war and has particularly prepared and inaugurated an organizational drive in the south, and

WHEREAS, The need for organizational work is nation wide and there are many yet to be organized in many of the industries we represent and the necessity for a joint co-operative and integrated plan of action is readily apparent, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor initiate an all inclusive nationwide drive and for this purpose set up a special organization department under the supervision of its most aggressive and militant Executive Council members, and that a fund of \$10,000,000 be established to carry this drive through to a speedy and successful conclusion and that all affiliated unions be requested to participate in such a drive and to contribute to the fund in accordance with their size and resources.

Your Committee fully concurs in the principle of inaugurating a nationwide organizing drive at the earliest practicable moment. However, it is the opinion of the Committee that it would be impracticable for this convention to establish a definite plan, or stipulate a fixed organizing fund, without conducting a complete survey taking all factors into consideration. Therefore, we recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the expressed hope that they will devise ways and means of initiating a nationwide membership drive.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### ORGANIZATION OF FARM LABOR

**Resolution No. 198**—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, A. E. Cox, J. E. Clayton, National Farm Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor recently chartered the National Farm Labor Union as the organization having jurisdiction over all field workers employed on farms, ranches and plantations throughout the United States and adjacent islands, and

WHEREAS, There are over 2,000,000 such workers employed in this industry that remain unorganized and thus constitute a constant threat to the wage standards and working conditions established by other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The National Farm Labor Union is embarking on a vigorous organizational campaign to bring to the unorganized workers in agriculture the benefits of organization and collective bargaining now enjoyed by other unions in the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Many of these farm laborers are migratory and seasonally employed and are therefore forced to follow the crops throughout the nation, working on large scale factory type farms similar to industrial plants, except for substandard wages and deplorable working and living conditions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Chicago, pledges full support to the National Farm Labor Union in bringing the benefits of organization and collective bargaining to these unorganized American farm workers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention calls upon all international and national unions, state federations of labor, and central labor bodies to give all practical support possible to the organization of farm laborers in all areas of the United States.

H. L. Mitchell, President of the National Farm Labor Union, appeared before the Committee in support of this resolution and to urge the American Federation of Labor to make a place for farmers among the trade unions.

The committee recommends the resolution be adopted and the Director of Organization be urged to cooperate in every way.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DOHERTY: Your Committee now reports on that section of the Executive Council Report under the caption:

### THE SOUTH REVIVES ORGANIZATION WORK

(Page 179, Executive Council Report)

We, the Committee on Organization, carefully studied the resolutions referred to this Committee, and that part of the Executive Council Report titled "The South Revives Organization Work," which will be found on page 179 thereof.

Brother Frank P. Fenton, Director of Organization, American Federation of Labor, and Brother George Googe, Southern Representative of the American Federation of Labor, appeared before a meeting held by the committee on October 10. Both of these officials made comprehensive reports on the activities to date and outlined many of the perplexing problems with which the organizers have been confronted.

One of the obstacles which has been successfully overcome was the unwarranted charges of prejudice our organizers met in many sections as the result of malicious propaganda fostered by a dual organization. In numerous instances Church, civic and educational leaders, as well as Negro workers actively opposed the American Federation of Labor in the early days of the current organization drive. However, through an intelligent educational program and by means of practical operation within the A. F. of L. organizations, such prejudice has been eliminated in practically all cases. Those same Church, civic and educational leaders are now staunch advocates, lending their full support to the American Federation of Labor.

In the opinion of Brothers Fenton and Googe, one of the principal factors in overcoming such unfair propaganda and removing suspicions was the fact the state federations and central bodies accept delegates and representatives irrespective of race, creed, color or national origin. In fact, a large number of representatives of minority groups have been elected to important offices and serve with honor and distinction.

A recent development is the resurrection of antiquated laws through court action which tend to serve as additional barriers against free collective bargaining. In all probability a number of these court actions will eventually be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. While such unfair tactics have a tendency to retard progress, nevertheless, the organizers report that the campaign in these communities moves forward with increased vigor and determination.

There have been a few isolated cases where certain local unions and their representatives have refused to reduce their initiation fees, which resulted in rendering it impossible for the organizers to successfully obtain a majority of authorizations for the A. F. of L. within a given plant or industry. It is most difficult and many times impossible to secure signatures of employees to A. F. of L. authorizations when the representatives of the dual movement charge a minimum amount and in some instances no initiation fee whatsoever. Your Committee on Organization wholeheartedly recommends that the officers of national and international unions within the A. F. of L. give serious thought to that vital phase of the organizing campaign and endeavor to prevail upon such local unions and their representatives to cooperate more fully by reducing initiation fees to an absolute minimum.

Your Committee on Organization takes this means of highly commending the American Federation of Labor for its complete unswerving support in supplying necessary finances and outstanding organizers to direct the overall campaign. Special recognition should also be given to the many national and international unions who have been lending full assistance financially, in addition to appointing many organizers to participate in the drive. The Committee was deeply impressed with the splendid report submitted by Brothers Fenton and Googe and the highly efficient manner in which they and their associates have been conducting this gallant organizing crusade throughout the southland in the name of the American Federation of Labor.

This report should also show that Delegates Collier and Moore appeared before the Committee for the purpose of outlining the many problems confronting the A. F. of L. in Alaska. The Committee is of the opinion that the organizing facilities of the American Federation of Labor should continue to be placed at the disposal of those responsible for the Alaskan membership campaign.

In addition delegates, Paul Hutchings, President and J. Howard Hicks, Secretary-Treasurer of the Office Employees International Union, appeared before the Committee and briefly outlined some of the outstanding problems faced by their organization in bringing collective bargaining benefits to the vast number of office workers in industrial and commercial establishments in the United States and Canada.

They expressed the sincere appreciation of the Office Employees International Union for the assistance thus far received from the American Federation of Labor and from numerous state federations of labor, city central bodies and national and international unions.

The tremendous task of assisting office workers to obtain collective bargaining and its resultant benefits through the American Fed-

eration of Labor was stressed. A continuation of the cooperation rendered to date was urged to the end that office workers through the Office Employees International Union obtain improvement in their conditions and have an opportunity to further the growth of the American Federation of Labor among the white collar workers.

Your Committee concurs in the thoughts and suggestions made by the representatives of the Office Employees International Union and recommends that full support and cooperation be given by the Director or Organization and his staff.

In conclusion, your Committee on Organization is of the firm belief that the outstanding successes in the southern organizing drive are indicative of the unlimited potentialities awaiting the American Federation of Labor in an extensive membership drive of a similar nature throughout the United States and its territories. The Committee recommends that the Executive Council formulate plans whereby sufficient funds may be raised and a membership campaign similar to the southern drive be inaugurated at the earliest possible moment.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report.

**DELEGATE WEBSTER**, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President and delegates to the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor—the representatives of the Sleeping Car Porters' Organization wish to make a few comments on the southern drive and to express here our appreciation of the very splendid work that has been done in the southland by Brother Gooze and Brother Fenton. We have a large number of locals in the southern section of this country, and unfortunately, until we became a part of the American Federation of Labor the going down there was pretty tough. However, after our affiliation the cooperation we got from the federated groups in many districts in the South was largely responsible for our success in that respect.

Any drive to organize the workers in the South must of necessity take into consideration the organization of a good many Negro workers, and we wish to congratulate the group that has been carrying on the work in that part of the country and testify to the fact that they have, to a large extent, broken down the very vicious propaganda circulated among the colored workers of the South that the organization opposing us was Heaven and that the American Federation of Labor was the other place opposite to Heaven.

The Sleeping Car Porter delegates have cooperated to the utmost extent and have made extensive plans to cooperate in this southern drive. In fact, we are planning to leave for the South shortly after this convention, and we certainly hope the Executive Council will see fit to grant to the people conducting the southern drive sufficient finances in order that it can be carried on to complete success.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DOHERTY**: Mr. Chairman, that concludes the report of the Committee on Organization, and it is signed:

Wm. C. Doherty  
Frank Duffy  
G. E. Leighty  
John P. Burke  
Paul Dulzell  
Patrick H. Reagan  
David Sullivan  
Raymond J. Meurer  
Theodore Nischwitz  
Leon Williams  
John B. Prewitt  
Earl W. Jimerson  
A. Philip Randolph  
Joseph Schmidt  
W. J. Bassett  
Joseph St. John  
A. Shoemaker  
Wm. A. Lewis  
Charles T. Lindgren  
Lester Washburn  
George T. Slocum  
Tillman K. Garrison  
Thomas Durian  
George R. Pawson  
Charles Sinnigan

#### Committee on Organization

Committee Chairman Doherty moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

**PRESIDENT GREEN**: I want to thank the Committee in your name and in your behalf for the excellent service it rendered the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

The Chair now recognizes Vice President Bugnizet, Chairman of the Committee on State Organizations.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BUGNIZET**: Miss Berniece B. Heffner will submit the report for the Committee.

Committee Secretary Heffner then submitted the following report:

Your Committee on State Organizations had no resolutions or Executive Council Report subject matter referred to it. The Committee, after close study of the activities and affiliations of local unions with state federations of labor, wishes first to thank the international union executives for their splendid cooperation in the past two years and their support of the activities of the state federations, particularly the efforts of most of the international unions in encouraging affiliation of their local unions with the state federations. We are pleased to report to the officers and delegates of the Federation that 78 per cent of local unions are in affiliation with the state federations of labor. There remain a few international unions which, because of their internal structure, have found it very difficult to bring about affiliation with state federations. However, we are confident

that this difficulty is rapidly being overcome by international unions.

There has been placed upon the state federations of labor the greatest burden in the history of our movement by the nation-wide campaign to restrict, cripple, and destroy the trade union movement through multiplicity of antilabor bills introduced in State legislatures, and particularly the efforts of our enemies in submitting restrictive legislation to popular ballot in the form of constitutional amendments, etc. We particularly desire to commend the militant resistance to this attack on labor by our state federations. Too much cannot be said of the state federations in resisting these legislative attacks. No matter how successful our national legislative committees are in the halls of Congress, if the State legislatures restrict, handicap, and prevent the normal functions of the trade union movement within the States, it not only destroys the labor movement within the State but encourages similar national restrictive measures.

We particularly desire to commend the state federations for their organizational activities in assisting the international unions and the American Federation of Labor in their organizing campaigns. This has grown into quite an effort on the part of the State federations.

We wish to commend the southern state federations for taking the lead in the present southern organizing campaign and throwing their entire financial resources into this successful drive employing, in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, scores of specially trained organizers for the southern organizing field.

Your Committee recommends that the convention reiterate its appreciation of the activities of its state bodies and also urge the international unions and local unions to not only continue but intensify their support of the state federations of labor.

We request that the American Federation of Labor during the coming year communicate with all international unions and federal labor unions bringing to their attention the necessity of affiliation with state federations of labor.

G. M. Bugniazet  
Berniece B. Heffner  
H. W. Sullivan  
George L. Googe  
Joseph A. Mullaney  
Robert J. Tormey  
Michael J. Lyden  
Charles T. Crane  
C. J. Haggerty  
W. S. Gross  
Thomas A. Murray  
Phil E. Ziegler  
Gust Anderson  
John J. Guenther  
Louis Koenig  
Jack S. Smith  
Bernard Quinn  
James D. Graham  
Claude O'Reilly  
John J. Hauck  
Harry W. Acreman  
Walter Collins  
E. A. Carter  
Stewart Robinson  
John F. Dunachie  
Paul Hutchings

Committee on State Organization

Committee Secretary Heffner moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** And the Chair wishes to thank the Committee for its very fine service and for its report.

The Chair recognizes the Committee on Resolutions to again report.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee, continued the report, as follows:

### SOCIAL SECURITY

(Page 215, Executive Council Report)

This report on legislation supplements the Executive Council report on social insurance activities and outlines the overall legislation which the A. F. of L. proposed.

It proposes continued efforts to increase the coverage and benefits under social insurance.

We recommend its adoption.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### TAXATION

(Page 221, Executive Council Report)

This section reports tax legislation relieving business by refund provisions. The American Federation of Labor tried also to secure more equitable exemptions for those in the lower income brackets.

We recommend continuation of these efforts.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FULL EMPLOYMENT

(Page 214, Executive Council Report)

Full employment is a goal that can be achieved only through the planning and co-operation of those who control our free economy. The Council of Economic Advisers will provide overall information as guides.

We urge all unions to keep this purpose ever in mind in order to provide members with steady employment at high wages—the foundation of their progress.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

(Page 220, Executive Council Report)

The legislative details of the protection given the employees of this service in returning it to the States, are presented in this section of the report.

We have made recommendations on this service elsewhere in this report.

We recommend acceptance of the section.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**HOSPITALS**

(Page 223, Executive Council Report)

Legislation carrying 75 millions annually for five years, to be one-third of the amounts supplied, is intended to provide more adequate hospitals and other medical care facilities for all the people.

Elsewhere we make recommendations for labor to take advantage of this opportunity.

We move acceptance of this section of the report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**CHILDREN**

(Page 224, Executive Council Report)

Under this title the American Federation of Labor reports the emphasis it has given to securing appropriations for child services.

We also sought to strengthen the protection given under the Fair Labor Standards Act by prohibiting employment of children in addition to barring from interstate commerce goods on which they worked and by extending these provisions to services as well as commodities.

We also urged expansion of the school lunch program which became law.

We recommend approval of this report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**INSURANCE**

(Page 224, Executive Council Report)

Under this title is reported our successful efforts to make social insurance available to employees of private insurance companies.

We recommend approval of this section of the report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**SPEED-UP SYSTEM**

(Page 195, Executive Council Report)

We recommend approval of this section reporting success in preventing time studies and the use of stop-watches by the Navy.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD**

(Pages 130-136, Executive Council Report)

Since the report of the Executive Council two years ago the membership of the National Labor Relations Board has undergone some change. Mr. Paul Herzog was appointed the new Chairman of the Board and Mr. James Reynolds is the new Board Member in place of Mr. Gerard P. Reilly. Under the Chairmanship of Mr. Paul Herzog some improvement has been noticed in the administration of the National Labor Relations Act. However, this improvement has not been sufficient to remove pre-existing prejudice and bias on the part of personnel in regional offices when cases are presented involving issues between A. F. of L.

unions and rival unions. An outstanding example of prejudice of this nature are the proceedings in the so-called west coast cannery cases involving the American Federation of Labor and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters on one side and a rival union on the other. Regional Board activities indicated that the weight of the Board was thrown in favor of the rival unions under circumstances which required a wholly different attitude on the part of the Board and its personnel.

The Board still adheres to the reprehensible "American Can" doctrine which freezes mass production units so as to exclude crafts from being set up as separate units. There is still necessity for an amendment to the Act making it mandatory upon the Board to permit craft workers to vote as a unit when such crafts exist in a plant and desire to vote as a craft.

Perhaps more time is needed in which to gather sufficient information to determine whether the attitude of the Board towards previous complaints of the A. F. of L. has changed, and whether a fairer and more just administration of the Act will be had in the future. The American Federation of Labor will be most diligent and watchful in this regard, and it is hoped by the time the next convention is held the Executive Council will be able to report considerable progress towards a better administration of the National Labor Relations Act.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**LABOR DEPARTMENT**

(Page 144, Executive Council Report)

The disastrous consequences of reorganization plans upon the Department are especially unfortunate at a time when the Labor Department should be servicing the wage earners of the country in meeting their growing responsibilities and increasingly complex problems in promoting the welfare of the workers.

We urge that steps be taken to build up the Labor Department and to assure satisfactory administration. There should be impartial performance of duties entirely free from political agreements or the promotion of special interests.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST**

(Page 98, Executive Council Report)

The American Federation of Labor's official monthly magazine, the American Federationist, is a carefully edited, interesting publication which gives the news of labor's outstanding activities, authoritative articles setting forth the position of labor on current issues and problems, and other material that contributes to a better understanding of the ideals, policies and activities of organized labor.

Your committee regards the American Federationist as a most valuable medium for reaching the general public and for increasing public understanding of the objectives of organized labor. There is a genuine need for expansion of the circulation of the American Federationist among the people who are not in the labor movement as well as among trade



unionists themselves. Your Committee recommends that all possible efforts shall be made by our affiliated organizations and the officers and representatives thereof to expand the subscription rolls of the American Federationist during the coming year. By so doing they can contribute importantly to winning and holding for the organized labor movement that favorable public opinion upon which trade unionism must depend for success and progress in the months and years ahead.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FREE LABOR PRESS

(Page 100, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee is pleased to note that the American Federation of Labor has doubled its service to the loyal labor press this year by publishing two issues each week of the Weekly News Service which is distributed free of charge.

The free labor press is a growing and expanding force in our movement, through which the members of the American Federation of Labor can keep regularly and accurately informed of all labor news and policies. No other medium can prove so effective in building and maintaining high morale among the membership of our unions. We therefore urge that every practical step be taken during the coming year to provide new opportunities for the development, encouragement and expansion of the bona fide labor press.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### PUBLICITY

(Pages 100-101, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee commends the Information and Publicity Service of the American Federation of Labor for its activities in publicizing the news and views of the Federation and its affiliated unions through the press of our nation. We believe that in order to create a more favorable state of public opinion toward organized labor and to counteract the attacks made upon it by inimical sources, the information service should be extended and expanded. Labor cannot hope to compete with the vast and expensive propaganda mills financed by big business, but it should take every opportunity, both nationally and at a local level to maintain an alert and effective publicity service.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### RADIO

(Pages 100-101, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee is extremely gratified by the remarkable progress made by the American Federation of Labor in the past few years in the field of radio broadcasting. For the past two years, the Federation has conducted a continuous series of weekly radio programs over the major networks and we are pleased to learn that these programs have attained the highest listener rating of any

non-commercial radio program on the air. This means that labor's story is reaching millions of American families directly in their homes and it assures a better public understanding of our policies and our objectives.

Your Committee recommends that this convention formally express its appreciation to the radio networks—namely the National Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, the American Broadcasting Company, and the Mutual Broadcasting System—and their affiliated local stations, for making time for these programs available to the American Federation of Labor free of charge. This is a public service of great value to the workers of our nation and it is a concrete proof that free speech is a living reality in America.

We are hopeful that the friendly and co-operative relationships achieved with the radio networks can be strengthened and broadened in the coming year.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

(Page 183, Executive Council Report)

While the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is in accord with the 1943 declarations of the American Federation of Labor, the enabling legislation proposed an unsound practice in connection with representation—namely, that the State Department and not the agency represented should select the representative. We succeeded in securing an amendment allowing voluntary organizations to choose their spokesmen.

Your Committee recommends approval of these sections of the report of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### NORTH AMERICAN LABOR NEWS

(Page 99, Executive Council Report)

We commend the action of the American Federation of Labor in publishing and distributing the Spanish-language clip-sheet of labor news to the Latin American countries. The American Federation of Labor has a deep responsibility for the regular distribution of information on our trade unions and their experience in dealing with union problems to other national labor organizations throughout the world. This clip-sheet has become not only a symbol of good will toward labor in Latin America but has also been of great value in building lasting friendships and mutual understanding.

We concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council that this publication be continued and, we trust, expanded.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

### Appeal of Memphis Trades and Labor Assembly

At the August meeting of the Executive Council held in Chicago, the Council considered an appeal of the Memphis Trades and Labor Assembly, Memphis Tennessee, from a decision rendered by President Green on August 1, 1946.

The decision had to do with a conflict between the Memphis Trades and Labor Assembly and certain affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor in Memphis regarding the payment of back per capita tax on the part of a suspended union which desired reinstatement.

At the August meeting of the Council, the Council reaffirmed the decision made by President Green on this subject. The Memphis Trades and Labor Assembly has appealed from this action of the Executive Council to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council at its meeting held on Sunday, October 6th, directed that this appeal be brought to the attention of the convention and that it be referred by President Green to the appropriate committee and that the complete record of the appeal be turned over to said committee for the purpose of having this matter properly brought before the convention.

President Green has directed that this matter be referred to the Committee on Resolutions and the records have been turned over to the Committee.

Your Committee recommends approval of the action taken by the Executive Council in this matter.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

DELEGATE TILLMAN, Memphis, Tennessee Trades and Labor Assembly: It may be somewhat presumptuous on the part of a member of the Memphis Trade and Labor Council, with one delegate in this convention, to take up the time of this great meeting dealing with the affairs of this Trades and Labor Council.

So that the delegates may be apprised of what this matter is about, I would like to read our appeal from the decision of the Executive Council. It involves the question of the right of the local central bodies in regard to the collection of per capita tax. So that there will be no personalities in presenting this to the convention, I am going to omit from my appeal the union involved.

"This is an appeal from the action of the Executive Council in rejecting an appeal by the Memphis Trades and Labor Council from that part of a decision rendered by President William Green on August 1, 1946, reading as follows:

"First of all, it is my firm opinion the best interest of all American Federation of Labor unions will be served through an affiliation of the Teamsters Union at Memphis with the Memphis Central Labor Union. Co-operation,

understanding and teamwork can be established through an affiliation of all American Federation of Labor organizations which are eligible to affiliate with your central body. In order to achieve this objective, I officially direct that Section 3 of Article 14 of the Memphis Central Labor Union Constitution be changed to provide that local unions eligible to membership in the Memphis Central Labor Union which had become delinquent in the payment of dues, may be reinstated through the payment of three months back dues or back tax. The requirements in the Memphis Central Labor Union Constitution are that a delinquent organization must pay all back dues which it is alleged may be owed the central labor body before it can be reinstated, which is in violation of the standard requirements of the American Federation of Labor. Such provision will keep unions out of your central body. That would be in contradiction to the purposes of the American Federation of Labor to make it as easy as possible for eligible unions to become affiliated with the central bodies. Our purpose is to bring unions into the central bodies and to make it as easy as possible for them to come in rather than to keep them out through the adoption of rigid, unreasonable constitutional rules and regulations.

"Your Constitution cannot be approved by the American Federation of Labor if Section 3, Article 14 is continued in it as now constituted."

Now, the facts are simply this: A local affiliated with the Memphis Trades and Labor Council was organized by our president, or the president of the Council in 1941. It immediately affiliated with the Council, but since that time has taken little interest in the affairs of the Council. Delegates seldom appear at the meetings, and although statements of their accounts with the Council were mailed regularly, the union has been extremely derelict in fulfilling its obligation to the Council. There was attached to this appeal an exhibit showing the manner in which this organization was paying its per capita tax. Its delinquency totaled approximately \$1,700 on October 24, 1945.

New credentials were received by the Council from this body. A delegate to the Council called attention to the fact that this organization was far in arrears with its per capita and the credentials of the delegates were refused and a letter forwarded by the Council explaining its position, and telling them that they were suspended from the Council until their delinquency or per capita tax had been paid.

This decision was appealed to President Green. Two representatives from the American Federation of Labor were sent to Memphis. They called on the officers of the Trade and Labor Council, and arranged the meeting

to which the officials of this delinquent union were invited. They failed, or refused, to attend the meeting in an effort to adjust this matter with the Central Body. A third representative was sent in the person of Brother George Googe. I don't think that Brother Googe invited the gentlemen to the meeting, but an Executive Council or Executive Board meeting was held at which the delinquent union was not represented.

Now, the Memphis Trades and Labor Council takes this position: It says that it and all similar bodies are autonomous to the extent that they may adopt constitutions and by-laws of their own, so long as said constitution and by-laws do not conflict with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. I think that is fundamental. I think it is sound, and I think it has been the history of local organizations since their inception.

Now, the constitution of the Memphis Trades and Labor Council reads as follows:

"Any organization represented in the Trades and Labor Council failing to pay the per capita tax for period of three months shall be notified by the Financial Secretary-Treasurer, by registered letter, and said organization failing to pay said per capita tax within thirty days after notification may be suspended by a majority vote. Delegates whose Unions are three months in arrears for per capita tax shall not be allowed to vote, nor to continue in office (if holding one) after their Union has been notified of such delinquency. Any organization failing to pay per capita tax for six months, shall stand suspended without further action of the Council, and should said organization at any time desire to again affiliate with the Trades and Labor Council, the said organization shall pay all indebtedness, provided, however, this Council may, by a two-thirds vote, remit the per capita tax of any organization that may become delinquent on account of strikes or lockouts."

I say that this provision of the Constitution is thoroughly in harmony with the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor. I am not going to read from the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, however, Section 1, Article X, which you heard read here yesterday, that refers to the payment of per capita tax by all International Unions and other affiliated groups.

Section 2 says:

"Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

Section 3 says:

"Any organization affiliated with this Feder-

ation and not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessments or assessment when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article."

It is earnestly insisted by the Memphis Trades and Labor Council that there is no conflict between the provisions hereinabove cited. If anything, the Constitution of the Memphis Trades and Labor Council is more liberal, in that the Council "may, by a two-thirds vote, remit the per capita tax of any organization that may become delinquent on account of strikes or lockouts."

No such claim has been made by this organization. No petition has been made to the Council that they are not financially able to pay. This organization has now grown to be by far the largest organization in our community, having, according to the president, approximately 2000 members—although that is just a claim. I guess, in accordance with some of the remarks we heard here yesterday. However, the official membership is estimated to be between 800 and 1300 members. It has been billed for per capita tax all the way through on 500 members. So, certainly we cannot be accused of overcharging them in that respect. This organization has recently built a beautiful new headquarters building in the city and at an enormous expense. We say that upon the question of law presented here that the Council should have the authority and the right to collect the per capita tax owed by this organization.

The Memphis Trades and Labor Council further submits that to force it to adopt a constitutional provision permitting delinquent unions to reinstate in the Council by paying only three months' per capita tax is inequitable, would penalize loyal unions who have for a half a century observed the present law of the Council and would undermine and destroy the financial structure of the Council by encouraging non-payment of per capita tax. Should such a law be adopted, you may rest assured that other unions, dissatisfied with the preferential treatment accorded this delinquent union, will only pay per capita tax when they need the aid and assistance of the Council or are interested in some matter coming before it. A good portion of the income of the Memphis Council is now being used for organization work which we hope will bring many members into the American Federation of Labor.

The Memphis Trades and Labor Council is composed of unions, most of whom have been in affiliation more than fifty years. I might point out that this provision in the Constitu-

tion has been there many years, regardless of the memory of many of those that run to the contrary, and I assume that at some far distant time in the past this provision of the Constitution has been approved by the American Federation of Labor.

I might point out here that a couple of years ago the Carpenters and Joiners Union of Memphis, through the dereliction of its officers, was in more or less the same position as this union and when a delegation was sent to the Carpenters Union advising them of this dereliction of duty, the Carpenters Union without hesitation or equivocation paid \$1100.00 to this Central Body in delinquent per capita tax payments.

I might mention the Typographical Union, throughout its period of suspension by this body, after being reinstated paid all of its back delinquent per capita tax to this body voluntarily and without compulsion.

Now, ladies and gentlemen of this convention, I am not so innocent of the facts of life or the ways of conventions that I don't recognize the very slight chance we have here of reversing an action of the Executive Council. I am certainly not kidding myself on that score. We heard a very interesting speech here the other day by Judge Padway condemning judges who mistreat labor and commending the Supreme Court, that great liberal Court which we have now, for the splendid decisions that they have rendered in behalf of organized labor. Well, ladies and gentlemen, this is the Supreme Court of the American Federation of Labor. It is a court of last resort within this movement for matters of this kind.

I have given this matter a lot of thought. The question of whether or not this organization is reinstated on three months back per capita tax or many other phases is unimportant. It is important, however, that we are forced to amend our constitution to provide that any union, no matter for what reason, which does not desire to pay its per capita tax can stay out of the central labor union or labor council for nine months of the year, come in at the tail end and pay three months per capita tax and we have to take it.

Now, I don't think that this is the policy of the American Federation of Labor. I certainly don't find any such provisions in the constitution and law.

In closing I earnestly insist that you give this matter a little thought and, at least, turn it over in your minds and see if it is to the interest of the labor movement that such constitutional amendment be placed in the constitution of any central labor union. I am certain that you will find it is going to cripple the financial structure of all central labor bodies in this country.

Thank you for listening.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: On behalf of the Committee I shall be very brief. First of all, the delegate in his brief remarks

makes it clear that there is a conflict between the American Federation of Labor Constitution and that of the Central Labor Union involved, and while he pleads that their law is more liberal, that is a confession that it is in violation and contrary to the American Federation of Labor law.

Now, your Committee is not arguing the validity or the merits of the American Federation of Labor law, whether it is just or proper to suspend an organization upon three months per capita tax, and be reinstated on that or not, because that is the law; and if that is to be changed then someone should introduce a resolution to that effect before the convention to have it changed.

Your Committee dealt entirely with the appeal as presented to President Green, the ruling he made on it and the matter as presented to the Executive Council.

May I state very frankly the issue is this: This Central Union claims of this organization affected an indebtedness of \$1786.90. Now, how has that been accumulated? It has accumulated back from 1942. In other words, it arbitrarily assessed against this local union during the year 1942 \$550.00 while the local union has not paid a penny. Neither has the Central Labor Union attempted to enforce its own law during the year 1942.

During the year 1943, it claimed an indebtedness of \$600 for the year. It received only \$150, and it took no action in that year to enforce its own laws.

In the year 1944 it claimed an indebtedness of \$600 and received \$137.50, and again it made no attempt to enforce its own laws.

In 1945, through 1945, it should have collected, on its own estimate, \$2200, but it made no effort to enforce its law excepting now, and now it seeks, as a condition of admission of the membership, to collect a balance of \$1786.90, dating back to February 1, 1942.

Your Committee feels the counsel and the president were fully justified in ruling as they did on the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and hence we recommend approval of the action taken by the Executive Council.

PRESIDENT GREEN: There is involved in this principle the question of affiliation of local organizations with central bodies. Our chief objective is to bring into affiliation in the central bodies, as well as state federations of labor, all the local unions eligible for affiliation. That is a wise course, because we want the central bodies to be strong, we want them to be representative of the American Federation of Labor in their respective communities.

One of the complaints that comes to our conventions repeatedly is that many local unions chartered by international organizations do not affiliate with the central bodies and state federations of labor. I cannot begin to tell you the number of letters I receive from central

bodies during the year giving me a list of the local unions in their respective localities which are not affiliated with their central bodies. I then write the national unions who chartered each of these unions requesting them to communicate with their local and urge them to become affiliated with the central body. In most every instance the national unions respond, but even though they do there is a large number of locals in every city not affiliated with the central bodies.

Now, it seems contradictory for us to make a drive to bring local unions into central bodies and then at the same time have the central bodies build up such barriers as to make it impossible for us to prevail upon the local unions to become affiliated.

The very idea of requiring a local to pay per capita tax for four years, delinquent tax of four years, before the local can be affiliated with the central body is to me impossible. I ruled that central bodies can require delinquent locals to pay three months back taxes in order to become affiliated, but that was a standard requirement that we recognized should be incorporated in the constitution of central bodies. To require them to pay more would be unconstitutional and would prevent central bodies from being built up to their full strength.

I did not take into account the local differences, political or otherwise, which might arise between a central body and some local where each seeks to get revenge, but we can't permit the constitution of a central body of the Federation of Labor to be used by a central body for the purpose of seeking revenge. They must have their eye upon the one objective, and that is to make our central bodies strong and to bring in every local union eligible to membership in a central body, and in order to do so have their laws based upon the rule of reason and good judgment and not upon the rule of prohibition.

Now, that is the principle involved in this case. They want to collect four or five years' dues. I say no. You can't get locals back into a Federation on that basis. Collect three months. That is fair; that is a penalty and that is enough. Make it easy as possible for local unions to come in your central bodies.

Are there any further remarks? If not, those who favor the recommendation of the Committee say aye; those opposed say no. The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

## WAR AND RECONVERSION CONTROLS STILL IN EFFECT

(Page 121, Executive Council Report)

We commend the Executive Council for including under this heading eleven sub-heads, so that all Federation executives may have a list of Government controls as a reminder for action in case relations from political controls is unduly delayed.

In connection with its approval of the Executive Council's report, your Committee desires to make special reference to the question of Veterans Retraining and Reemployment Administration.

This entire question of veterans' retraining and rehabilitation is of profound significance to our movement. In general, we share the great public interest in this subject. Specifically, we are immediately interested in the well-being of millions of veterans who are members of bona fide trade unions.

There is no doubt but that the Congress sincerely desired to give every possible aid to effect the readjustment, in peacetime society, of those men and women who have served us in the armed forces. There is also ample proof of the desire of the governmental agencies involved to try to render help to our veterans.

However, because the American Federation of Labor and its interested affiliated bodies were not continuously consulted in planning the administration of many of the programs, there is little coordination between the actual needs of the millions of trade union veterans and the program itself.

Your Committee would here but briefly indicate to the convention a few of the problems involved in certain of the rehabilitation and retraining programs which today need our active attention.

First, we would submit that in planning the educational programs there has been relatively far too great an emphasis placed on formal college class work, conducted for college credit on a college campus. While we do fully appreciate the value of formal class work on the campus, we submit that it should be recognized that this form of education meets the needs of only a small percentage of the veterans.

We believe that means should be found to have veterans' training emphasize training on the job, with full utilization of sound apprenticeship programs. Under such a plan the coordination of job training with correlated academic training can best be worked out with and through the unions.

We would further submit that academic courses should not be given to such a great extent on the campus. The need for well planned extension courses should be more generally recognized. It would in many cases be far better to bring the study-center to the veteran, than to bring the veteran to the college campus. Incidentally, it is to be observed in this connection, that veterans housing on college campuses would cease to be an emergency problem if such a decentralized program were widely effected.

Furthermore, the tremendous sudden expansion of our nation's educational program at the adult level should present a challenge not only to "give more courses," but even more to evaluate critically the work which is offered as to content, methods and social objectives involved.

We are well aware of the fact that the use of surplus war material for workers' education has not had the sympathetic attention of those handling such materials.

The present program of subsistence and tuition compensation for veterans while they are in training, gives far greater financial

benefits to institutions of learning than is given in them to the veteran.

It is to be observed that in order to make sure that the college or other institution of learning receives full tuition benefits from each veteran, the veteran's subsistence funds (as well as his tuition) are cut if he fails to take the full course—without regard to the relative difficulty of the courses themselves. Then too, it should be observed that in contradiction to the traditional American method of encouraging a young man or young woman to work his or her way through college, the present plan penalizes the young man or woman who does work part-time by denying subsistence benefits and tuition proportionately less, as he may work more. Surely this is not a sound practice.

The field of counseling for veterans needs vastly more coordination with our trade union movement. Sound counseling from men and women who actually work on a job; men and women who know a work-a-day world from practical experience and not merely from a textbook on counseling, would give the veteran far more nearly what he wants and what he needs.

Unemployment compensation for veterans is a much criticized program. Yet, probably few who attack it are conscious of the tremendous emotional and psychological as well as economic adjustments that a veteran must make in effecting his return to peacetime living after perhaps some terrible experiences in war. Compensation during this period of unemployment is essential. But surely it is not wise to administer so vast a program for unemployment compensation without conference with our trade unions.

It is to be observed that some excellent work has been done in the field of psychological and emotional rehabilitation. Yet, here too, except in a few incidences the functional ties with our movement should be more fully developed.

Your Committee cannot in this limited space, even touch upon all of the many aspects of veterans' retraining and rehabilitation in which the Federation has a deep interest. Yet each phase should be fully examined and critically evaluated to make it of the greatest possible value to the veterans.

Your Committee therefore recommends that the Veterans' Committee of the A. F. of L. be adequately expanded to be broadly representative of the interests of the Federation in general, and of the millions of veterans in particular.

Your Committee further recommends that the Executive Council explore the possibility of appointing necessary personnel to help conduct the work of this committee.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### BONNEVILLE PROJECT AMENDMENTS

(Page 211, Executive Council Report)

Public Law 201 of the 79th Congress amends the Bonneville Project Act to enable the Administrator to administer the project in accordance with sound business principles, to

establish better relations with employees and to extend to such employees the benefits of the Social Security Act. These amendments were enacted with the support of the American Federation of Labor.

We recommend the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

(Page 218, Executive Council Report)

The Executive Council reports in detail on the course of legislation designed to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission for the purpose of eliminating discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin. No vote was reached and no proper consideration of the pending measure was obtained in the Senate, due to an extended filibuster and failure to terminate the obstructionist debate by cloture. These parliamentary tactics which bar consideration of legislative proposals on their merits are inimical to the democratic process and must be severely condemned. The American Federation of Labor renews its support of sound, constructive and practical legislation which would provide for investigation and study of discrimination in employment against minority groups and establish sound and equitable means to eliminate such discrimination, as a matter of national policy, consistent with rights and freedoms inherent in a democratic society. We therefore urge that the American Federation of Labor take a leading part in the preparation of proper fair employment practice legislation for introduction in the next session of Congress and that every effort be made to secure its early enactment.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES OF THE A. F. OF L.

(Page 228, Executive Council Report)

Pleasing indeed is the story found on page 196 of the Report of the Executive Council. The newest addition to the federated bodies under the American Federation of Labor is the Government Employees Council of the A. F. of L. Founded at the suggestion of Vice President W. C. Doherty this lusty infant now represents a membership of a quarter of a million postal and Federal employees. It is growing daily.

Under Chairman Leo George, Secretary Foster Pratt and Coordinator George Riley, the Council has worked intensely on all postal and Federal employee legislation. The record of achievement of the Government Employees Council exceeds the expectation of its comparatively short existence. We heartily recommend that the representatives of the American Federation of Labor grant all possible aid to its further developments and growth.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.



**PRESIDENT GREEN:** We have reached that point in the deliberations of our convention where I believe we can finish the work of this convention within a very short time. The hour of adjournment as fixed by the rules for the noon recess has arrived, but it appears to me that we can serve our best interests by remaining in session until we complete the work of the convention. The Committee on Resolutions is almost through and there is very little after that committee has finished its work.

**DELEGATE BUGNIAZET,** Electrical Workers: I move the rules be suspended and the convention remain in session until the business is concluded.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Committee Secretary Frey continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

### **CLASSIFIED EMPLOYEES' PAY INCREASE**

(Page 203, Executive Council Report)

On page 203 in the Report of the Executive Council will be found the story of two pay increases granted to classified Federal employees. Public Law 106 provided also for a night differential and other benefits. In a subsequent memorandum to the Civil Service Commission, the President extended the 40-hour week to cover all Federal civil service employees.

In the enactment of these meritorious measures the affiliated Federal employees had the full support of the American Federation of Labor. We commend both for their fine achievement, and recommend that the officers and legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the affiliated federal groups zealously work to maintain federal wages on a high level with relation to the cost of living.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **RETIREMENT**

(Page 204, Executive Council Report)

Advancement in the Civil Service Retirement Law is described on page 204 of the Report of the Executive Council. Notable advances are recorded in four separate bills. We commend this fine progress.

We recommend that every effort be made at the forthcoming session of Congress to correct an injustice that still exists despite the passage of Public Law 470. We refer to the fact that employees in the lower income groups who are retired did not benefit from the passage of Public Law 470. Legislation should be immediately enacted to provide them with a justifiable increase in their annuities. We recommend also unceasing activity to secure the enactment of legislation to bring widows and dependent children within the purview of the Civil Service Retirement Law.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **TRIPLE TAXATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES**

(Page 204, Executive Council Report)

The Executive Council on page 204 of their report calls attention to an unfair imposition of taxes on some employees in the District of Columbia. In some instances these employees are required to pay taxes on their earnings in two States and in the District of Columbia. H.R. 534 designed to correct this iniquitous situation failed of passage in the House.

We recommend that legislation be sought in the coming session of Congress to remedy this triple imposition of taxes.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **POSTAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES**

(Page 202, Executive Council Report)

The Report of the Executive Council carries the story of the fine cooperation between the officers and legislative representatives of the A. F. of L. and the officers of the affiliated postal organizations. The story is a graphic tale of results achieved through such cooperation. The enactment of Public Law 134 resulted in the establishment by law of many of the objectives long sought by postal employees in addition to a \$400 wage increase. Public Law 386 enacted in the early part of 1946 brought another \$400 increase.

We recommend that the fine teamwork evinced by the officers and legislative representatives of the A. F. of L. and the officers of the affiliated postal employees be continued. Particularly we recommend that during the coming year the salaries of the postal employees be considered with relation to the cost of living to the end that additional increases be sought if necessary to keep their income at a proper level.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **UNITED NATIONS' EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION**

(Page 183, Executive Council Report)

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your Committee calls specific attention to the recent action, September 25th, 1946, of the National Commission on International Education, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation in directly recommending to the American Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference the scrapping of those provisions in our copyright law which protect the job opportunities of some 75,000 American Federation of Labor Printing Trades Workers, without any consultation with or notice to the representatives of those trade unions, is to be deplored.

We recommend that this convention formally advise the U. N. E. S. C. O. that we bitterly protest such recommendation, and renew our demand that these provisions of the Copyright Act, so essential to safeguarding the work opportunities of the Printing Trades Workers, remain intact.

Further, the action of the U. N. E. S. C. O.



in by-passing the President of the United States, the officials of the Department of State, and the Congress of the United States, and its ignoring of those trade unions vitally affected by its activities, warrants this convention on insisting that henceforth, if U. N. E. S. C. O. values the support of the A. F. of L., on any contemplated action affecting the interests of the workers, that the representatives of such workers be consulted before definite action is taken.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

## CONCLUSION

(Page 248, Executive Council Report)

Your Committee is in full accord with this portion of the Executive Council's report, which has called attention to the substantial gain of a sound, disciplined organization which understands the functions and procedures of union organization. We fully concur with the final statement of the Executive Council "that no group has more at stake when freedom is involved than the trade union movement."

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY:** The Committee submits an expression of appreciation to Chicago.

## APPRECIATION TO CHICAGO

This historic 65th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, ushering labor's post-war effort of reconstruction for lasting peace, took place in the great city of Chicago where America's industry, trade and commerce have reared a modern capital, renowned throughout the world. Chicago, built with the workers' hands and his skills, symbolizes the long years of labor's struggle, carried on unwaveringly under the banners of the American Federation of Labor, for better living, for human freedom and for the advancement of the many against the privilege of the few. Sons of Chicago have come through ranks of labor to the positions of national leadership and international influence. On Chicago's lakeshore some of our labor's most crucial battles have been fought and won. It is fitting and proper that organized labor's new fight for human advancement, human freedom and lasting peace be launched by representatives of America's democratic and free trade unions upon this ground, hallowed by labor's historic tradition.

Hundreds of thousands of wage-earners of Chicago, united in the ranks of thousands of our local unions, and represented by the Chicago Federation of Labor, have been a generous, accommodating and fraternal host to this convention. We thank the officers and members of the Chicago Federation of Labor for their warm and unstinting hospitality.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has made available the long and shortwave facilities of WCFL—"The Voice of Labor"—labor's own radio station to broadcast the deliberations of our convention. It has enlisted the utmost cooperation of the representatives of local and national press to disseminate in-

formation with regard to the convention's proceedings and actions. It has seen to it that comfortable accommodations be made available to our delegates and guests and has provided for a diversified program of recreation and entertainment. The Chicago Federation of Labor's officers and its committees have given unsparingly of their time and effort to make this convention an outstanding success in every conceivable respect. To each and everyone engaged in this work, we express our heartfelt thanks.

The officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor express their special gratitude to Brother Joseph D. Keenan, Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Chairman of the Convention Committee, who opened this convention and facilitated the convention arrangements day after day; to William Lee, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, who has succeeded the late beloved John Fitzpatrick in this important post and who carries on the high heritage of devotion and service to the labor cause; to Harry O'Reilly, the Secretary of the Convention Committee who has made a great contribution to the success of the convention and its smooth and effective functioning and to many other members of the Convention Committee and their associates who have worked hard to serve the delegates, their wives and guests.

We are also indebted to President Soderstrom and Secretary Olander of the Illinois Federation of Labor for having done so much as fraternal hosts to extend the hospitality of the State of Illinois to the American Federation of Labor and its friends. Our sincere thanks are due to the Honorable Edward J. Kelly, Major of the City of Chicago, and Honorable Dwight H. Green, Governor of the State of Illinois, for the warm welcome they have given us.

To all of those who have helped to make possible this convention and enabled us to make it the most outstanding in the annals of labor's history, labor's hearty thanks.

The statement of the Committee of Resolutions was adopted by unanimous vote, the delegates applauding as they voted.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREY:** Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of your Committee on Resolutions, and it is signed by:

Matthew Woll, Chairman  
John P. Frey, Secretary  
Chas. J. MacGowan  
John F. English  
William E. Maloney  
P. J. Morrin  
John B. Haggerty  
L. P. Lindelof  
R. G. Soderstrom  
Thomas H. O'Donnell  
John J. Mara  
John O'Leary  
J. L. Reilly  
M. A. Hutcheson  
Arnold S. Zander  
John E. Rooney  
Joseph P. Ryan  
Frank Kasten  
Richard E. Walsh  
Herman Winter  
Max Zaritsky  
Hugo Ernst

James F. Doyle  
Woodruff Randolph  
Paul R. Hutchings

#### Committee on Resolutions

Committee Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair wishes to give voice to your expressed appreciation of gratitude for the excellent work this Committee has rendered. It is an outstanding and important committee of the convention, and this year it reached new heights. The work was heavy. The number of resolutions and the sections of the Executive Council's voluminous report referred to it were handled with dispatch and in a very much appreciated way.

I thank the Committee for the excellent service they rendered, in your behalf.

I now call on Chairman Stevenson, for the Committee on Shorter Work Day, for a report.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

**COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN STEVENSON:** Mr. Chairman and delegates, we are a little late in reporting, owing to the fact that at the beginning of this convention we had no resolutions before the Committee. However, we had some patience and we thought it was just possible that some resolution would be handed to us. We were rewarded by having a resolution presented to us at noontime yesterday, and Brother Austin, the Secretary of the Committee, will make the report.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY AUSTIN** submitted the following report:

#### THIRTY-HOUR WEEK

**Resolution No. 99—**By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS,** The American trade union movement always mindful of the conditions of work as well as the health and welfare of the membership has established a record of incessant and unbroken struggle for the shorter workday; it being one of the main objects of every trade union organization as attested by their constitutions or declarations of aims and objectives, and

**WHEREAS,** During the period of the war the trade union movement in general did forego this aim, or at least held it in abeyance, some local unions even giving up the shorter workday previously obtained, and

**WHEREAS,** This emergency is now long past while all the hazards to the health of the worker increase more than proportionately with the longer workday, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand in favor of the six-hour day and five-day week and to urge its affiliated organizations to secure the shorter workday for its members.

There was but one resolution before your Committee dealing with the shorter work-

day and shorter work-week. Resolution No. 99, which resolved that the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand in favor of the six-hour day and five-day week and urged its affiliated organizations to secure the shorter work-day for its members.

Recognizing that at the present time many members of organized labor are working in excess of the standard 40-hour work-week, it is the opinion of your Committee that a concerted effort should be made as soon as possible to reduce the work-week to the minimum set by law.

In order to give adequate employment to the many persons thrown out of employment through the closing down of numerous defense industries, and also to give employment to the returning veterans, it is felt imperative that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, should, at the earliest opportunity, include in future collective bargaining agreements provisions for a shorter work-day and work-week.

As President Green has many times pointed out, the tremendous increase in man-hour productivity brought about by improved technological advancements, makes it imperative that the hours of labor be reduced and the earnings be increased in proportion to the increased productivity and earnings of industry, if we are to avert widespread unemployment and distress.

Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 99.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

**COMMITTEE SECRETARY AUSTIN:** Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day, and it is signed by the committee:

George M. Harrison  
E. E. Millman  
Carl H. Mullen  
Edward J. Hillock  
Thomas H. Gerraty  
William Biggsdike  
Kenneth J. Kelley  
James Petrillo  
A. L. Spradling  
C. F. Strickland  
William L. McPetridge  
Harry H. Cook  
Samuel Shore  
Irvin Kuenzi  
Harry Lundeborg  
James J. Doyle  
J. Duschak  
W. L. Allen  
Peter G. Noll  
A. P. Bower  
H. A. Bradley  
Thos. Kennedy  
H. L. Mitchell  
G. A. Sackett  
Frank P. Barry  
Committee on Shorter Work-day

Committee Secretary Austin then moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** The Chair thanks the Committee for its services.

The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee on International Labor Relations, for a final report.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Committee Chairman Woll submitted the following report:

### CONDEMNATION OF TITO REGIME

At this time your Committee wishes to call to the attention of the delegates of this convention another example of the ruthless, despotic disregard for the essential principles of justice which characterizes the Tito regime in Yugoslavia—a puppet "government" of Soviet Russia.

Specifically, reference is made solely to the procedures followed by Tito in arriving at the judgment that Archbishop Stepanic was guilty of treasonable acts which merited a sentence of 20 years imprisonment.

This brutal disregard for the basic tenets of justice and civil liberties and the chicanery which characterized the so-called "trial" demonstrates all too clearly that the policies which contributed to the rise of the Axis powers have not been erased by their defeat. While the names of the totalitarianism government have changed, their practices still remain. It is, therefore, the obligation of every freedom-loving person to continue without hesitation the fight against totalitarianism no matter when it may appear.

It is the considered judgment of your Committee that the American Federation of Labor should be among the leaders in this fight against dictatorship or oppression in any or all forms. For that reason, therefore, your Committee recommends that this convention go on record as condemning the tyrannical, despotic government of this Tito regime.

Vice President Woll moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: That completes the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, and it is signed by all members of the Committee:

Matthew Woll  
William Green  
William J. McSorley  
D. J. Tobin  
George L. Berry  
W. D. Mahon  
Wm. L. Hutcheson  
Wm. J. Bowen  
Albert Adamski  
Joseph V. Moreschi  
Joseph P. Ryan  
E. E. Millman  
Martin Lawlor  
John P. Frey  
Christian M. Madsen  
Henry F. Schmal  
W. C. Birthright

John B. Haggerty  
P. J. Morrin  
Felix H. Knight  
Hugo Ernst  
George Meany  
W. C. Doherty

### Committee on International Labor Relations

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: I move the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations as a whole be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Vice President Woll then submitted the following report:

### SUMMARY REPORT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR'S STANDING COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' UNION POLICIES RELATING TO VETERANS' PROBLEMS

In order to increase and extend its services to veterans, the Veterans' Committee of the American Federation of Labor recently made a survey of the special programs and benefits provided for veterans by our affiliated unions. This survey covers the provisions contained in union agreements relating to employment rights, vacation, eligibility job assignment, pay and promotion, special consideration for disabled veterans and apprenticeship training programs of all the international unions which have had time to answer the Veterans' Committee's questionnaire. It also covers union policies with respect to the application to veterans of union fees and dues.

Approximately 1,800,000 A. F. of L. members are veterans of World War I or II. World War II veterans constitute 1,500,000 or 21 percent, and all veterans 25 percent, of the total A. F. of L. membership as of August 31, 1946.

### Union Fees and Dues

The great majority of A. F. of L. affiliates have taken the initiative in reducing the financial burden on returning servicemen whether the veterans are joining one of our internationals for the first time or resuming their former membership. Almost 60 percent of our affiliates have completely waived initiation fees for new veteran A. F. of L. members while 15 percent have cut these fees. Only 25 percent maintain their normal initiation fee.

In order to help prewar A. F. of L. members maintain their good standing while in the service, over 90 percent of our international unions maintained servicemen's membership without any payment of dues. In many cases, the veteran's own local undertook to pay his dues. If a veteran was not in good standing when drafted, 90 percent of the unions permit his return, in good standing, without any reinstatement fee. Most of the others limit back payments to 3 or 4 months.

### Job Rights for Veterans

Perhaps the most crucial question for union members who entered the service is job protection—protection of his employment rights based on the individual worker's length of service or seniority on his job. With the extension of seniority rights through collective bargaining, arbitrary layoffs and favoritism in promotion are reduced and workers' morale raised. The American Federation of Labor led in the fight to incorporate in the Selective Service Act the principles of retained seniority and job rights for all union members while in the service. The Selective Service Act, as passed, stated that any discharged serviceman was entitled to his former position or a position of "like seniority, status and pay."

Two difficulties inherent in this provision of the draft law were immediately evident. First, while veterans could bring court action against employers who denied them reemployment, the procedure was too lengthy and expensive for the individual veteran. So our local unions undertook the task of placing their support behind each individual veteran's fight for reemployment. The second, and major difficulty, was the "super-seniority" interpretation given by the Director of Selective Service. This "super-seniority" principle leads to chaos. It undermines the very equity of the seniority system. It constitutes "class legislation," in clear violation of the Constitution.

Labor's fight against this "super-seniority" misinterpretation was based on our determination to safeguard the job rights of all workers, veteran and non-veteran. Without union organization and collective bargaining agreements, seniority has no meaning and the provisions of the Selective Service Act could not be genuinely effective. The U. S. Supreme Court, in a recent decision, supported the A. F. of L. position when it rejected the "super-seniority" interpretation.

Labor's deep concern for aiding the readjustment and reintegration of veterans into civilian life is shown by the benefits we have obtained for servicemen which go far beyond the requirements of the Selective Service Act—benefits which include numerous pay, promotion and vacation rights.

### Vacation Eligibility

All A. F. of L. unions have fought for the most liberal application of vacation clauses for veterans in union agreements. In practically all contracts, military service is counted as "time employed" in determining the vacation time due to individual veterans. In addition, special determinations of time "at work" preceding vacation rights are provided in a large number of contracts so that veterans' vacation rights can accrue as soon as they enter employment.

### Job Assignments, Pay and Promotions

The Selective Service Act failed to answer many of the specific questions confronting a veteran when he applies for his old job:

is he entitled to promotion? to increased pay? to a comparable job if his old job has been cut out?

In helping individuals answer these questions, our affiliates have not only insisted on the legal rights of veterans, but also demanded justice based on the equities of the individual case. Most A. F. of L. contracts have special clauses protecting promotion rights of veterans, stating specifically that he will be employed in the position and at the pay in the classification or at the same seniority to which he would have been entitled had he remained on the job. These contracts frequently provide that if a job formerly held by a veteran is discontinued, he will have a preferential status when new openings become available.

### Disabled Veterans

The provisions for disabled veterans in A. F. of L. contracts have also gone far beyond the legal requirements of the draft act which makes no distinction between veterans who are physically handicapped and those able to resume their former jobs.

There can be no general rule for reemployment of disabled veterans, but a majority of our unions give seniority credit for those disabled during their recuperation period and extend the 90-day deadline for reinstatement after discharge.

### Apprenticeship Training

Veterans are encouraged and aided to take part in all apprentice training programs our affiliates maintain jointly with employers. At present, veterans account for nearly 85 percent of an estimated 100,000 apprentices. In addition, skilled trades are making a special effort to speed up apprentice training to assure a sufficient supply of journeymen trained to meet the heavy demands of reconversion, especially in the extensive housing program.

The rapid increase in the number of veteran-apprentices is helped by the joint union-management apprenticeship committees which set up standards of pay and working conditions to protect apprentices and assure them of sound training. These committees now cover over 41,000 establishments—a 66 percent increase over the past eight months.

Accelerated training of veterans is facilitated by the special considerations incorporated in the apprentice training agreements. These include specified priority in employment (in 70 percent); credit for previous experience, including that in the armed services (in 88 percent); maximum age exemptions (in 48 percent); special considerations due to unusual qualifications, physical handicaps or veterans status (in 53 percent); and provision for paid class instruction in related subjects (in 14 percent).

Hundreds of local building trades unions, faced with special local problems, have worked out new methods to speed and facilitate apprentice training, such as increasing the ratio of apprentices to journeymen, arranging to use public school facilities for classroom training to cut down the time required for "on-the-job" training, etc.

Thus each veteran-apprentice receives not

only the benefits won in the building trades unions' long fight to improve apprenticeship pay and other standards, but also the protection won by unions of veterans' rights under the GI Bill of Rights. Unscrupulous employers have used the government-paid monthly subsistence payments under this Bill as a wage-cutting device and have put veterans on unskilled and unproductive jobs. We have insisted upon clearly defined standards which employers must meet before their training programs can be approved. Under a recently enacted Bill (Public Law 679) standards are established which, if properly enforced, can eliminate malpractices in veterans' training programs. A. F. of L. will continue to fight for the rights of veteran-trainees by eliminating the limitations, also written into this Bill, on the amount of allowances these trainees may receive.

The Veterans' Committee is pledged to continue its work in helping servicemen as they return to their homes, their jobs and their unions. In this way labor can repay a part of the debt all Americans owe to veterans for the services they have rendered in the defense of freedom and their nation.

**MATTHEW WOLL**, Chairman  
**GEORGE MEANY**  
**ROBERT J. WATT**

Standing Committee on Veterans American Federation of Labor.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** If there are no objections the report just read will be incorporated in the proceedings of this convention. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

We have a most unusual and deeply appreciated visitor with us this morning. I know you will be glad to extend to him a hearty welcome. He is far away from home. His home is in India. I refer to Mr. Abid Ali, President of the Transport and Dock Workers' Unions of Bombay, a Congressman and a Delegate to the International Labor Conference at Montreal representing the Indian workers. I am pleased to present Brother Abid Ali to you for just a moment this morning.

#### **MR. ABID ALI**

**(President, Transport and Dock Workers' Unions of Bombay and Delegate to the International Labor Conference, Representing the Indian Workers.)**

Mr. President and friends, I am obliged to you for giving me this opportunity of meeting you all here. I have read much about the American Federation of Labor and the good work it has been doing for such a great number of years. I shall be touring your country for some time. Now I am on the way to the West Coast and I shall be glad to meet you at your respective places and study the workings of your unions.

The problems which you are facing are the same we are facing, but you are fortunate in having no political problems. Our difficulties are much more because you are

politically independent and we are not. You know very little about our difficulties and our problems, and most of what you know is based on incorrect information.

Only this morning I read in the Chicago Tribune a wrong report about Pandit Nehru's visit to the Northwest Frontier. I should be glad to have the Chicago Tribune get the correct information from me.

May I hope that you will take more and more interest in Indian affairs. The United States of America is sure to play an important part in world politics and labor affairs. You are a very powerful organization and accordingly you should play your part in shaping the destiny of the labor movement not only here but in other countries as well, and on right lines.

If labor gets its due, then certainly there will be no room for the Communists. But the behavior of most of the governments and industrialists is making labor desperate and thus giving the Communists their opportunity. This has to be remedied.

I would again rest you to please understand our problems through authentic and informed sources, and not to be misled by incorrect reports.

India has undergone great sacrifices, but in the great movement for independence during 1942 in India not one foreigner was killed. We are there to free ourselves and we are willing to undergo any sacrifice and die for the cause through the means of non-violence.

We believe that England has not become bankrupt of statesmanship, and that a sufficient number of honest men may be there and that they may be influenced by your country also. I am sure that we shall get what we deserve—which is the right to live the life that you are living and to have what every Englishman has in his country. That is all we have been asking for, and for that we don't kill anybody. We shall free ourselves by undergoing sacrifices. That is our ideology and that is what we have been fighting for.

I convey to you hearty greetings on behalf of the humble workers of India and to your organization and to all the unions and the workers who are affiliated with this great movement. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** I thank our fellow worker from India, in your name and your behalf, for his visit and for the message he brought us this morning.

#### **PRESIDENT GREEN'S CLOSING ADDRESS**

**PRESIDENT GREEN:** Now, we have reached the end. The work of the convention is completed. All of the convention committees have submitted their reports. Every subject introduced in this convention either by resolution or report, has been thoroughly considered by the convention committees and by the delegates in attendance at this convention. They have exercised their judgment in the disposition of all these questions after receiving the reports of the committees.

I wish to thank all the members of the convention committees for the service they rendered this sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor. Each and all of them are discharged now with the thanks of the convention.

It seems appropriate for me to say in conclusion that this convention must be accepted and regarded as an outstanding important and historic convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is the first convention our great movement has held since the end of the war. Consequently, the questions that were submitted for consideration here developed, many of them, out of our trying war experience. We came to this convention a united organization. I am of the opinion that the actions taken in this convention have solidified our movement. There is no division within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. We are a united family, a solidified organization. We march as one and we speak as one. The expression of the American Federation of Labor is the voice of 7,100,000 members of the American Federation of Labor.

None of our enemies may receive any consolation whatever, because of any division within our ranks. There is none there. Nobody can expect to be benefited by any division within our ranks because there is none there. We came united; we have strengthened that unity. We have solidified our forces and we are going out united in mind and body and intellect and in voice to face the common enemy. There is no problem that we will not face courageously and there is no difficulty we will not overcome.

I thank the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for the cooperation they have given me. I commend you highly upon the intelligent way in which you have discharged your duties. You have rendered a valuable service to the 7,100,000 members of the American Federation of Labor through your attendance at this convention.

I wish for all of you a safe and happy return to your homes and to your communities. Accept my profound thanks for your service and your attendance at this convention.

I wish to announce a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the Walnut Room of this Hotel tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock. All members of the Council please take note of this announcement.

Now, we are going to close our convention by all joining in the singing of "God Bless America."

Dell Baker, the pianist, has come here from the Chicago Federation of Musicians to play the piano while we all sing "God Bless America" and the singing will be led by our beloved member of the Executive Council, a man who possesses a beautiful voice, Vice President William C. Doherty.

The delegation stood and sang God Bless America.

Now, I officially declare the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 1:05 o'clock P.M., October 17, 1946 the Sixty-Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

*George Meany*

Secretary-Treasurer of the  
American Federation of Labor

*Thos Priestly*

Assistant Secretary of Convention

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